THE FUNG KINGDOM OF SENNAR

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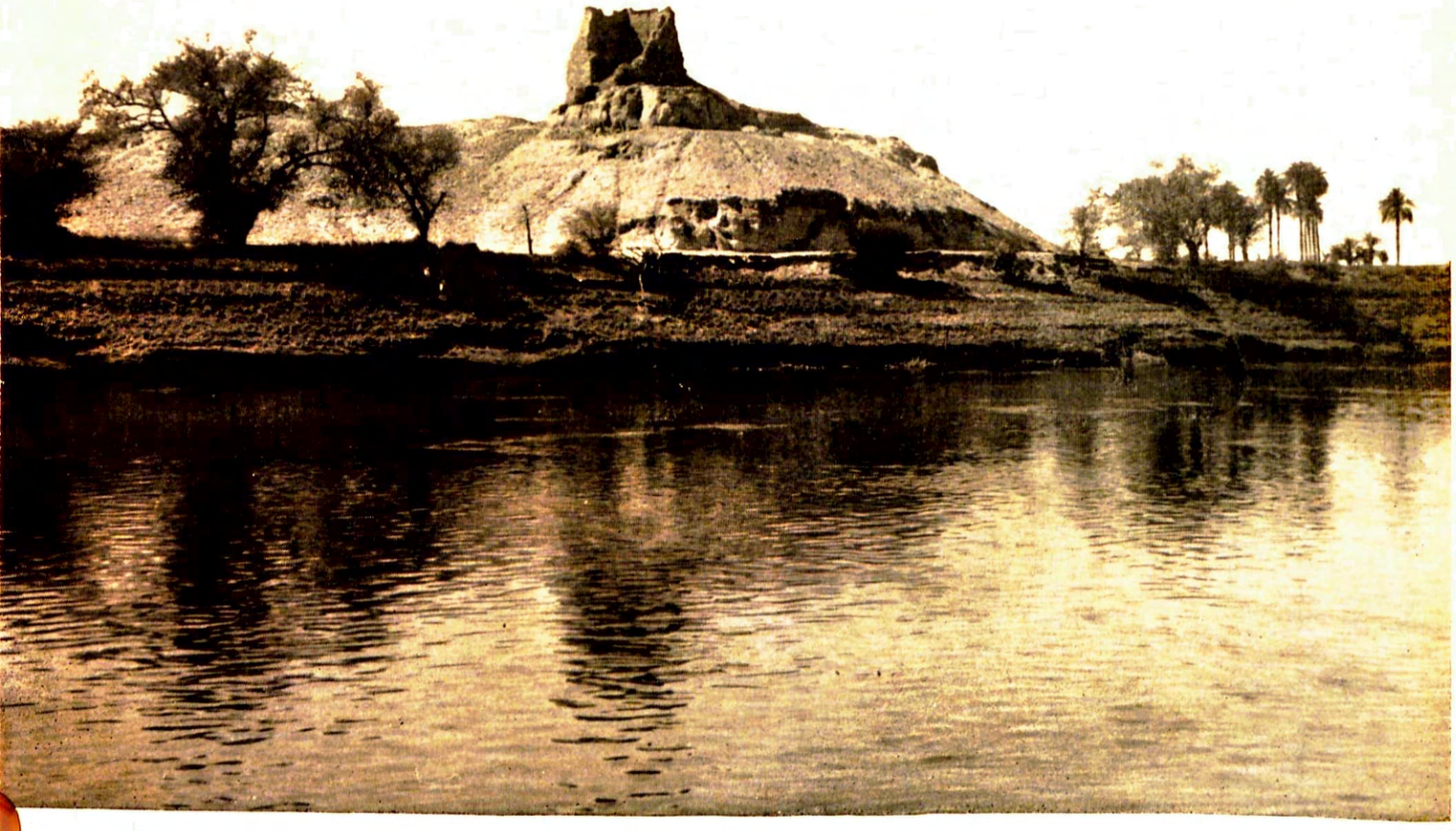

The castle of Kajeba below Merowe, looking North (p. 48)

THE FUNG KINGDOM OF SENNAR

with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region

by

O. G. S. CRAWFORD, C.B.E., F.B.A.

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ERRATA

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7 (twelve lines from bottom): *for* 14.5 *read* 14.9.

23 (last line): *for* south *read* north.

127 (note 55, line 3): *for* 1339 *read* 1325, and *see* p. 38, note 29.

150 (line 17): *omit* foot-note reference 54.

167 (line 7): *for* later *read* latter.

174 (nine lines from bottom): *for* urbane *read* urban.

228 (twelve lines from bottom): *for* this *read* his.

241 (note 16): the second sentence belongs to note 15.

290 (map, fig. 25): *for* GISSIM *read* GIESIM.

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FOREWORD

ONE should write books, as one writes letters, with a vivid sense of whom one is addressing. This book has been written primarily for those who know the Sudan, to whom its people and places are familiar. It attempts to weave into an intelligible historical pattern such scraps of history as have survived the Turkish conquest and the Mahdia. I have tried not to lose the thread in a tangle of discussions of detail ; but even so I fear that sometimes it is lost for a page or two. That is really inevitable in the present state of knowledge—a stage when, as in the archaic period of an art, full mastery of material has not yet been attained. Until many gaps have been filled and problems of basic historical importance solved, a smooth-running story could only be written at the cost of ignoring those problems, or by drawing premature conclusions from insufficient evidence. The clarity so gained would be deceptive ; the narrative might be easier to read, but it would not be worth reading.

Some, perhaps, may think the labour disproportionate to the result, and that these three centuries of barbaric squalor do not deserve the name of history. With such an opinion I entirely disagree. The Romans probably thought the same about our own early history, which was also barbaric and squalid ; they certainly did not trouble to sift and record the history of Britain in the Iron Age, as they might so easily have done—and we are the poorer thereby. Future Africans may be just as deeply interested in their own origins as we are now in ours. Unlike the Romans, the British in the Sudan *have* taken the trouble to collect manuscripts and to record traditional lore and history. The time seemed ripe, therefore, for a preliminary attempt at synthesis, and the present book is the result. It is limited in time to the period of the Fung Kings, and in space to the area they controlled. It is most certainly not final—rather the opposite. It will become necessary to rewrite it when one of the chief Fung towns such as Arbagi has been carefully excavated ; and when the debbas on the White Nile have yielded up their secrets. Then it will be possible to write a book that will make this one as obsolete as Bruce's map.

There is much to be done in all fields of research. Air-photography, the latest new technique (though now several decades old) has not yet been applied to any of the ancient sites of the Sudan except a few in Darfur. Had any such existed I should have used them here. Much would be learnt from a strip survey of the Nile and its chief tributaries, along which ancient towns and villages abound. One of the best sources, the Tabaqat of Dafa'ulla (MacMichael's D3) has only been published in summary, and a complete critical edition and translation—made if possible from the original manuscripts—is urgently needed. A collated edition and translation of the Fung Chronicle, of which there are several manuscripts, is also badly needed. There are valuable European sources, such as the diary and map of Linant de Bellefonds, which are available only in the original manuscript. There is much good stuff still buried in obscure publications, such as *Petermanns Mittheilungen* (mid 19th century) ; and though a praiseworthy beginning has been made by publishing extracts in *Sudan Notes and Records*, there is still much to be done

especially for the eastern Sudan and Eritrea—both historically more important than the cul-de-sac of the White Nile. There are probably still some lists of tribal chiefs to be collected (and the sooner the better) in the eastern regions outside the scope of MacMichael's great work. Instances quoted in this book show that they are usually found to be trustworthy when they can be checked from external sources. There are probably many inscriptions, mainly on tombstones of the early Islamic period, still lying about in the desert untranscribed and in imminent danger of destruction. The gubbas are almost the only surviving Fung monuments of any architectural merit, however slight; but when I first tried to obtain a good photograph of one, I failed, because there were none. (I have since taken some myself).

The spelling of the proper names has been a source of much worry, and it is to be regretted that no satisfactory system could be used. In quoting or summarizing the narratives of others one must adopt their spellings, and it would be awkward to make abrupt changes. There is, moreover, no generally agreed system of transliteration. The inconsistencies of spelling in this book are, it seems to me, inevitable.

A more serious defect is the absence of an index. To atone for this I have taken much trouble to give cross-references, and have provided a full synopsis.

Acknowledgments

This book owes much to conversations with scholars more learned than myself, who have saved me from many foolish errors. In thanking them I wish it to be clearly understood that they are not responsible for anything here unless specific acknowledgment is made. I have followed my own course for good or for ill, and do not wish to involve others in the consequences. The chapter on the origin of the Fungs was rewritten for the second time after one such conversation, but as those who took part might not agree with the conclusions it will be best to mention no names and merely express hearty thanks all round.

First and foremost I wish to thank the Trustees of the Wellcome Trust (created by the will of the late Sir Henry S. Wellcome) who have most generously paid the whole cost of printing this book. That is an appropriate sequel to a story which began with the excavation of a Fung cemetery at Abu Geili near Sennar in 1914, during the last season of Mr Wellcome's work in the Sudan.

Then I wish to thank Mr Frank Addison, my collaborator in the Abu Geili volume, for drawing the plans from my rough pencil models; without them the book would be unintelligible. He has also given invaluable advice and help during the later stages.

I wish also to thank Mr A. J. Arkell, lately Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology in the Sudan, and Mr Peter Shinnie, his successor as Commissioner for Archaeology, for constant help and advice, and for the obtaining of information about certain specific matters, duly acknowledged in the text; Miss Rosalind Moss of the Griffith Institute (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) for much help in connection with documents there preserved, particularly those here reproduced; and Mr J. W. Crowfoot for the loan of books and much sound advice.

I wish to thank Mr Ralph Bankes for permission to reproduce drawings of Mr W. J. Bankes (mostly by Linant de Bellefonds) at present on loan to the Griffith Institute (Plates 12, 13b, 16a, 18, 22, 38); and the Griffith Institute for similar permission, covering in addition Plates 5a, 13a, 35, 36, 37.

I wish to thank the Sudan Government for permission to reproduce the photographs on Plates 25 and 26, and the Duke of Northumberland for the same for the drawing on Plate 30, reproduced from the original in his possession at Alnwick Castle. I owe my knowledge of this last to the visit of Miss Moss.

Plate 27 (Suakin in 1540) is from a manuscript copy of De Castro's *Red Sea Log* (see p. 351: Kammerer, 1936) now in the possession of Mr Sinelnikoff, whom I wish to thank for permission to reproduce it here. (The British Museum has another copy, but it was slightly damaged in the Cotton fire). For facilities in this connection I am indebted to the late Mr E. W. G. Lynam, Keeper of Maps in the British Museum, and his successor, Mr R. A. Skelton.

The remainder of the plates are either taken from published sources or from photographs of my own. After the book was written I was enabled, at the invitation of the Sudan Government (which I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging), to visit the country during the first part of 1950. I went up the Blue Nile to Roseires, then to Suakin, then to El Fasher and Kutum, ending up with a delightful journey on the old 'Kirbekan' from Karima to Dongola and back. As a result of observations made during these journeys certain additions and alterations were made to the typescript. I wish to thank all those whose hospitality I then received, particularly in Darfur and the Northern Province. Most of all I must thank Mr Peter Shinnie for organizing the treks and, with Mrs Shinnie, providing me with a home in their house at Khartoum.

The book owes much to the patience and care of Miss M. E. Aitken who typed the whole of it from a manuscript that must at times have been almost indecipherable

O. G. S. CRAWFORD.

Nursling, Hampshire,
March, 1951.

POSTSCRIPT

At the moment when this book was about to be printed, Volume 2 of *Etiopia Francescana* has at last reached me, too late to be used. Though dated 1948 it seems to have passed unnoticed in this country; I made many enquiries about it shortly before, but could obtain no information about when it would appear. The mass of documents printed contain little that is relevant to this book, and there would have been little to alter except an occasional date in Appendices 5 to 7. The Volume is edited by Dr Giovanni Maria Montano, O.F.M., and printed at the Collegio S. Bonaventura, Quaracchi, near Florence, whence it can be obtained.

1st July, 1951.

CHAPTER I

THE MEROITIC PERIOD

THE kingdom of Sennar, founded in A.D. 1504, was a federation of principalities extending from the 3rd cataract in the north to the Abyssinian frontier in the south; eastwards it reached the Red Sea at Suakin along the caravan-routes from Berber and Shendi; south-eastwards the nomads of the Butana were its vassals. Westwards the kings of Sennar obtained for a short period some power over the dry steppe-lands of Kordofan and even of the Nuba hills; but it was only during the second half of the 18th century that this vast western region played any important part in the history of Sennar, whose south-western frontier was, in effect, the White Nile.

There is a fundamental geographical difference between the northern portion of this area and the rest. The northern portion, roughly between Berber and the 3rd cataract, is a rainless region where only the Nile valley itself is permanently habitable and where cultivation is entirely dependent on the water of the Nile. The southern portion, however, is a region of annual rains, increasingly heavy as one goes southwards; and instead of barren desert the plains between the White Nile and its tributaries are fertile corn-growing regions. Even in the north-east where the rainfall is insufficient for regular crops and permanent habitation, it is yet adequate to provide abundant pasturage. The most fertile part of the whole region is the Gezira, or island, between the White and Blue Niles.

This basic contrast between north and south is vividly brought home to the traveller who goes from Cairo to Sennar. Between Wadi Halfa and Abu Hamed the train crosses one of the most barren tracts on the earth's surface—a landscape of almost lunar aspect, with gaunt jagged hills and parched sand. At Berber a few bushes begin to appear; and when the traveller arrives at his destination and surveys the Gezira, as the present writer did in 1913, from the granite 'island' of Gebel Moya, he sees below him a vast plain covered with a dense forest of mimosa thorn. In this forest are clearings with straw huts and fields of dhurra, most thickly scattered in the region north of Sennar itself. Here we are well south of the Sahara. The valley of the Blue Nile runs not through a desert but through arable country; it is completely different from the mudlands of Egypt, the red cliffs of Nubia and the broad green belt of Dongola province, which has more in common with Egypt than with the Sudan. For this reason Dongola province has always maintained an individuality of its own; and although subject to the kingdom of Sennar, its way of life was quite different from that of the Blue Nile.

Some account of the earlier history of the region will not be out of place; for most of it has only been brought to light during the present century, and is recorded in specialist publications. There is a continuity in its history, imposed by geography, particularly in the boundaries of the administrative divisions.

It was the northern region that first obtruded itself into the main stream of history. With the details of that episode we are not now concerned. The history of the kingdom of Meroe belongs to archaeology; and although its outlines have already been traced by the same masterly hand that recovered it by excavation,[1] we still await the detailed publication of the results. A dynasty was founded at Napata in the first half of the 8th century B.C., which under Piankhy (740–15) actually conquered the whole of Egypt. But the Ethiopians could not hold their conquests, and in the middle of the 7th century they were driven out by the Assyrians under Assurbanipal. A century later (*c.* 560) the capital was moved[2] south to Meroe, between Shendi and Damer, which was safer than Napata, for Meroe had between itself and the Egyptian enemy a difficult stretch of cataract country—the region later occupied by the Shaigia. It was also protected by that great asset of the Sudan in all periods—mere distance. The 'Egyptian gloss' began to disappear, and the land lapsed into a semi-barbaric condition. Napata retained some importance as a centre of the priesthood which had always played a dominant part in the Ethiopian kingdom; and it seems not impossible that the sanctuary-town of Debba,[3] 56 miles below Napata, may have inherited its sanctity.[4] This southern withdrawal broke off contacts with the northern world, and 'Ethiopia, gradually lost behind a mist of legend, became the wonderland celebrated in Greek story as the source of civilisation.'[5]

Soon after the Ethiopians were thrown out of Egypt an event occurred which closely concerned the Sudan and may have taken place in the heart of our region. Psammetichus I, king of Egypt (663–609 B.C.) replaced the Nubian garrison on his southern frontier by one of Egyptians whom he stationed on the island of Elephantine near Assouan. What happened afterwards is told by Herodotus.[6] Discontented with a three years' spell of duty in what they regarded as a place of exile, the garrison revolted and marched up the river to Napata, offering their services to the Ethiopian king. They were given a tract of land which was then occupied by the king's enemies and told to evict them. This they succeeded in doing; they settled there and in a few generations became a powerful nation. Their numbers are given as 240,000, but this is probably an exaggeration.[7] The episode is mentioned by Pliny, and we can best deal with it later as part of the whole problem of Sudanese topography in classical times. The chief authorities are Diodorus, Strabo and Pliny.[8]

[1] See Dr Reisner's articles in *SNR*, 1919–22, and in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. IX, 1923, 34-77. His full excavation-reports are now being prepared for publication by Mr Dows Dunham, and the first, El Kurru, was published early in 1951 (Harvard U. P. & Cumberlege).

Reisner also contributed frequent and fairly detailed reports on his work to the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston.

[2] Some confusion is introduced by the fact that Napata was later called Merowe, and that both here and at the southern capital are fields of pyramids.

[3] In the *Sudan Gazeteer* glossary 'debba' is said to mean a low mound in flat country. There may be a connection with the word 'debra' which in Abyssinia has come to mean 'monastery'; the original meaning of the word 'deber,' from which it is derived, is 'mountain'; and the derived sense comes from the fact that the monasteries were almost always placed on hill-tops. I am indebted to Mr D. R. Buxton for extracting and supplying me with these facts.

[4] For Debba see pp. 38-9. Radata, where according to Bion (*Pliny* VI, § 35) a golden cat was worshipped, may have been somewhere in this neighbourhood.

[5] Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 1925, 560–1.

[6] II, 30.

[7] Budge II, 54.

[8] Budge Ch. 10.

Over against (contra) Meroe, says Pliny, are the Megabarri, by some writers called the Adiabari ; they occupy the city of Apollo ; some of them, however, are Nomades, living on the flesh of elephants. Diodorus[9] says the Megabarei fight with raw ox-hide shields, ironbound clubs, and bows and spears. The dead are tied neck and heels and carried to the top of a hill where they are pelted with stones until they are covered over ; upon each heap a goat's horn is stuck. They fight among themselves for the pastures. The old folk tie themselves by their necks to the tails of oxen, and so end their days. Burckhardt[10] identified the Megabarri with the modern Mekaberab (Mukaberab, Mukabarab) who live between Damer and Shendy, and this identification is accepted by Georg Möller,[11] who quotes a papyrus of the late 3rd century B.C. in which there is mentioned a person called ' the Mẖbr who was born ' [in Egypt] of a Blemmy father ; Mẖbr is connected by Möller with the stem *megabarr–*. The second part of the word is identified by Möller with the word which forms the second part of the river-name Astaboras. This is connected by Rossini[12] with the Bari, who are thought once to have had a much wider extension than the Barya, their modern representatives (but I think this doubtful, and ask for evidence). A more convincing explanation of Astaboras is given by Schäfer[13] from Nubian words which mean ' water coming from darkness.' Astapus would mean ' water of darkness.' This derivation receives support from the fact (unknown to Schäfer) that the Atbara was called Bahr el Iswid, as both Krump and English have recorded. The prefix *ast* means ' water ' in old Nubian, and has become *essi* in the modern language. The ' city of Apollo ' might perhaps be the ' hierarchical city ' of Damer, for such religious associations are always very tenacious.

The Macrobii, who lived on the African, *i.e.* west, bank of the Nile, have been shown by Last[14] to derive their name not from their longevity but from their long bows. The Mattitae may have lived in the Gash delta.[15] The Hipsodores smeared their black bodies with red, as did certain tribes of South-western Abyssinia in modern times.[16] None of these people nor the others here named by Pliny can be located in spite of many attempts to do so.[17]

Pliny's most valuable contributions to Sudanese geography are the list of places between Egypt and a point on the Blue Nile somewhere near Sennar. Two of these, giving the names of places on the west and east banks of the Nile respectively, were taken from the lost writings of Bion, a contemporary of Pliny's. Another, longer, list was taken from Juba.[18] He also gives two short lists of a few names recorded by the expeditions of Petronius and Nero. Besides Pliny the only ancient writer who gives consecutive names of places is Ptolemy. The Ravenna geographer gives only the names of places on the coast and a few which seem to be in the region of Abyssinia ; and the Antonine Itinerary stops at Korti in Lower Nubia.

Bion's list falls into two parts (1) the two covering the Nile valley between

[9] III, 33, 1–5.
[10] *Travels*, 272.
[11] *ZAS*, LV, 1918, 79–81.
[12] *RSO*, VI, 1914, 393.
[13] *ZAS*, XXXIII, 1895, 97–9, quoting Pliny (ed. Detlefsen, 1874, V, 53, 10).
[14] *Classical Quarterly*, XVII, 1923, 35-6 : see *Herodotus* III, 21, 3 : 23, 1.
[15] See p. 96 and *Rossini*, 1928, 107–8.
[16] On the upper Tumat ; see p. 283 below.
[17] Some of them are discussed in other contexts in this book.
[18] For him see S. Gsell, *Iuba* II, savant et écrivain, *Revue Africaine* LXVIII, 1927, 169–197. His floruit was from 30 B.C. to A.D. 19. For Pliny's place-names see Appendix 28 below.

Tacompsos (Qurta, opposite the mouth of the Wadi Allagi) and Meroe[19] (2) a list of places, given in order from south to north, between Sembobitis and Meroe. Since the first two cover the same ground as Juba's, it will be convenient to deal with them together, and to devote a separate section to the region south of Meroe.

NORTH OF MEROE

The two lists of Bion contain exactly the same number of names—25—on each bank of the river. Neither list mentions Napata, and one must conclude that the Bayuda route was followed. This would mean that for a distance of some 150 miles immediately preceding Meroe there would be much fewer place-names. This inference is confirmed by the lists; for between Rhadata, which was certainly in the Nile valley, and Mallos near Meroe, only one place is mentioned—'Boron, in mediterraneo,' probably the wells of El Fura (near Jakdul) where is a 'large square fort with square flanking projections.'[20] In order therefore to arrive at a trustworthy figure for the average distance separating the place-names in the lists, we must eliminate the last few stages, which would throw out the calculations. In Bion's two lists[21] there are no names which can be identified with absolute certainty, but there are two (one in each) which can be identified with probability; Megada is probably Megadib, and Urbim probably Urbi. It may further be inferred that, if Boron was a well in the Bayuda desert, Radata, where a golden cat was worshipped, must have been the northern terminal-point of the desert crossing, probably at or near Korti. Assuming the correctness of these identifications and having an identified starting-point (Tacompsos = Qurta), we can get three itineraries of known length—Tacompsos to Megada (319 miles), Megada to Radata (229 miles), and Tacompsos to Urbim (428 miles). Dividing these distances by the number of intervals we get average distances of 22, 26.1 and 25·17 respectively for each. These are rather high for days' journeys, but we are not obliged to assume that they were such; the places purport to be in the correct order, but Bion may not have mentioned every stopping-place on the route.

Juba's list is much longer, perhaps because it included the names of places on *both* sides of the river. Megada is mentioned, and a calculation based on it gives an average of 17·7 miles for the preceding stages. This figure, if used for the succeeding stages, puts Batta at 566·4 miles from the starting point (Tacompsos), which agrees closely with the actual distance of Napata (560 miles). The readings of the names in this part of the text are confused, even the divisions between the words being sometimes uncertain; the true reading may well be Mathe Nabatta (or some such), not Mathena Batta; and an identification with Napata seems quite justifiable even without the support of the distance-calculations. The fourth place after Batta is Goram; assuming this to be Jura wells and starting again from Napata with a new average of 23·25, we get a distance of 792·5 for Meroe, which agrees quite well

[19] To avoid confusion it should be stated that Meroe refers to the site between Shendi and the Atbara. The northern capital near the modern Merowe is properly called Napata.

[20] Gleichen I, 316; *SNR*, IX, 29 (Jackson).

[21] I have usually adopted the spelling of Detlefson's edition. The *variae lectiones* given there are not very numerous or important.

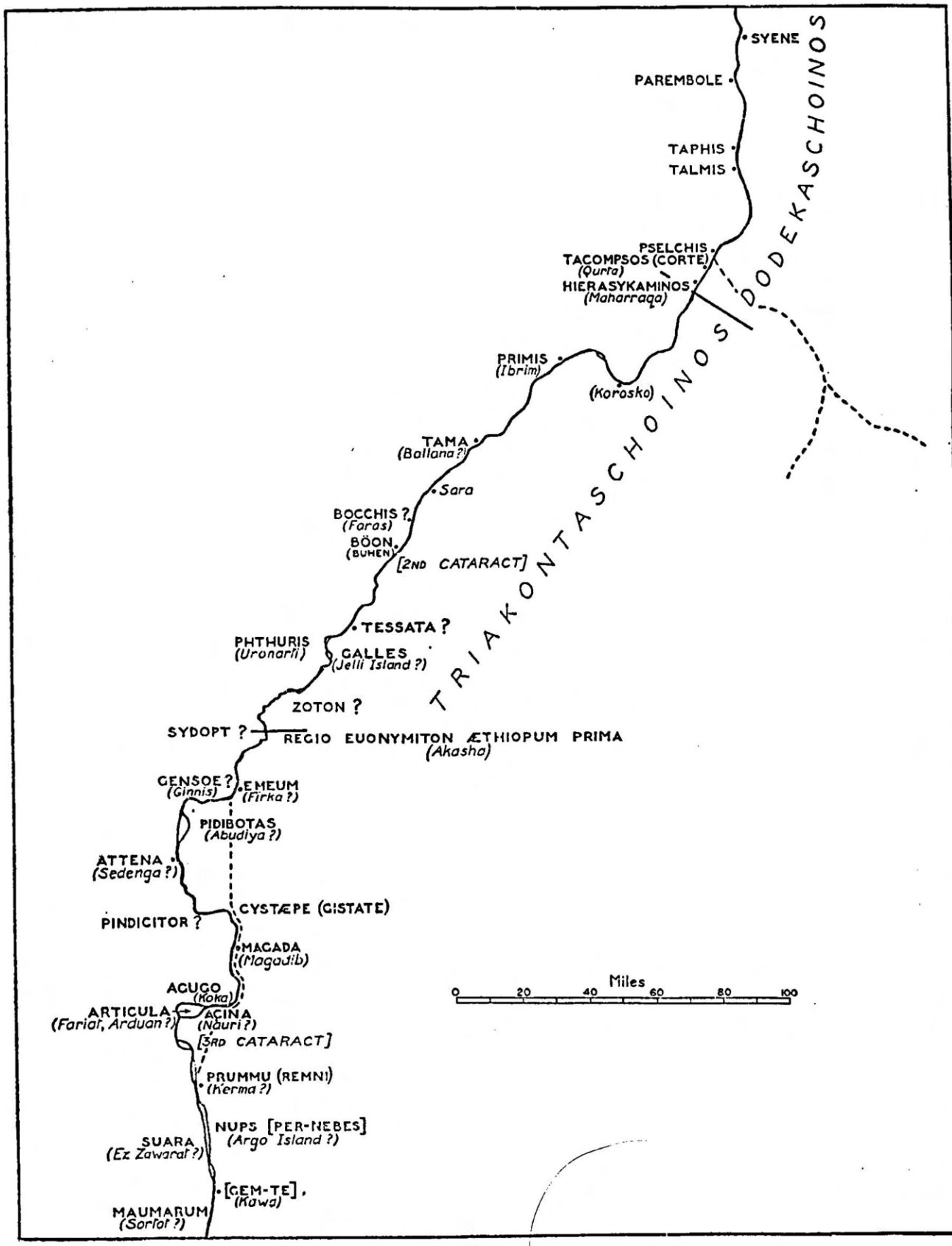


FIG. I.

Place-names of the 1st century A.D., mostly from Pliny and of doubtful location: Syene to Kawa

with the actual one of 808 if we remember that the desert stages were probably longer than our average.[22]

A few remarks are called for here, to justify this method. It will be obvious that in any such list of names the distances separating them will not be equal, but that the nearer they approach equality, the easier it will be to locate them by applying an average. If the variations in distance are great, the method will fail. Let us test this by applying the method to two known examples. First, take the actual route from Qurta (Tacompsos) to Meroe, via Napata, Sani and Jura. The total distance is 808 miles, and a list of modern places selected (for another purpose) more or less haphazard contains 32 intervals or stages. This gives $\frac{808}{32} = 25.25$ miles per stage. The actual stages, all of which of course are already known, range from 49 to 10 miles in length. If we plot our assumed stages of 25.25 miles we find that the error ranges from 71.25 miles to 1 mile, the average error being 23.5 miles. We are not much better off if we assume that one place (Napata) has been identified and take an average (22.4) from it. The maximum error falls to 52.6, but the average error is actually increased to 26·37. Obviously the method is useless in such a case, for, since we do not know the amount of the error or its direction in any given instance, we can get no nearer by applying the average error.[23]

If on the other hand the distances or stages are more nearly equal, the method works fairly well. Let us take the railway-line from London to York, a distance of 188 miles, and select 9 places along it whose distance apart varies only from 14 to 29 miles. This gives $\frac{188}{10} = 18{\cdot}8$ miles per stage. If we plot them we find that the error ranges from 11 miles to ·8 of a mile, the average error being 4·4. We get better results by taking a longer route, London to Berwick (335 miles) and applying the average stage-distance (19·7) thus obtained. York itself will then fall at 197 miles instead of the correct 188, and the range of error is from 9 to 1, the average being 4·3, equivalent to ·21 of a stage. This is a great improvement on the previous example, where the average error (23·5) was nearly equal to a whole stage (25·25). In the example where the average error is 4·3 we find that by adding and subtracting (for we do not know in which direction the error is) twice the average error to our hypothetical stages, the figures obtained cover the position of almost all the places[24]; thus, York falls at 197 (instead of the correct 188); $4{\cdot}3 \times 2 = 8{\cdot}6$; $197 + 8{\cdot}6 = 205{\cdot}6$; $197 - 8{\cdot}6 = 188{\cdot}4$. This gives us the position to within 17·2 miles. Grantham falls at 98·5 (correct figure 105); its 'range' is between 89·9 and 107·1. Thus, if the assumed conditions are in fact correct, we shall never be more than one stage out if we apply these figures, and our actual hypothetical positions will usually be much closer to the mark.

[22] In obtaining an average I have adopted the four stages of the list; but actually the first stage of the route from Napata to Goram was probably a very short one of about 11 miles along the valley to El Bellal opposite Badri island where the desert journey began. (The first stage of most caravan journeys is usually a short one, and there were special reasons here). On this assumption we should get an average of 27.3 and Meroe would be at 816.8 miles.

[23] For instance, Napata falls 71.25 miles too high up the river, at 631.25 instead of 560. If we applied the average and said it must be 631.25 ± 23.5 (=654.5 and 608) we should still be 94.5 and 48 miles out.

[24] The only exception is York and the figure negligible, (·4).

Unfortunately there is no means of discovering whether the lists of Pliny are 'bad' or 'good', that is, whether the distances are variable or constant. Let us assume that they fall between the two extremes and adopt a figure of ·21 of a stage (that of the 'good' list above) for the average error. Tested by a fairly certain item in Juba's list, the figure comes out well. Galles falls, by the stage method, at 194·7; the average stage being 17·7, the figure for the average error will be (17·7 × ·21 =) 3·7, and the 'range' of Galles between 191 and 198·4. Its measured position is 192. This method does seem to give one some idea of the approximate position of the places and where to look for them; and it should inhibit wild theorizing such as that of Müller,[25] most of whose proposed identifications are geographically impossible. If any of the intermediate places are identifiable by other means, a check will be provided, and the average distance will suggest where one should look for the places immediately preceding and following. One is also enabled to compare the relative positions of places in different lists; thus the suspected identity of Bion's Gistatae with Juba's Cystaepe(n) is confirmed by the positions (300 and 300·9) given in each list respectively by the average method, and the identity of Bion's Remni with Juba's Prummu is also confirmed (372·2 and 371·7). One must of course use common sense in applying the method; for instance, one may expect to find the places mentioned to be closer together in a fertile region; conversely, there may be one or more long nameless stages in a relatively or absolutely barren region.

All three lists were presumably based upon journeys, but the stages may not represent days' marches; the distances are sometimes too great. It is obvious, for example, that from Radata in the Nile valley to Mallos near Meroe, a distance certainly not less than 150 miles, could not possibly have been covered in two days. Even the distance-averages in the Nile valley are rather high for such (22, 26·1, 25·17, 17·7). As will be seen from the figures printed elsewhere,[26] the highest daily average maintained by a few persons travelling as a small party is 24, and the average for a caravan is 14·5. Probably only the more important places are mentioned. (South of Meroe, however, there are reasons for supposing that an actual journey was being described).

The first few names in all three lists are of places in Lower Nubia, which is outside the scope of this book and my own competence. There are in any case no obvious identifications. A curious feature is the mention of a bitumen well near Corambim in Juba's list; it should fall less than 100 miles south of Tacompsos, in a region of Nubian sandstone where such a phenomenon is geologically impossible.[27] The best explanation would seem to be that the remark is a later insertion, based upon some confusion of names. One would expect some mention of the 2nd cataract, but none is discoverable unless, as has been suggested, Bion's Buma is the same as Ptolemy's Böon (Buhen). But this identification of Buma receives no support from

[25] Ptolemy, 1883, 772.

[26] Appendix 10.

[27] I have to thank Mr C. N. Bromehead of the Geological Survey and Mr A. H. Noble, for kindly informing me that no bitumen has ever been reported anywhere in the whole stretch covered by these lists, and that its occurrence there is most unlikely. A mountain called Coramba, 18 miles NW of Massawa is marked on Munzinger's map in *Östafrikanische Studien*, and mentioned also (as Gorimba or Gurumba) in Heuglin's article (Pet. Erg. No. 13, 1864, 42). It is near Ailet where there is a hot spring, and seems to be a more likely place for a bitumen well. Possibly the statement is due to a confusion with this eastern place.

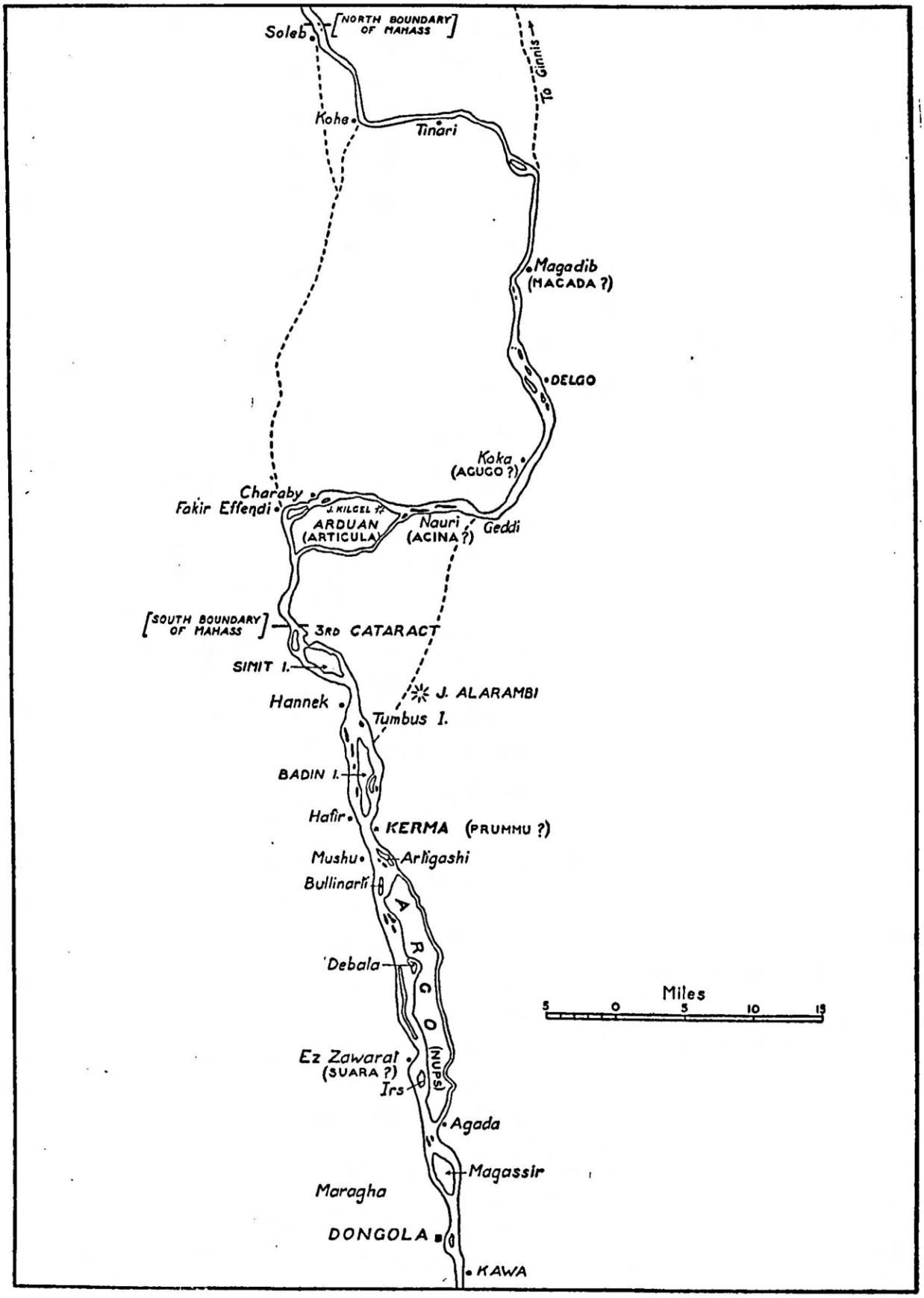


FIG. 2. Mahass and northern Dongola

the average method, which puts it at 176·2 from Tacompsos, with a range of between 170·9 and 181·5, whereas Buhen is about 150 miles south of Tacompsos.

Attempts to identify individual places in the lists *solely* by means of similarity of the ancient and modern names should be discouraged; we know what a mess our own older topographers made by applying this method to Romano-British place-names. Some of these attempts seem not impossible on the evidence of distance, as here applied. Müller[28], for instance, equated Suara (377·5) with Ez Zawarat (384), and I have followed him.

Nups, which is mentioned both by Bion and Juba, must be the Pr-nbs of Harsiotef's stela,[29] where it is mentioned after Gem-atem (Kawa). I have put it on Argo island because it is certain that there was an important settlement there in the time of Bion and Juba; the distances agree fairly well with this identification.[30]

Bion's Radata must, from the description, have been an inhabited place and therefore in the Nile valley; the next place, Boron, must for the same reason have been away from it. Mallos, 'next to Meroe,' should be at or near Mutmir, opposite which the desert crossing reaches the Nile. The section Radata-Meroe thus agrees perfectly with a recorded modern caravan-route; and Radata must surely be the ancient name of Korti or of some now abandoned site very near it.

The place-names on the left bank are less easy to identify, and my identifications mostly depend on verbal resemblances and should therefore be regarded with mistrust. Urbi seems a safe guess for Urbim, however. Mulon which the Greeks call Ὕπατον suggests a high place like Khandak, and this identification would be made more likely if we could read Kulon (Nubian 'Koul,' a hill), but there is no manuscript authority for such a reading. The modern name for the hill on which the castle stands (given me on the spot by the Omda of Khandak, 27th March, 1950) is Galla Geili, which means 'red hill' in the local dialect.

Some of the names in Juba's list have already been discussed. The equation of Goram and Jura does not depend solely on the verbal similarity of these two names, for it is possible that the desert of Goram (variously spelt) which was well known[31] and marked on the early European maps, lay here. Heuglin (who was an Arabic scholar and took particular care to get his place-names correct) calls Jura 'Gorah' on his map.[32] Juba's description of Goram as 'in insula' may (if the text be not corrupt) refer to the whole region within the bend of the Nile. I suspect that the meaningless 'ab iis' which follows is a textual corruption concealing a place-name.

Pliny gives two other lists of place-names. The first is of the towns captured by the Roman general Petronius in his expedition of *c.* 25–21 B.C. These are stated to be given in order (quo dicemus ordine) presumably from north to south, and are

[28] Ptolemy, p. 769.

[29] Budge, *Annals of Nubian kings*, 1912, 121.

[30] The two colossal statues on Argo island are attributed by Dows Dunham to Natakamani, king of Meroe between 15 B.C. and A.D. 15, *JEA* XXXIII, 65. Since writing this the identification with Argo Island has been greatly strengthened by Dr Laming Macadam's research. On quite different and much better evidence, he identifies Harsiotef's Pnubs with Argo Island (*The Temples of Kawa* I, 1949, p. XV). I wish here to thank him for his advice in the matter of the transcription of Egyptian names; though I have tried to follow it, I may not always have succeeded and must take full responsibility.

[31] See MacMichael I, 31.

[32] *Reise nach Abessinien*, Jena, 1868.

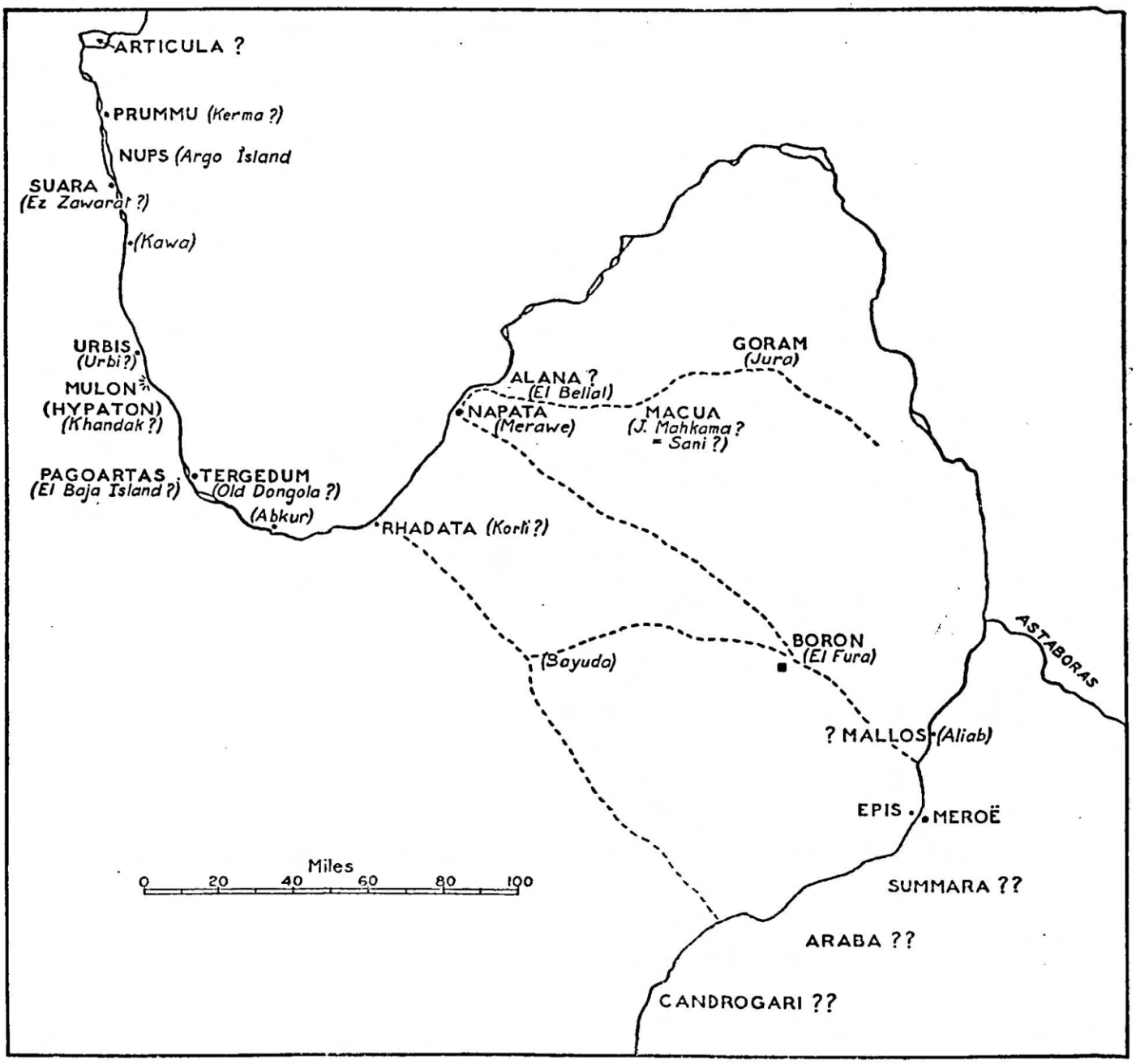


FIG. 3.
Place-names of the 1st century A.D., mostly from Pliny and of doubtful location : the Nile bend

Pselchin, Primi, Bocchin, Forum Cambusis, Athenam, Stadissim. Monneret de Villard[33] equates Bocchis with the Meroitic B'Q' near Faras, and Attenam with the Egyptian HT-TY', Meroitic °TIY', modern Sedenga, and Stadissim with the 3rd cataract. If the last identification is correct and the places are in their right order, there would be no objection to be made against the other identifications. But the reading Forum Cambusis is not certain, and the location of this place so far north is inconsistent with Ptolemy. Bocchis is stated by Stephanus Byzantius to have been an Ethiopian city near (*πρὸς*) the 3rd cataract.

The second is a list of the places visited by Nero's soldiers.[34] Distances are given, but they differ in the different manuscripts, and the first is demonstrably wrong. Tergedum is said to be 70 or 80 Roman (=66 or 75 English) miles from Napata and is usually placed at Debba, which is nearly the correct distance by river. Old Dongola would suit the next stage better, for it is just 106 Roman (=100 English) miles—Pliny's distance—south of Kerma above the 3rd cataract, and is almost the correct distance (70 English miles) from Napata by the desert route. If Tergedum, then, was at or near Old Dongola, Pitara would be at or near Kerma, an obvious halt. Somewhere hereabouts were the islands of Gagaude and Articula; Pliny's words are usually taken to mean that they were both between Pitara and Tergedum; but I think they would allow a location further north. Monneret de Villard[35] suggests that Articula means 'island of the mountain' (Koul) and would identify it and Gagaude with Fariat[36] and Sai respectively rather than with Argo and others further south. Fariat is a hilly island (which Argo is not) and it falls nicely between Pitara (Kerma ?) and Acina which would be near the north-east end of the modern overland route (21 English miles) from Kerma to Fareig. Acina is possibly to be identified with Nauri, a short distance to the west of Fareig, for Nauri has a history stretching back to New Kingdom times.[37] The next stage of 64[38] Roman (=60 English) miles takes us almost to Kosha, but I believe the beginning of the Ethiopian region called Euonymiton (regio Euonymiton Æthiopum prima) to have been at Akasha, 24 miles further north.

This agrees very well with Ptolemy if we accept (as I do) Monneret de Villard's later location of the southern boundary of the Triakontaschoinos at Akasha. For Ptolemy states that the Euonimitai were next on the south to the Triakontaschoinos. So far the distances tally well; but beyond, going still northwards something has gone wrong, for the total given distance between Regio E. (Akasha) and Hiera Sykaminos (Maharraqa) is 192 Roman (=180 English) miles, whereas the measured distance between them is 221 English miles. There is therefore a deficiency of 41 English miles, but it is capable of quite an easy and natural explanation if we assume that a stage has been accidently omitted at the beginning. Measuring backwards

[33] *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, 10.

[34] Monneret de Villard gives a reference to Schur's *Die Orient-politik des Kaisers Nero*, pp. 40 ff. where the exact date of the expedition is discussed. *Storia*, 37.

[35] Note nubiane: *Aegyptus* (Milan) XII, 1932, 305–8. He rejects the distances altogether.

[36] Farriat (Linant), Furiat (Hoskins), Outayah (Caillaud), Arduan (1:250,000 map, which marks the Jebels called Kilgel, Dema, and others unnamed). There is a jebel called Kulgeili (=red hill ?) immediately below the 4th cataract (1:250,000 map, Merowe sheet).

[37] At Nauri there is a large stela of Seti I and also the remains of medieval fortresses (see *JEA*, vol. XIII, 1927, p. 193). A Christian document was also found there. (See *Christian Documents from Nubia* by F. Ll. Griffith in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XIV, 1928).

[38] A variant reading gives 54.

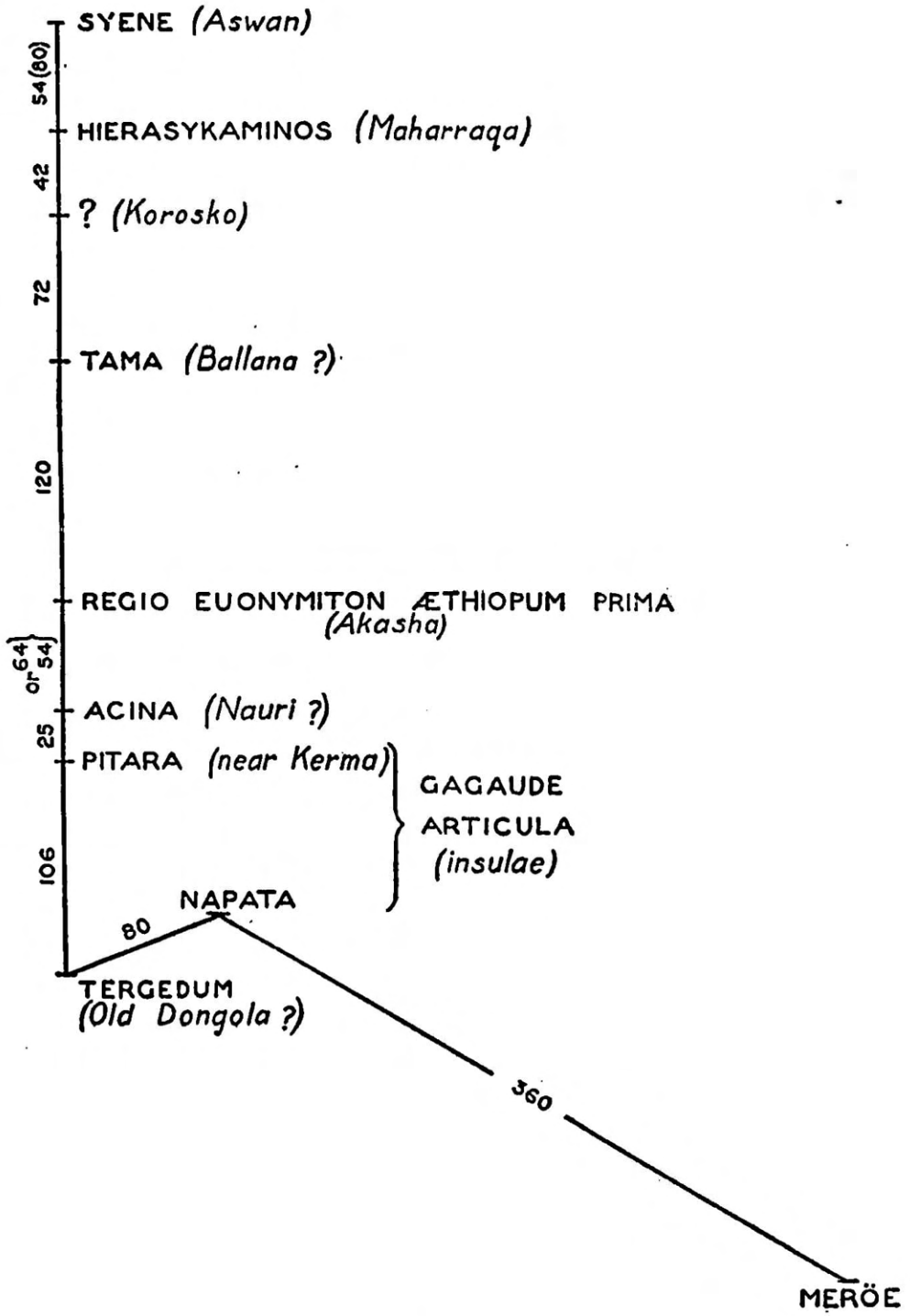


FIG. 4.
Diagram of distances reported by Nero's soldiers, according to Pliny

(northwards) 120 Roman (=112 English) miles brings us to Ballana; 72 Roman (=67 English) miles from Ballana brings us to Korosko which is 41 English (43 Roman) miles south of Maharraqa (Hiera Sykaminos). The mistake may have arisen through the confusion of the Roman figures XLII and LXXII; and Tama will fall at Ballana[39] (Fig. 1).

The total distance between Syene and Meroe, by adding the stages, is 941 Roman miles. If we correct the first stage, on the authority of the Antonine Itinerary, from 54 to 80 (the correct distance) we get 967 Roman miles. Adding the assumed missing 42 we get a total of 1009 Roman miles. The actual distance measured along the river throughout on the map, is equivalent to 1017 Roman miles. The emended distance approaches remarkably closely to the soldiers' record, and one might well expect that, in a march of over a thousand miles they would make a much larger error than one of eight miles—only 0·8 per cent. These figures also support our emendation, for without the additional 42 miles, the corrected distance (967 Roman miles) is badly out. It should be added that Pliny himself gives two distances—873 here,[40] and 996 (with a variant reading 896) in Book XII.

Opposite Meroe itself was an island Tadu whose name seems to be echoed in that of Taadra, an island marked there on Hoskins' map, just south of Shelalah island, which is presumably the modern Shebeliya. Taadra is mentioned in the text (p. 65) as opposite a vanished village of Wady Youseph on the west bank. The map marks no island there now. Müller[41] equates Tadu with Ptolemy's Tathis, but according to Ptolemy this was a place on the west bank on the same latitude as Primis Megale, usually identified with Berber, but without any sound reason.

I have already dealt incidentally with some of Ptolemy's place-names. Of the remainder few can be even approximately located. Ptolemy was aware of the great bend of the Nile, but it falsified his locations. Only in the immediate neighbourhood of Meroe, which was one of his ' trig-points,' can any reliance be placed upon the distances. But even apart from errors due to the bend, his longitudinal distances are impossible, giving the Nile valley a width in some places of nearly a hundred miles. One point, however, is to be observed—that three places (Καμβυσου ταμιεια, Ἐρχοας, Σαταχθα) are all on the same latitude and south of Πριμις μικρα, suggesting that they were somewhere on that stretch of the river south of Old Dongola where it flows from east to west. Πριμις μικρα is identified by Wainwright[42] with Kawa,[43] without reference to the authority on which the identification is made, but the identification is not regarded as possible. Φθουρι may be Uronarti (Pet-ouri ?).

The identification of the other names demands a knowledge of the ancient Egyptian language and records which unfortunately I do not possess.

[39] The emended text would read :—
A Syene Hieran Sycaminon LIV m.p. (Aswan-Maharraqa)
[Inde . . . XLII m.p. (near Korosko ?)]
Inde Tama LXXII m.p. (Ballana ?)
Regionem Euonymiton Aethiopum primam CXX m.p. (Akasha)

[40] Perhaps Pliny misread his own text (as I did at first) and took his distance to the *island* of Meroe (871 Roman miles), overlooking the 70 miles on to Meroe itself.

[41] Ptolemy, p. 771.

[42] *SNR*, XXVI, 24.

[43] The Egyptian name of Kawa is discussed by Reisner in *SNR*, XII, 87–8, and by Dr Laming Macadam in *Kawa* I, 43.

SOUTH OF MEROE

Ptolemy gives the latitude of Meroe as 16°25′ which is only 30 modern geographical miles south of its correct position. But his degrees were based upon an erroneous estimate of the circumference of the earth, and are equal to 500 stadia (=50 geographical, or 58·3 English, miles[44]). His longitudes between Meroe and Daro show that he believed the Nile for this length to run almost due north, so that the difference in his latitudes must represent distances along the river, not actual differences of latitude. But the actual course of the Nile here is not straight; at Khartoum it is 80 English miles west of the longitude of Meroe. The first place he mentions above Meroe is Sacolche, which he places 1°10′ of latitude from it; that is equivalent (at 58·3 English miles to a degree) to a distance of 68 English miles. This would locate Sacolche at Hagar ed Dil, 9 miles below (east of) Bartul island, and only some 10 miles or so above the ancient site at Wad Ban Naqa, which may be in fact Tole-Sacholche. Now I strongly suspect that Ptolemy's Sacolche is to be equated with Aristocreon's Tole; for Ptolemy seems to have used Aristocreon as his authority here, and the only other places which Aristocreon mentions (Aesar and Daro[45]) are plainly Ptolemy's Eser and Daro. Aristocreon says that Tole (=Sacolche?) was 5 days' journey from Meroe; so that it looks as if Ptolemy translated a journey of 5 days into a latitude-distance of 1°10′. That gives (1°10′=68 English miles÷5=) 13·6 English miles as Ptolemy's estimate of a day's journey, an estimate that agrees fairly well with my own of 14·9.[46] In what follows I shall therefore assume that a day's journey was regarded by Ptolemy as equivalent to 13·6 English miles. If we translate his other latitude-distances into English miles we get the following results:

Meroe	..	0	miles = —	(0)
Sacolche	..	68	= 5 days	(68)
Eser	..	101·9	= 7·5 ,,	(169·9)
Daro	..	58·3	= 4·3 ,,	(228·2)
		228·2	16·8	

Aristocreon says that Aesar (=Ptolemy's Eser) was 17 days south of Meroe; and as shown above, Ptolemy's position for Daro is almost exactly the equivalent of that distance. I think there can be little doubt that Ptolemy misunderstood Aristocreon[47]; in Pliny's version of Aristocreon the order of places as mentioned is Meroe, Tole, Esar, Daro; it is not stated that Daro was south of Esar, but merely that it was on the opposite side of the river.

The relative positions of the two places is made clear by Pliny's version of Bion, which has been misunderstood by modern students. Bion was plainly describing a

[44] *A history of ancient geography*, by H. F. Tozer, 2nd edn., 1935, 341.

[45] The text here has 'Diaron' and further on 'Darden,' but the correct form Daro is established by Aizanas' inscription, and I have therefore spelt it so throughout.

[46] See Appendix 10.

[47] That Ptolemy inverted the positions in this region is shown by the fact that he puts the mouth of the Astapus (Blue Nile) south of Daro and the mouth of the Astaboras (Atbara), which he makes to be its tributary, further south still. Aizanas' inscription makes it quite certain that Daro (= Daron) was above the mouth of the Atbara, where Aizanas camped.

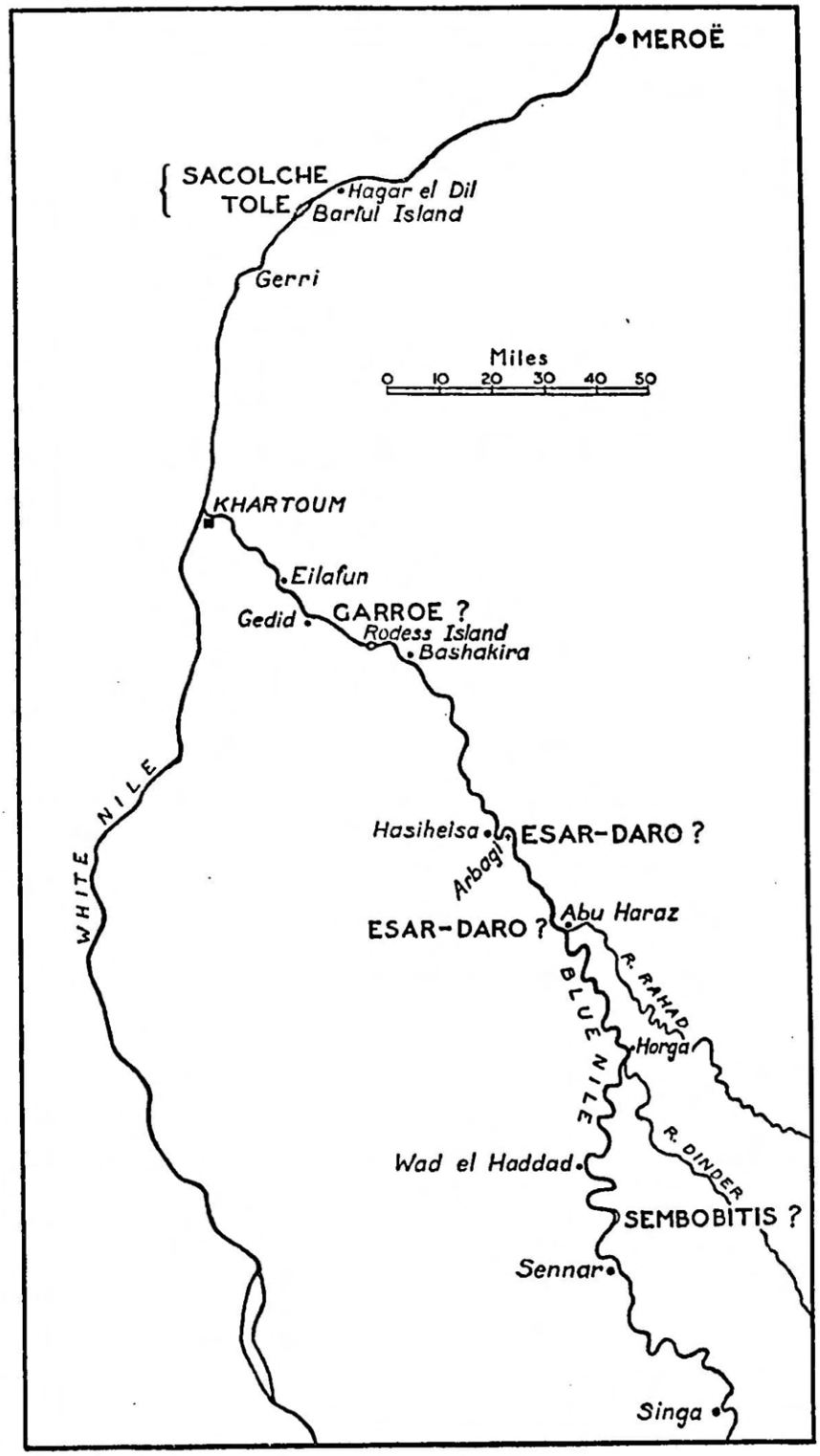


FIG. 5. Meroe to Sembobitis, *after* Pliny and Ptolemy

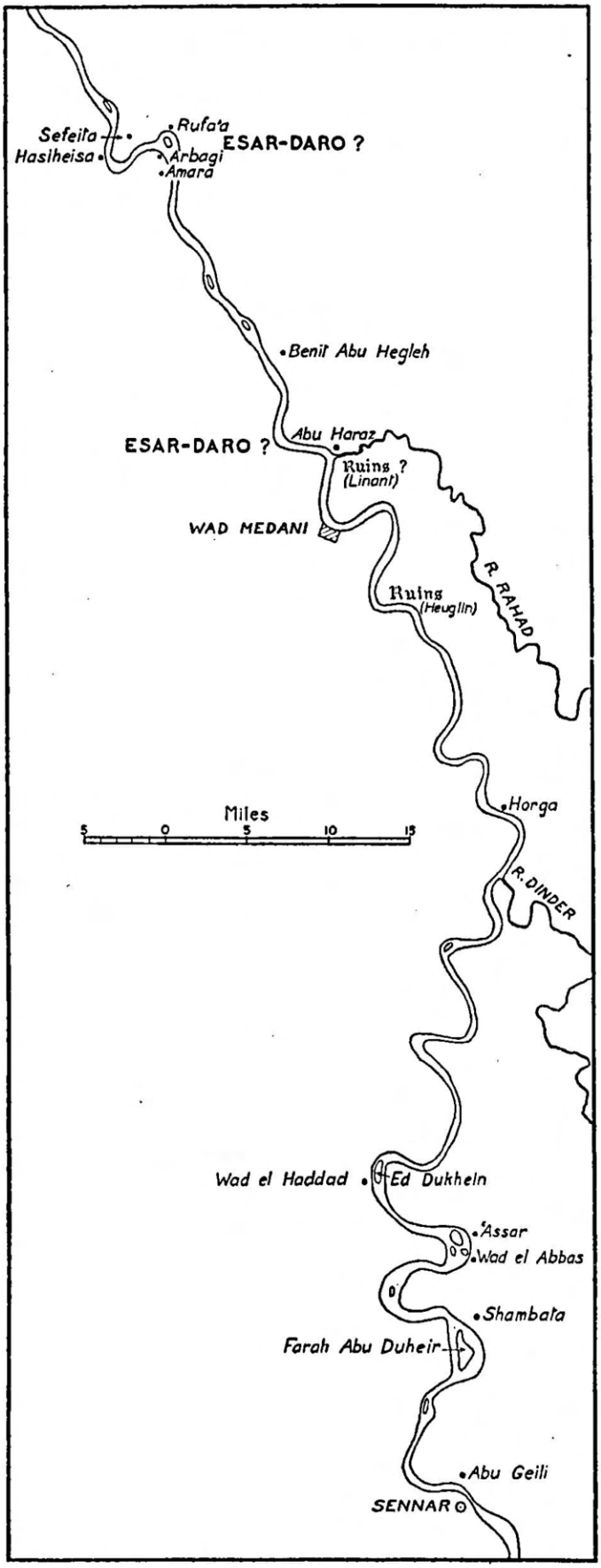


FIG. 6. The Blue Nile, Rufa'a to Sennar

20 days' journey *northwards* (down stream) from Sembobitis to Meroe; he mentions the oppidum of the Semberritae (which seems to be the island of Sembobitis which he had previously mentioned), and then Asara (=Eser), Darde (=Daro), Medoe (oppidum Asel), Garroe. Then follow 13 places, all unidentifiable, but suggestive of a journey of 12 days. The journey seems to fall into two parts, the first, or southern, part from Sembobitis to Garroe, down the Blue Nile, and the second, or northern, from Garroe to Meroe. Some such division is also indicated by Aristocreon's statement that the Nubian Ethiopians (or Ethiopian Nubians) were 8 days from Sembobitis—which would put the boundary at the same place, Garroe (20—8=12 days south of Meroe). Where was Garroe ?[48] Twelve days upstream from Meroe, at 13·6 miles a day, is a distance of 163·2 miles, which measured along the river falls at Gedid, between Eilafun and Rodess island near Kurtang. That is exactly where one would expect to find such a division of the journey, for there was a ferry here, used in later times by Bruce and others.

Only one test can be applied to these calculations. According to Aristocreon, Esar was (5+12=) 17 days from Meroe. According to Bion, Sembobitis was 20 days

[48] *V.l.* Garro. It is tempting to identify it with Gerri on the mere resemblance of the names; but there is no room for 12 oppida between Gerri and Meroe, and no ancient site at Gerri.

from Meroe. Esar must then have been 3 days from Sembobitis, which puts it (272—40·8=) 231·2 English miles from Meroe. Ptolemy's latitude-distance for Daro (which I have assumed should be that of Esar) is 228·2 ; this is based on the same assumed daily rate of travel, but is calculated southwards from Meroe, whereas the other (3 days) is calculated northwards from Sembobitis which Ptolemy does not mention. An agreement to within 3 miles confirms our assumption that Ptolemy reversed the positions of Eser and Daro, and makes it not unreasonable to look for Esar on the map at a point about 230 miles from Meroe, measured along the river. That point falls almost exactly at the site of Arbagi, near Hasiheisa. The position of Sembobitis, 272 miles from Meroe, would then fall at Horga, 5 miles north of the mouth of the Dinder.

Ptolemy's confusion of Esar and Daro can perhaps be best explained by supposing that the two formed a ' double city,' divided by the Nile, and that, failing to grasp this fact, he placed them at a purely conventional distance apart of one degree. Pliny's words might even be taken as implying a double city. Esar, he says, the oppidum of the Egyptians who deserted Psammetichus, was 12 days from Tole ; opposite on the Arabian side was their oppidum Daro (contra in Arabico latere Diaron oppidum esse eorum). There are important ancient sites on both banks in the immediate neighbourhood of Hasiheisa. The map (1 : 250,000. Sheet 55G) marks ' Christian remains ' both at Hasiheisa on the left bank and in the bend of the river above it, near the villages of El Bikri and Amara. In the opposite bend (on the right bank) is the village of Sefeita, which one might be tempted to identify with Masudi's large town of Saferta,[49] built, he says, by the Noubas of Aloa ; but this must surely have been Soba, and as Burckhardt points out the Arabic word ' Soba ' might easily be wrongly copied as ' Saferta.' A third ancient site is recorded by Heuglin[50] at Dabatnah Achmieh near Hellet Belal, at a distance of 1½ hours from Rufa'a. Too much weight, however, must not be given to the recorded ancient sites here, for there are others known elsewhere (*e.g.* near Abu Haraz, 23 miles further up), and many others still unrecorded. But it is worth noting that Hasiheisa and Rufa'a today constitute a ' double city ' such as I have suggested that Esar-Daro may have been.

Apart from distance calculations, the vicinity of Abu Haraz has claims to be identified with Esar-Daro, the strongest being perhaps the occupation-debris ' composed of unhewn stone ' recorded vaguely near the mouth of the Rahad by Linant,[51] who also mentions extensive brick occupation-debris 5 miles below Abu Haraz.[52] Here in Fung times was the last Nile-crossing of south-bound travellers, who otherwise would have been obliged to cross also the Rahad and Dinder.

Daro is certainly the place so named in Aizanas' famous inscription at Axum, dated at or a little before the middle of the 4th century A.D. It is there mentioned after, and therefore upstream from, Alwa, which may have been Meroe itself, according to Griffith and Crowfoot ; and it is said to have been on the river Seda,

[49] Burckhardt, 515. The spelling is that of Burckhardt's manuscript translation (Brit. Mus. 30,240A, fol. 32).

[50] *Reise nach Abessinien*, 1868, 449.

[51] *Journ. RGS*, II, 1832, 188.

[52] Perhaps the same site as was recorded under the name Benit abu Hegleh or Hegel, near the village of Mehemed abu Ashra, 1 hour N. of Abu Haraz, by Heuglin (1868, 449 and map).

identified with the Blue Nile. The inscription further states that Daro was one of the towns of stone (contrasted with those of straw)—a point in favour of the stone-site near Abu Haraz.

To sum up it may be said that, while calculations of distance indicate Arbagi (Hasiheisa) as the site of Esar-Daro (if it was a double city) or of the southernmost of the two (if it was not), other evidence would indicate the neighbourhood of Abu Haraz. It should be recalled that the island of Sembobitis was three days (say 40 miles) south of Esar-Daro. The position thus indicated, if Esar-Daro was at Arbagi, is (as I have said) at Horga, where there is now no island; but if Esar-Daro was near Abu Haraz, Sembobitis would be at Wad el Haddad, opposite which is the island of Ed Dukhein, and above it several other large islands in the reach between it and Sennar.[53] I cannot help thinking that one of these must have been Sembobitis. Such an identification would be consistent with the statement of Herodotus that the deserters of Psammetichus (whose headquarters were at Sembobitis) were settled at a place which was as many days south of Meroe as the island of Elephantine was north of it. By 'Meroe' it must be assumed that Herodotus meant, not the town of that name but the capital of the kingdom, which in his time was still at Napata.[54] From Elephantine to Napata along the Nile valley is 632 miles; and from Napata to Wad el Haddad along the river throughout is 625 miles. An error of 7 miles in such a distance, and with the means of measurement then available, is negligible. It is in fact too small! His statement would not rule out an identification with any of the other islands between Ed Dukhein and Sennar.

The evidence for the identifications tentatively suggested above is quite independent of any fancied resemblances between ancient and modern place-names. Even, therefore, if the resemblances to which I now propose to call attention be considered philologically unsound, they do not invalidate the other arguments. Is it possible that some echo of Sembobitis may linger in the word 'Shambata' which is the name applied[55] to the Arabs who occupy the valley between Wad el Abbas and Sennar? I can find no reference to them in MacMichael's *History* or elsewhere; but the name Shambata is given on the map to a village and forest 12 miles above Ed Dukhein and immediately below the large island of Farah abu-Duheir—an island that might well be Sembobitis itself. There must surely be some connection between Sembobitis and the Semberritae or Sembritae who lived there.

[53] On 6th February, 1950, I made a special journey from Sennar down the east bank as far as Wad el Abbas, in order to look at these islands. That called Farah abu Duheir is not just a shifting sand bank but is of the normal earthy clay of the rest of the Gezira and has cliffs about 30 feet high. At this low state of the river it is separated by a narrow shallow channel (across which we saw a man wade) from the east bank. It is thickly covered with trees. The island opposite Wad el Abbas looks exactly the same, and is said to be inhabited by 'nomads' only. (The map here is inaccurate). Either or both islands might well have an undiscovered ancient site. They are not easy of access, and even residents know little about them—a man who had lived at Wad el Abbas all his life had never been there. It is probable that no European has ever landed on either of them. A field-survey of them, and of the others in this reach, is urgently needed.

[54] This assumption is required to make any sense at all of his statement. If he meant the city of Meroe, then, even taking as its distance from Elephantine the shortest possible one (a straight line), the place of the deserters would have to be placed impossibly far to the south or south-east—on the White Nile above Fashoda or in the heart of the Abyssinian highlands.

[55] By Shucair in Budge II, 439. Cailliaud spells it Ach-chin-bâteh-a'çar.

Rossini[56] suggests that Aristocreon's names indicate that he used pre-hellenic commercial sources; he quotes in evidence the tribal names (somewhere in this region) [P]tonobari=Ptoh-en-bari, the mountain of the Bari, and Ptoenphae=Ptoh-en-fa[ni], the mountain of the Fa[ni]. Incidentally he states that Aristocreon was a nephew of the historian Chrysippus [280–207 B.C.].

The date of the end of the kingdom of Meroe is not exactly known. Reisner dated the last Meroitic king from 340–355,[57] but Monneret de Villard does not agree with this and places the end at the beginning of the 4th century or the end of the 3rd.[58] The event is of crucial importance for Sudanese archaeology which for the present has to be content to put the end of the Meroitic period at about A.D. 300. It was certainly after 254 when Teqiraraman, king of Meroe, sent an embassy to Philae. The evidence is contained in two inscriptions, one found at Axum and the other at Meroe. The first,[59] in Greek and Ethiopian, is complete, the second, in Greek only, a mere fragment. In the first Aizanas,[60] of the race of Halen, calls himself King of Aksum, Himyar, Raydan, Saba, Salhin, Siyamo, Bega and Kasu. The general style is somewhat like that of the later annals; it states that he conducted a campaign against the Nobas, who had revolted and attacked the people called Mangurto, Hasa and Barya. He fought and won a battle at the ford of Kemalke[61] on the Takkaze (Atbara). On the same day he sent a body of troops up the Seda (Nile) to the towns with walls of straw and those with walls of stone, amongst the latter being Alwa and Daro. These troops were victorious. Then he sent the troops of Halen, Dakan, Sabarat, Falha and Sera down stream to the four towns of straw of the Noba, and the town of (the ?) Negus. The stone-walled towns which the Noba had taken were Tabito and Fertoti,[62] and the troops penetrated to the land of the red Noba and returned safely with prisoners [*i.e.* they were probably repulsed]. 'And I erected a throne at the confluence of the rivers Seda and Takkaze, in front of the stone-walled town[63] which stands on this peninsula.' There follows a list of the prisoners and booty taken, without any names.

The inscription is a contemporary record of the conquest of a part of the former Meroitic kingdom by an Abyssinian army. It is therefore remarkable that it contains no reference to Meroe itself. That can only be explained in two ways: either Meroe is mentioned under another name, or else it had already been conquered and destroyed. It has been suggested that it is concealed under the name Alwa,[64] and Kammerer[65] has even tried to prove that Alwa is the same word as Meroe.

[56] *Ægyptus* VI, 1925, 21–3.

[57] *Journ. Eg. Arch.* IX, 1923, 76.

[58] *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, 37.

[59] See *Deutsche Axum Expedition* (Berlin Mus., 1913), vol. IV, No. 11: *Kammerer*, 92–7; Ruppell, L., *Reise in Abessinien* (Frankfurt, 1838), 178; Dillmann, *Zeitschr. der D. Morgenland Ges.*, I, 357; *MacMichael* I, 46–7, giving an abbreviated translation and other references.

[60] Aizanas reigned from A.D. 317 to 342, according to the best authorities: see *Kammerer*, 23.

[61] According to Beke, *melka* means a ford in the language of the Gallas. The word occurs on the Abai and Hawash in southern Abyssinia, where it evidently has this meaning.

[62] Perhaps these names may survive in the island of Tibet (Lat. 19°2′ N., Long. 32°29′, Sheet 45 B) near which is a stone-walled fort on the west bank (*SNR* IX, 25), and Birti island on the modern Berber-Dongola boundary (an old established one) just above the 4th cataract. On Birti island is a large ancient site consisting of broken bricks, etc., which has been much dug for 'marouk.' It has yielded remains of Thothmes III and IV and Meroitic beads. *SNR* IX, 21.

[63] Presumably on the site of the modern town of Atbara, where remains of an important Meroitic settlement have been found.

[64] Crowfoot, *Island of Meroe*, 37.

[65] p. 70, note 1.

It is possible that Meroe had been destroyed not long before by one of Aizanas' predecessors. Monneret de Villard attributes to one such the fragmentary inscription from Meroe. This is clear evidence of conquest, but the fracture of the stone on which it is written is such that there does not seem to be room for the long protocol adopted by Ezana, and it is therefore more likely to belong to one of his predecessors who used a shorter one. All that remains of the protocol is ['Αξυ]μειτων και 'Ομηρειτω[ν].[66]

The place where Aizanas set up his throne was the fork between the confluence of the Atbara and Nile. Right on the point of the peninsula, immediately north of Damer, Cailliaud marks a village called Akad, whose name still survives a little further south. The modern name of the locality is El Maqran (which is also an old Arabic name), and there are a number of mounds there. The site is one that might well repay excavation. A small mound right on the point of the peninsula is visible from the train, and Sayce claimed to have found what he thought might be the remains of Aizanas' throne.

An important economic fact revealed by the inscription is that cotton was grown in the region. (The Ethiopian version used for it the modern Abyssinian word). This proves that it was not introduced to the Sudan by the Arabs. Cotton was not grown in ancient Egypt, but it was known, and probably grown, in Christian Nubia, and formed one of the products exchanged as part of the *baqt*.

[66] *Kammerer*, Plate VIII.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS

ALTHOUGH the Roman army had once, in 25-24 B.C., penetrated into the Sudan as far as Napata, the expedition produced no permanent results. The Dodekaschoinos, that is to say, Lower Nubia between Aswan and Maharraqah, was the southernmost province of the Roman Empire, held as a frontier region to protect the administrative centre at the 1st cataract from Nubian attacks.[1] This region had throughout its history a close connection with Egypt, of which in some periods it was a dependency. Administratively it seems to have to some extent resembled that other frontier region at the opposite end of the Roman Empire between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus; and just as that region had ultimately to be abandoned to the northern barbarians, so the Dodekaschoinos was conquered and settled by the Blemy, the nomads of the eastern desert, at the end of the 3rd century. Aswan (Philae) was thenceforward the limit of Roman power.

A little before the middle of the 6th century the Blemy were driven out of Lower Nubia, which they then occupied from Primis (Ibrim) in the south to Teleleos (Shellal-Aswan) in the north. Their conqueror was Silko who calls himself (on an inscription at Kalabshah) the King of the Nobades and of all Ethiopia, which must certainly cover the Nile valley at least as far south as the 2nd cataract. At about the same time, probably just after the expulsion of the Blemy, the heathen temple of Philae was closed (between 536 and 543), and the conversion of Nubia to Christianity undertaken. Although there is no evidence that Silko was a Christian, there seems to be a strong probability that his conquests led to the conversion. The exact sequence of events is uncertain, and the history of the 6th and following centuries has to be pieced together from scraps of evidence that can seldom be precisely dated. It is certain, however, that Christianity, the official religion of the Roman Empire, reached Nubia and Ethiopia from the north while the way through Egypt was still open; and that it was able to establish itself there firmly during the century that elapsed before Islam swept victoriously westwards. When the Mohammedans entered Egypt and conquered it in 640, the Christian world was cut in two. But Nubian Christianity was by then securely rooted, and occasional raiding incursions from the north had no permanent result; as so often in history the great ally of the Sudan protected it—mere distance. The raids culminated in 651–2 when Dongola was reached and its church injured by artillery-fire. After this a treaty was made which resulted in an annual exchange of goods, called the *baqt*. Muslim historians have pretended that this constituted a form of tribute

[1] Monneret de Villard, *Storia, etc.*, 22. This section is largely based on his book, which may be taken as the authority for statements of fact, except when otherwise indicated. A review-article of the book, summarizing the chief contents, will be found in *Antiquity* XXI, (March, 1947). I have used it in writing this chapter.

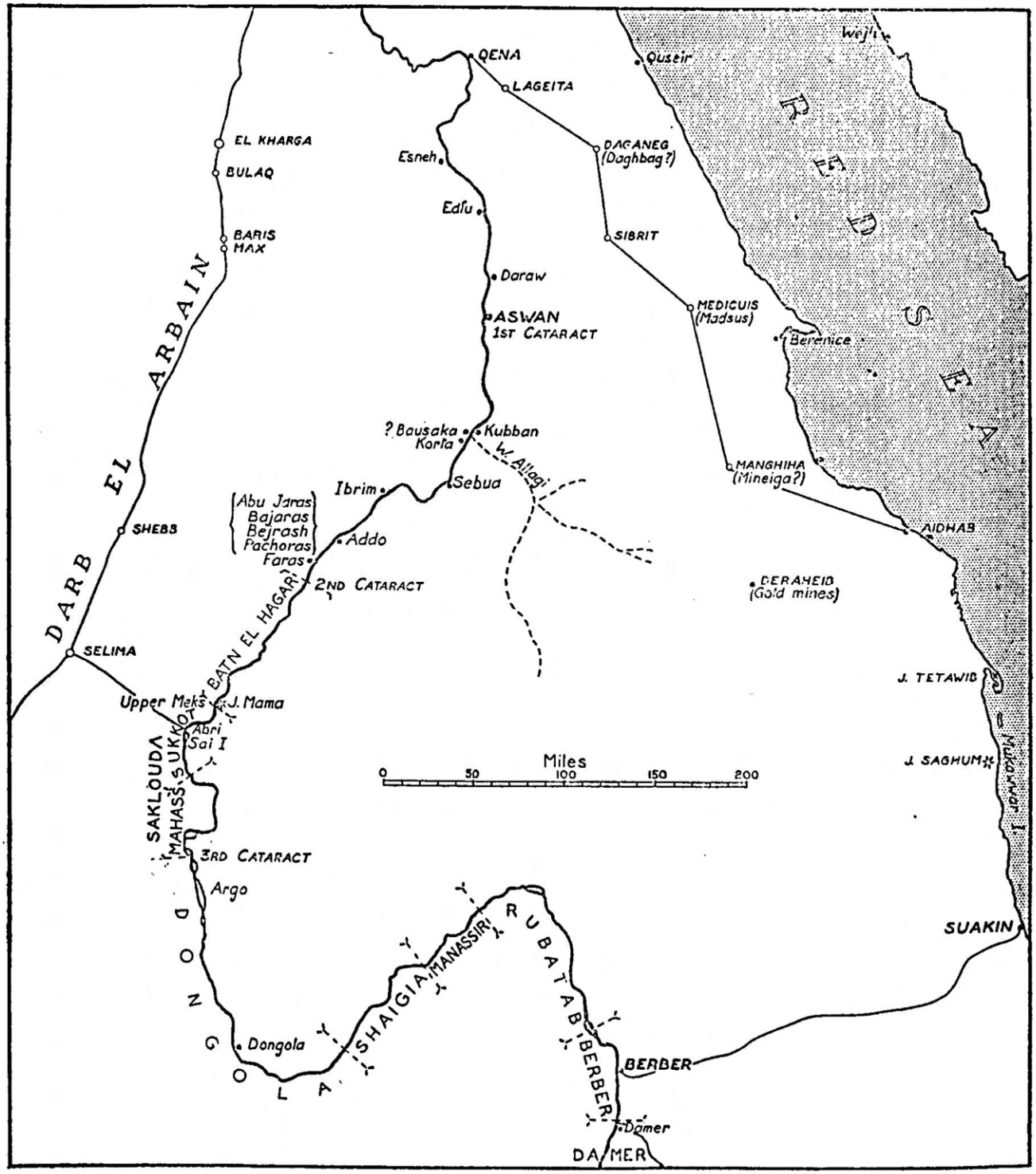


FIG. 7

Places and tribes of the medieval and Fung periods : Qena to Damer. (The caravan halts on the Aidhab route are from the 15th century map called Egyptus Novelo, where Lageita is called Lacheta and Sibrit is Sebrit)

exacted from a conquered foe, but it was nothing of the kind. It was, as the name itself implies (*baqt*= πακτον) a commercial agreement drawn up between equal and sovereign powers. The political frontier was fixed at Aswan.

Professor Monneret de Villard argues that there were still at this time (*c.* 650) two independent kingdoms, of the Nobades and Macurites, which were not united until some fifty years later. The unification, he thinks, occurred between *c.*690–3, when the King of 'Maurotania' (identified by him with the Nobades) was not at peace with the king of the Macouria, and 710 when king Mercurios of Dongola put up an inscription at Taifa in the *northern* kingdom. From this fact he infers that, during the interval, the King of Dongola (*i.e.* of Macouria) had conquered the Nobades; thenceforward Nobatia was a dependency of Macouria and was governed by an Eparch. To the south was the independent kingdom of Alwa, with its capital at Soba near Khartoum.

It is difficult, however, to reconcile this interpretation with the statement of the treaty of 651–2 which was made with the 'chief of the Nubians and all the people of his dominions from the frontier of Aswan to the frontier of 'Alwah.' The treaty followed immediately after the submission at Dongola of its king Qalidurut, who must have been paramount over both kingdoms. I therefore prefer Kirwan's view—that the unification took place between 580, when the two kingdoms were independent, and 652 when they had a joint capital at Dongola; and that it was brought about by hostile pressure from the north, against which the remoter southern town was thought to be more secure. There is an additional difficulty, if we accept the former interpretation, in identifying Maurotania, which Kirwan regards as a scribal error, with the northern kingdom.*

Nobatia was also called Maris, and was divided into two parts; the northern, called Bilad el Ali, is to be equated with the Dodekaschoinos, and the southern, Bilad el Gebel, with the Triakontaschoinos, whose southern boundary may be located, on secure geographical grounds, at Akasha, where was the customs-post of the Upper Meks and a hot spring mentioned by Abu Salih.[2] The capital of Bilad el Gebel was at Faras where its ruler, the Lord of the Mountain, resided in the time of Abu Salih (*c.* 1200). The ruler also had two other residences, at Ibrim and Bausaqa, the latter place unidentified but near a gold-mine and probably therefore near the debouchment of the Wadi Allagi.

The northern boundary of Muqurrah is stated by Yacubi to have been at a place called Mawa. Monneret de Villard suggests that this should be spelt Mama and identified with Reubeni's place of that name; but, while accepting the emendation, I should place Mama at Jebel Firka which was called Mama by the travellers of the early 19th century.[3] This mountain seems to have been generally recognized as marking the northern frontier of Sukkot, and presumably therefore of Mukurra also. The fact that the southern frontier of Nobatia is described as at a point some 14 miles south of Mama need not disconcert us; for the customs-post was normally

* Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 79–83: L. P. Kirwan, Topography of the Christian Nubian Kingdoms, *J.E.A.*, XXI, 1935, 61–2.

[2] For a good modern description of it see Lepsius, Letters, 1853, 267–8. A square tower was built over the spring which was called Hammam Seidna Soliman, after the architect. The water had a sulphurous taste and a temperature of 44° Réaumur (=131° Fahrenheit).

[3] See pp. 139 ff., and fig. 21.

placed at the nearest village within the frontier, just as it often is today in Europe. Mushu, the customs-post of Dongola, was often described as marking the northern frontier, though it is actually 10 miles within it on the south, or Dongola, side.

Nobatia, then, was that portion of the Nile valley which lay between the 1st cataract and Akasha. Next to it on the south was the kingdom of Muqurrah, often called after its capital, the kingdom of Dongola. The latter name has been interpreted by Griffith (followed by de Villard) as Do-n-koul, Upper Do, corresponding to a region in Lower Nubia called Do-tauo, Lower Do. Our only authority for the geography of Muqurrah is Selim el Aswani (975-96), transmitted by Makrizi. In later times the southern limit of Muqurrah was the kingdom of El Abwab, the Gates,[4] which was roughly equivalent to the later principality of Shendi. A document of the 9th century[5] gives the extent of the realm of King John (before 822) as from Philae to Tilimauara, a place that has not yet been identified. It is tempting to connect the first part of the word with Bertul, Jebel Dill and possibly with Pliny's Tole which was in the same neighbourhood.[6] However this may be, I should expect Tilimauara to be in the neighbourhood of the Shabluka Gorge or of the Mutmir pass, both places of great natural strength and the southern termini of Bayuda routes.

The northern part of Muqurrah was divided into the provinces or regions called Saqluda, Baqun and Safad Ba'al or Baql. Saqluda, says Selim el Aswani, means the Seven Governors, and the second part of the word obviously contains the Kensy-Nubian word Kolodou, seven,[7] whilst the first part is the prefix sa- so common in place-names of the Abu Hamed and Berber regions. Saqluda appears to correspond

[4] This name has been explained as denoting a place at the meeting of caravan-routes. Two other explanations are possible. One would associate it with the Mutmir pass, between Gebeil and the river; a comparison might be made with the name Biban given to Jebel Ahmed Aga (Defafaung) on the White Nile and with the Straits of Bab el Mandeb. El Bab is the name of a narrow reach of the Nile ½ a league below Dendera (Sonnini III, 151), Lepsius (Letters 253) mentions a castle at Hellet el Bib, immediately below the 4th cataract. The other would explain it as a word describing gate-like ruins, in this case those of Meroe; the ruins of the Egyptian temple at Seddenga were called Biban locally (Hoskins 255). Biban is an irregular plural of bab, gate. The former explanation is almost certainly the correct one, for Ibn Khordabdeh, speaking of the strong places of Maskat and Al Bab wa'l Abwab (Derbend) says:—'the name Bab is applied to forts which command mountain passes' *BGA*, Pars Sexta, 1889, 200. See also p. 60 below.

[5] F. Ll. Griffith, 'Christian documents from Nubia,' *Proc. Brit. Acad*, XIV, 16.

[6] 'Tili–' seems to be a word of Meroitic origin, corresponding to the Meroitic *tiru* 'interchanging with *tilu* and meaning "king"' (Sayce, *Meroe*, 54). In Nubian documents of the Christian period ΤΙΛΛ– means 'god' or 'lord' and is also applied to saints, *e.g.* Michaēl t'lla (Griffith, *Nubian Texts*, 119). The word still survives in the language spoken at Jebel Meidob in the forms *telli* or *delli* meaning 'god.' It is used there of certain holy rocks at which annual offerings are made (MacMichael I, 63–4). The word is fully discussed by Monneret de Villard (Il culto del Sole a Meroe, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Anno II, numero II, 1942, pp. 137–9: published at Rome by La libreria dello Stato) He quotes, on the authority of Seligman and Evans-Pritchard (giving references), instances of the use of a modern survival of the same word in the Buran, Meban and Ingessana regions, where the word (as *tel* and *ta*) means both sun and god. In Jebel Tabi the sun is worshipped and called Tel (*SNR* VII, III). According to Beke (*Report of the Brit. Ass. for* 1847, published 1848, offprint p. 6) *tulu* is the Galla word for 'mountain.' The second part of the word might possibly be connected with Marauat, the Egyptian name of the Meroe district (Budge II, III). MacMichael (II, 341) gives instances of 'the very common Sudanese-Arabic habit of inverting syllables.' Sayce (*loc. cit.* 79) considered Meroe to be a regional name. Tilimauara might then mean the lord, or lordship, of the Meroe district. The modern village of Maghawir (Meroueer on Hoskins' map) near Meroe may possibly serve to connect the two names. But the interpretation of the second part of the word is much less certain than that of the first part.

[7] Burckhardt, *Travels*, 156.

roughly with Sukkot, Baqun with Mahass, and Safad Ba'al or Baql with Dar Gawabra, the northern division of Dongola proper.

The topography of the third and southernmost kingdom of Alwa is even more obscure. The capital was at Soba, 12 miles above Khartoum. The name (according to Monneret de Villard) may be connected with the words sobé (Mahass) and sabé (Kensy) meaning 'wall'; but I should prefer to interpret this as connoting *old* walls, or ruins, rather than a city wall, for Soba was an ancient Meroitic site. The same word is applied to many ancient sites on the Blue Nile near Roseires. A document of 1286 mentions a certain Ador (probably the Meroitic Zathor), King of El Abwab, and the princes of Barah, at-Takah, Kedru, Danfu, Ary, Befal, al Anag, Kersa. At-Takah is perhaps not the distant Kassala, but the village of Gebeil near Mutmir, Reubeni's Ataqqi.[8] Kedru may be the old name of El Metemma, opposite Shendy.[9] Befal, I suggest, maybe the small town whose ruins of brick (with stone foundations) Burckhardt[10] observed between Shendi and Meroe, at the debouchment of the Wadi el Bafalil. Kersah, according to Selim el Aswani, was the name of a tribe between the Blue and White Niles.[11] The other places cannot be identified. It should be observed that these names all belong to a very late period in the history of Alwa (corresponding perhaps to about 1786 in the history of the Fung kingdom) when it was going through the usual process of disintegration and fragmentation.

Of the southern and western limits of the kingdom of Alwa we know nothing. Southwards it probably extended to the existing Abyssinian frontier, for there is no evidence that Alwa, or any portion of it, was ever politically subject to Abyssinia.[12] In the west it is possible that Kordofan may have been included; there were certainly connections, and conflicts, with the people of the west.[13]

As in medieval Europe, the Church took an important part in civil administration. Conversely, the kings had ecclesiastical functions, being also priests and celebrating the liturgy.[14] A fresco on the walls of the church of Abdelgadir, near Wadi Halfa, shows the Eparch of Nobadia holding in his hand a model church, just as the founders of churches were depicted here. This indicates that secular officials were closely concerned with ecclesiastical affairs. There were of course bishops and a list of their sees has been given.[15] Those of Muqurrah (here called Maracu) were at Korta, Ibrim, Bucoras, Dunkala, Sai, Termus and Scienkur. Korta is the modern Qurta, 70 miles south of Aswan; Bucoras is Faras,[16] below Wadi

[8] See p. 60.

[9] I suggest this on the strength of the name Jebel Kadara, which overlooks El Metemma on the NE. There is also a village Kadaro north of Khartoum, but it is not known ever to have been a commerical and political centre of any importance, as El Metemma was.

[10] *Travels*, 362; See also p. 102 below.

[11] Ibn Hawqal mentions the 'land of Kursi along the Nile' as the southern limit of the kingdom of 'Alwa. See below p. 102.

[12] If we except the early, and perhaps transient, subjection to Aizanas.

[13] On this difficult subject see Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 198 ff.

[14] Abu Salih (*c.* 1208) ed. Evetts, 272.

[15] By J. M. Vansleb, Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie . . . écrite au Caire même, en 1672 et 1673: Paris, 1677, pages 29, 30 [Brit. Mus. 857 g 8]: quoted from this source by Monneret de Villard, p. 162. Following others who have also quoted the list he mis-spells Scienkur as Suenkur, but suggests (correctly) that Shenkur may be the proper form. Vansleb's original manuscript has vanished and his sources of information are unknown. A comparison of another of his printed works (the 'Journal') with the original manuscript revealed to Prof. Monneret de Villard many printer's errors, particularly of proper names. Could not some student rediscover the original sources which are probably in the archives of the Coptic church at Cairo?

[16] See Griffith, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* XI, 259-68.

Halfa ; Dunkala is Dongola ; Termus is Kalabsha, the ancient Talmis, called Dermes by Abu Salih. It was of sufficient importance in the 15th century to be marked (spelt Tirmise) on a Catalan planisphere—the only place marked between 'Soan' (Aswan) and the island of Meroe.[17] Scienkur is probably the same as Makrizi's region of Shankir,[18] securely located by the context near the great bend of the Nile between Berber and Merowe. It has not hitherto been noticed that the name still survives in the Wadi Singeir (Cailliaud's Sonqeyr, Bruce's 'Arabs Sumgar'[19] which debouches on the Nile at the island of El Usheir, at the eastern end of the Bayuda crossing from Merowe via Sani and Jura. This identification tallies exactly with Selim el Aswani's statement that it was from the region of Shanqyr that the Suakin road set out.

The mine of Shanka in this same region was probably in the region now called Shamkiya on the map (Sheets 45 B and C). Here on the south bank, at the foot of Jebel Gurgurib, Cailliaud marks a square ruin, and Jackson (*SNR*, IX, 25) records the ruins of a stone village and of a stone-walled fort. (See Cailliaud III, 190).

Two other bishoprics, at Merke and Kallama, mentioned in other sources, cannot be identified.[20]

The bishoprics of Alwa, according to Vansleb, were Borra, Gagara, Martin, Arodias, Banazi,[21] Menkesa. Monneret de Villard would read Alodias (=Alodia, Alwa) for Arodias. Martin looks an improbable name for this region and may be a misprint. None of the others can be identified.

Vansleb also states that the province of Examitis (Axum) contained the bishoprics of Soper, 'which is the royal town,' Coucharin (not Coucharim as usually printed), Takchi and Amankul. These are in Abyssinia, but none can be identified. Marquart[22] connects Soper with Makrizi's Sahart or Zarfarta 'also called Achsum,' where the 'Nagashi' resides ; and he suggests emending Zarfata to *Zofarta (which requires only the alteration of a point). Soper has also been connected with Ptolemy's Soboridi whom Rossini[23] identifies with the Sa'abur of a Tigré text who were predecessors of the Habab, and probably a Semitic stock of South Arabian origin. He interprets the word as meaning 'endowed with abundant wells.' Ptolemy also associates the Soboridi with the Axumites, and to a layman the equation of Soboridi, Soper, *Zofarta and Sa'abur seems quite legitimate.

The Christian kingdoms occupied the Nile valley (and part of the country to the east and southeast of it) between Aswan in the north and the Red Sea and Abyssinia in the east and south. In the north their territory was purely riverain, consisting of the narrow ribbon of the Nile valley itself ; but south of Berber, in the rain-lands, it extended over a large area on either side. The vast spaces of the eastern desert and steppes were the home of nomads, and may be left for consideration later.[24] Having dealt with the political geography of the Christian kingdoms, we must now see how this was altered by the Fung conquest. That is not easy,

[17] De la Roncière, *Découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, I, 1924, Plate 10.

[18] Transliterated Shingeir in a translation of the Bolaq edition of Makrizi given in Newbold's File 1, 157. The name also survives in the Singerab of Mograt island near Abu Hamed.

[19] VI, 456.

[20] Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 164–5.

[21] I suspect some geographical error. Can there have been a confusion with Wah al Bahnasa (perhaps written Al Wah), Abu Salih's name for the oasis of Bahriya ? See the map in Evetts.

[22] Benin-Sammlung, 1913, p. cccv.

[23] *Aegyptus* VI (April, 1925) 14–15.

[24] See Chapter 5.

because the later history of the southern kingdom is an almost complete blank; and although a little, but still not much, more is known about the northern kingdom, the northern portion (between the 3rd cataract and Aswan) reverted to Egypt and Islam, and was never part of the Fung dominions. It does not therefore concern us here; and I have only included it in the foregoing survey because in the middle ages the two kingdoms formed a single cultural and religious unit.

It is usual to date the end of Christianity and independence in the northern kingdom about 1323. Thenceforward its kings were Mohammedans and mere puppets of the Arabs who poured into the country; but even towards the end of the 14th century Dongola itself was still 'sunk in perplexity and error,'[25] that is to say, still retained some remnants of Christianity. Of the events in the Sudan during the next two centuries practically no record has survived. It was a period of anarchy when the only government that existed was the local jurisdiction of petty sheikhs. It is difficult to believe that the government of Soba can have survived the storm, and there is in fact a hint that it did not. A writer who flourished in the 13th and early 14th centuries[26] states that the King of Alwa resided at a place called Kushah, whose position is uncertain. It was also called Kus or Kush al Wagilah and was 6 days[27] journey from the city of Nuwabiya (Jebel Haraza). It was the chief place of the Zang or Zenj of Nubia, and was some distance from the Nile; water was obtained from wells. It was subject to the king of Nubia whose hereditary name was Kiamil and his capital at Dongola. I have not investigated the problem of the length of Idrisi's day's journeys, and they may have varied[28]; but if we take the distance (4 days) from Nuwabiya, which is Jebel Haraza, to the nearest point of the Nile (not less than 120 miles), we get a daily average of about 30 miles. Kusha would then be (6 days=) 180 miles from Jebel Haraza. Now at about 160 miles sw of Jebel Haraza is a mountain called Jebel Umm Qussa and another near it called Jebel Umm Khusus; they are near the sources of the Wadi el Milk, a region that is likely to have plenty of underground water. It is now occupied by the Kawahla, but there are groups of Nuba peoples in adjacent regions. Was it here that the king of Alwa resided? It seems rather an unlikely spot,[29] but it appears that he was driven there by pressure from the invading Arabs.[30] If so, what happened to Soba? Was the capital city already abandoned in the early 14th century?

[25] MacMichael II, 35 (BA. §208).

[26] Dimasqi (1256–1327): see Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 154–5, 220. A French translation by A. F. Mehren was published at Copenhagen, 1874, under the title 'Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age': for Kousha see p. 389. Kousha is also mentioned by Ibn Said (A.D. 1213–14 to 1274–5) who says it was the capital of the Zenj of Nubia, nomads of the region sw of Dongola (Reinaud, *Geogr. d'Aboulfeda* II, part 1, 1848, 229–30).

[27] Idrisi says 'eight short days': *Recueil de Voyages*, ed. A. Jaubert, 1836, 26, and also 'six days,' *ib. id.* 33. The place is also mentioned about the middle of the 10th century and given the longitude of 50 and latitude of 12, and called Kous Dadjila (Ikhwan al Sufa, *Mon. Cart. Afr. et Æg.* vol. III, fasc. 1, 1930, 578). Kus al Wagila (Inner Kus) is marked with the same coordinates on the map of Hwarizmi (A.D 975–91).

[28] This is dealt with by Cooley, *The Negroland of the Arabs*, 1841, 48.

[29] After writing this I came across a striking confirmation of this identification. At Jebel Zanka, in Kaja Serug, Newbold records a funnel-shaped *sania*, buildings of burnt brick, a stone wall running up the hillside and a large heap of animal bones of all kinds (including horses), much pottery and 'other extensive remains.' These are exactly what one would expect to find on a site of the late Christian period. See Newbold in *SNR* XXVI, 1945, 231–2 (his letter of 5th March, 1922). A later and fuller description of the site (called Zankhor) is given by Penn in *SNR*, XIV, 1931, 179–84.

[30] Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, 220; but it is not clear from his text whether this is explicitly stated by Dimasqi or is an inference of his own.

It may be suggested that, even so, it might well have continued to exist, and even to prosper commercially, long after it had ceased to be the centre of government. All we know for certain is that it had been destroyed before the visit of Reubeni in 1523, when there were only a few huts there. It must have been a remarkable place. Selim, who had been there, said it contained fine buildings and ' churches full of gold ' and gardens. There was a Moslem quarter. The ruler, in the 10th century, was a ' greater person ' than the ruler of Mukurrah and had a stronger army. There were books there written in Greek (*i.e.* Coptic) which ' they translate into their own language.' Abu Salih adds that there was there a large church called the church of Manbali,[31] and four hundred others in the country round. One imagines that, like Omdurman today, the town spread itself over a large area ; for in this part of Africa there is plenty of room for such expansion, and even now the dominant impression[32] which Khartoum, the successor of Soba, leaves upon the visitor is one of spaciousness—of long vistas fading out into the desert. With the exception of Arbagi (probably smaller) it was the most southerly town in the basin of the Nile, an outpost of urban culture to which the peasants and nomads of the southern region would look with awe. To the nomads, no town-lovers, it probably appeared as a place to be looted, and in the end their ambition was achieved. The fall of Soba must have been a catastrophe of the first order of magnitude, for its repercussions have lasted in tradition, and even today Soba is quoted as an example of complete annihilation.[33] Its memory is tinged with regret, and the people of the Roseires district, descendants probably of its refugees, still swear by Soba, the home of their ancestors.[34]

Soba today consists of a vast assemblage of mounds consisting of broken fragments of red brick, differing only from many other ' brick-sites ' of Christian origin in the Blue Nile valley by reason of its size. The mounds are usually distinct units, separated from each other by open unbuilt spaces, and in some of them it is possible to detect traces of structure, suggesting the walls of a building. None of the mounds is more than six or eight feet high. The best collection of mounds is situated near the head of a shallow khor, where Abu Geili conglomerate is visible in places on the surface, covered elsewhere by a foot or two of greyish (natural) earth. In one place the still erect granite columns of a Christian church have been uncovered (by Budge, who left no record of his depredations).[35] Two capitals of granite lie on the ground and a third with a cross on it (PLATE 2b) has been removed and is now in the churchyard of the Anglican cathedral at Khartoum, beside the ram, also from Soba. The site is littered with potsherds, mostly of coarse,

[31] The word means ' throne ' in Abyssinia.

[32] Written from the memory of my first visit in 1913 but less true of the Khartoum of 1950—a mean and shoddy collection of buildings entirely devoid of architectural distinction.

[33] Newbold's File, II, 328 (Amarar Tribal history).

[34] *SNR*, XIII, 256.

[35] Except a paragraph of 28 lines in his ' History ' (I, 324–5). He describes it as ' the ruins of an ancient temple which had been subsequently used as a Christian church,' but gives no evidence for this statement. In the church he uncovered some ' mastabas, or rectangular benches, about 3 feet high built of mud,' in two of which bodies were found, and left undisturbed. He then ' examined the remains of a stone gateway, which did not appear to be so old as the temple which we had just left.' This is not now to be seen. Somers Clarke, who visited the site in 1910, could see nothing of the ' temple,' but made a plan of the columns and made drawings of the capitals and the base of a column, and excavated in the hope of finding remains of the walls, but without success (*Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 1912, 34–8, Plate III [plan], fig. 6 and 7).

unornamented ware ; but I found a few sherds of typical yellow ' Christian ' ware, one of them painted, and many fragments of plain grey-brown straight-rimmed vessels. There was the usual scatter of broken querns and rubbers. There was no Fung pottery and nothing Meroitic or older. Although a Meroitic town seems certainly to have existed here before Soba, no stratified remains of such have ever been recorded.

The older Christian culture, whose roots were in the classical world of Byzantium and Rome, may have lingered on into the 16th century. It was enshrined in the Christian religion, whose priests, with their ' Greek ' books and translations, probably held the same position in society as their successors, the holy men whose lives are written in the Tabaqat. In the days of Alvarez (1520–27) there were still some Christians amongst the Nobii, that is, in the kingdom of Sennar, for Alvarez himself saw them at the court of the king of Abyssinia. Six men came from there as ambassadors to ask the king for priests and friars ; owing to the wars of the Moors they were cut off from Rome, and so had lost all their clergy and Christianity. In Abyssinia, Alvarez met a certain John of Syria, a native of Tripoli, who had been in the kingdom of the Nobiis, and told him that it still contained 150 churches with crucifixes and images of Our Lady, and other effigies painted on the walls. The churches were in old castles, and the country had no king but only captains who lived in castles.[36]

The conditions of the kingdom of Sennar as described by Alvarez and John of Syria is confirmed by stray hints from Islamic sources. Though rapidly decaying, Christianity survived, and even at the time of the Fung conquest ' there flourished neither schools of learning nor the reading of the Koran.'[37] Before the reign of Agib ' adherence to Islam seems to have been little more than nominal, until there arrived in their midst that first generation of scholars who started a tradition of preaching and teaching.'[38] Politically, the captains in their castles without any paramount chief must belong to a state of affairs before the time of Alvarez, for in Reubeni's time—and he was a contemporary of Alvarez—this anarchy had yielded to the strong rule of Amara Dunkas. The anarchy which he ended was that which, in these regions, has always followed the collapse of a central government. It existed at the end of the Fung domination and is well portrayed in Bruce's narrative—Sennar with its futile king, Arbagi the refuge of a deposed sheikh, Gerri the robbers' castle, and Shendi the residence of ' Sittina '—and beyond Shendi ' no protection but that of Heaven.'[39]

When Reubeni passed through Soba in 1523, all unconscious that he was the link between two historic periods, he found Soba in ruins and its people living in ' wooden dwellings ' (doubtless *racoubas*) somewhat after the style of those in modern bombed cities or the Suakin squatters. The place was evidently not quite abandoned[40]—we know too well how tenacious is the life of great cities in destruction—for had it been so, Reubeni, who was not interested in ruins, would never have stopped there. But the glory had departed, and a new kingdom and culture was rising out of the ruins, to replace, but not surpass, the old Christian culture that had lasted for almost a thousand years.

[36] *Narrative*, 352.
[37] *SNR*, VI, 204 : introduction to the Tabaqat.
[38] Hillelson in *SNR* VI, 204.
[39] Bruce, VI, 418.
[40] People lived there as late as the beginning of the 17th century : see D3, No. 36.

CHAPTER III

THE NORTHERN FUNG REGION

THE northern frontier of the Sudan, using that word for convenience in a political sense, has been sometimes at Aswan, sometimes at Wadi Halfa, sometimes at the 3rd cataract ; but the southern frontier seems in all periods to have been where it is now, at the foot of the Abyssinian highlands. This great region falls into two parts—desert and rainland—and the dividing line may be said very roughly to run from southwest to northeast through Berber. This duality is the basic influence that underlies and controls the history of the region ; and it is reflected politically in the existence of two corresponding kingdoms of the northern desert and southern rainlands, each with its capital. There was constant rivalry between the two, and it is not always possible to discover which was predominant at any particular period. (Between the periods of unified control the whole area disintegrated into petty principalities). During the Meroitic period (ending about A.D. 300) Napata was the capital of the northern (desert) region, and Meroe of the rainlands ; and the contrast was observed by Nero's soldiers who reported that the herbage round Meroe was at last greener, and there was even some appearance of forest growth.[1] In the Christian period, when the frontier was at Aswan, the northern region had two centres, that of Nobatia at Faras and of Muqurra at Dongola ; the capital of Alwa, the southern region, was at Soba.

There seems also to have been a certain duality within the rainlands. The Semberritae on the Blue Nile seem to have been relatively independent though nominally subject to Meroe.[2] El Abwab, the successor of Meroe, was a buffer state of uncertain attachment ; it consisted of a number of villages on the east bank.[3] The Abdullab mangils of Gerri were subject to Sennar.

DONGOLA. The Fungs acquired by conquest the whole of the kingdom of Alwa, and forced the Abdullabs into submission. They lost the northern provinces of Mukurra (Mahass and Sukkot) to the Egyptians at the battle of Hannek, and were left with the larger and richer part, the kingdom of Dongola, the Shaigia region and Berber. After the battle the frontier of Dongola, and of the Fung kingdom, was fixed at a point immediately south of Hannek and eight miles south of the 3rd cataract ; and was marked by a gubba which Cailliaud saw when he passed in 1821.[4] The customs-post was at the important village now called Mushu,[5] on the west bank between Badin and Argo islands ; on the east side Jebel Arambo (Alarambi on the modern map, 45 A), a prominent landmark, was generally regarded as the frontier.[6] The boundary of Dongola province is still at exactly the same place.

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VI, § 35.
[2] Classical authorities differ as to which of the two was supreme.
[3] Quatremère, II, 1811, 17.
[4] I, 394.
[5] Spelt in various ways by the older writers—Moscho, Machou, Moseh, Musti and Meshwa.
[6] Waddington and Hanbury, 38 ; the frontier on the river is said there to have been marked by a group of five palm-trees.

In the south the frontier of Dongola was at Deiga,[7] a hillfort on the right bank of the Nile five miles above Korti. The total extent from north to south measured along the river from Hannek to Deiga is 180 miles.

Before their revolt in the 17th century, the Shaigia were within Dongola kingdom, whose eastern limits then reached as far as Birti island above the 4th cataract; but for convenience the Shaigia region is here treated as a separate unit.

Certain geographical peculiarities of the Nile banks between Dongola and Merowe have had considerable influence on the history and settlement of the region. The prevalent wind throughout the year blows from the north-east, so that for over a hundred miles it blows *across* the river. That means that the sand carried over the desert is piled up on the right bank, rendering it relatively unfit for cultivation or habitation. That is why most of the villages between Korti and Dongola are on the left bank. The sand is too heavy to be carried across the river in any large quantities, and forms a bright yellow cloak, set with green tamarisks and acacias, right down to the water's edge (PLATES 3a and 4b). Much of this sand goes into the river, where it is changed to a grey or white colour and forms islands, which are constantly shifting and causing endless disputes about ownership. The same wind drives the sand away inland from the left bank, but a certain amount is blown there from the islands when they are exposed at low river. It may be asked why this process has not already completely blocked the Nile bed with sand? the answer is that it has; the Letti basin and the Kerma basin are simply old channels of the Nile that have thus been filled up. Between Merowe and Korti however the prevalent wind blows in exactly the same direction as the flow of the river; so this process does not take place, and there are settlements on both banks. The extent and importance of the villages is determined by the area of cultivable land, that is to say, of land that can be irrigated, lying between the river and the high, hard ground beyond. Where, as for instance round Urbi, there is a long and wide stretch of irrigable land, the houses are more or less continuous, one village shading off into another. Today such agglomerations usually take the name of the most important one; but in the days of the earlier travellers many groups were known by distinct names. While travelling in the bus from Khandak to Dongola, I asked my fellow-passengers the names of the places we passed, with the object of locating some of these earlier recorded names. Some were still known, others were not.

This contrast between the two banks is seen most strikingly from the deck of a river steamer. On the one side (the east) is a steep yellow bank of sand; on the other mud cliffs studded at regular intervals with water-wheels (sagias), with green fields and palms beyond. On the islands are many large birds and occasional crocodiles. Occasionally there are rocks in the river bed. There is one such rock at Karat above Tangasi island, and it seems to be connected with others on each bank, so that it may be an igneous dyke. There are others, of sandstone, a few miles below Guleid, near the left bank, and about 300 yards above the village of Sahāba.

The Korti-Merowe reach, on the other hand, has a totally different aspect. On the right bank is an almost continuous fringe of palm-trees backed at a distance of

[7] Cailliaud II, 34–5; Lord Prudhoe's *Diary*, 12th Feb. 1829, p. 52; W. Nicholls, *The Shaikiya* (Dublin, 1911); Hoskins, *Travels*, 1835, 169.

never much more than a quarter of a mile (and often less) by low sandstone cliffs. Throughout on this bank there is a narrow belt of irrigated land where corn, dhurra, maize and other crops are grown. This bank reminds one of Egypt or Nubia on a small scale. The left bank is also cultivated, but there are fewer villages and no cliffs.

The whole of this part of the Nile valley now lies off the main routes of travel and is seldom visited. It can be very beautiful especially in the limpid clear air at sunrise and sunset. The massive church of Old Dongola on its great hill is most impressive (PLATE 32) ; so too is Jebel Barkal which dominates the Merowe reach, a great yellow table-mountain. The greater part of it is still archaeologically virgin ground. It is well worth exploring, and would-be explorers need not be deterred by the climate. Even in April there are several hours each day when the heat is bearable and field-work possible, and there are cooler months than April. The midges do not begin till about January, and they stop in May.

Dongola proper was divided into two parts at Teiti island. The north division, called by Nicholls ' Dar el Jawabera,' has today a mixed population of Gawabra Arabs, Nubas and a few Kenuz Arabs and Egyptians. The Gawabra are the most numerous, and have their headquarters on Badin island ; but the ruling family was the Hakimab of Argo island who are called Ga'aliyin—a term that covers so much that it means very little. The Mek of Argo had residences there (PLATE 5a) and at Binna[8] opposite ; he was the overlord of the other petty chiefs and controlled the customs at Mushu. Brevedent[9] says that the governor of Argo was called Arbab and ruled for a distance of several days' journey up and down stream. The Hakimab were descended from Hakim, brother of Gabir, who seems to have lived in the first part of the 16th century.[10] Other petty chiefs (according to Nicholls) ruled at Magassir island, south of Argo, and at Khannag, whose very name has disappeared from the map, though still current locally. When Cailliaud passed (on 28th January, 1821)[11] the village was in ruins ; it stood on a berg where he saw the remains of a Muslim fortress with walls of crude brick. There were some columns and many *santons*. The site is on Lat. 19° and is called on the map Qasr Wad Nimr and the *santons* (gubbas) are also marked. It is 12 miles south of Dongola.

I passed Qasr Wad Nimeiri (the correct name) on 25th March, 1950, and made a special visit to it from Dongola the next day. The castle itself is fairly well preserved and stands out as a prominent landmark as one approaches from the north or south (PLATE 5b). Here the low sandstone cliff, which northwards is separated from the Nile by the broad plain of Dongola, reaches the Nile and forms a bottle-neck (khannāg) which must be negotiated by travellers along the west bank ; hence the name. The castle stands on a bluff at the northern end of a large village whose ruins extend for at least a quarter of a mile southwards.[12] It consists of a

[8] Waddington (p. 195) states that Melik Tombol's ' capital ' was on Benni island.

[9] See Appendix 4.

[10] See MacMichael II, 10 ; BA, § 148 ; AB, Tree ; A2, Tree. The date is consistent with the accounts of the battle of Hannek.

[11] II, 12 (Hannak).

[12] Possibly the midges (nimitti) which swarm during daylight in the Dongola reach may have influenced the choice of site. They were particularly bad here on the day of my visit, and the only place where they were not unbearable was on the northern edge of the castle where the wind blew them away. Everywhere else, and particularly under the lee of walls, they settled like a cloud all over one's face and head.

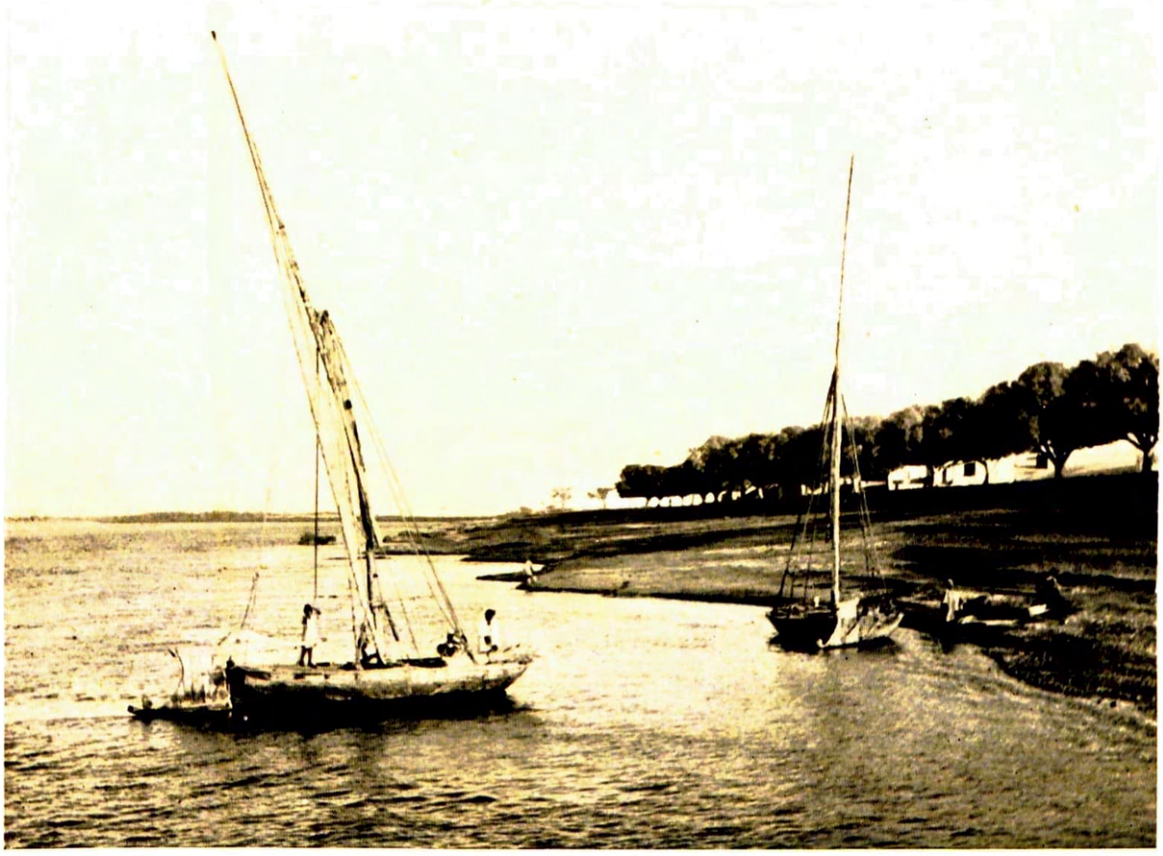
a. The grave of Agib at Gerri (p. 67)

b. Christian capital from Soba, now at Khartoum (p. 28)

facing p. 32

a. The sand-buried east bank opposite Komi island, above Khandak (p. 31)

b. The Christian church on Old Dongola hill (west elevation) : p. 34



a. Debba ferry (p. 38)

b. The other (north or right) bank 10 miles higher up, near Goshabi (p. 31)

a. Melek Tombol's castle on Argo island, *after* Hoskins, 1833 (pp. 32, 191)

b. Kasr Wad Nimeiri, looking SE. (p. 32)

PLATE 6

Kasr Wad Nimeiri, above New Dongola ; north elevation of tower, showing construction of red brick and stone, with wooden lintel. On the right was another window, now blocked up (p. 33)

Kasr Wad Nimeiri ; conoid mud-brick tower at sw. corner of s. (outer) wall of mud-brick (p. 33)

Khandak ; s. wall of the castle, showing junction of outer mud-brick casing with inner wall of rough stone (p. 37)

Khandak ; semicircular tower in w. wall of castle, looking N. (p. 37)

rectangular wall built partly of stone and partly of baked brick, originally no doubt red but now weathered to a dull grey colour. Inside are remains of houses, two of them at the north end being built into the wall. These are of rough stone, but one portion round the windows is of baked brick laid in regular courses, and the wooden lintels over the windows are still intact (PLATE 6). This combination of baked brick and stonework is also found at the Shaigia castle of Kajeba (PLATE 15), and it seems probable that here as there the baked bricks were taken from some other (Christian) building and re-used. The incorporation of houses in the wall is also a feature of the Shaigia castles, and suggests that Qasr Wad Nimeiri in its present form belongs to the post-Christian period. It is quite different both in plan and construction from the earlier forts with semicircular towers such as Bakhit and El Kab. The area is divided into two unequal parts (the smaller on the north) by an east-west wall. The south outer wall consists of a mass of tumbled unbaked brick, portions only remaining precariously intact but doomed to collapse at any moment. At the SW corner is a gubba-like slightly conical tower of unbaked brick set in mud mortar, (PLATE 7) and a few yards to the south of it Sadik Effendi found a drum of red sandstone 2 feet 3 inches in diameter lying on the ground, evidently the remains of a column. The ground is littered with potsherds, some obviously modern or 'Fung,' some of them of 'Christian' type and painted, but these latter are not nearly so numerous as on predominantly Christian sites like Old Dongola, or even Khandak, whose castle is probably contemporary with Qasr Wad Nimeiri.

South of the castle are the remains of a large village, the rough stone walls of the houses still standing in places many feet high. They are mostly of rectangular plan. The village lies between the modern road and the cultivation. West of the road opposite the castle are the foundations of two or three large rectangular buildings, their long axes running east-west. Beyond them on the higher ground are many gubbas and graves, and on the skyline is a stepped gubba.

The site is apparently one that was occupied in Christian times and fortified at some subsequent date. No Meroitic pottery was found to suggest pre-Christian occupation; but surface observation at the Christian capital of Soba, where Meroitic remains have been found by digging, is equally blank, and negative evidence is never trustworthy. The sandstone drum, however, suggests a Meroitic building.

Nothing seems to be recorded about Magassir island or its rulers.

The south division, extending from Teiti island to Deiga, contains the former capital of the province, Old Dongola, and is inhabited (according to Nicholls) by Bedeiriya and Nubas, and round Korti and Ambigol by Tereifia.

To these must be added, it seems, a mysterious Fung enclave round Debba, said to consist of descendants of the former Fung conquerors; but as 'they no longer retain the Fung dialect nor any peculiarly Fung characteristics'[13] it is difficult to understand how they can be distinguished from the rest—and what exactly were the dialect and peculiar characteristics of the Fung? But there must be some basis for the claim, and there is an island called El Fung 12 miles east of Debba.

The petty chiefs resided at Khandak, Tangussi island, Abkur and Dufar. Old Dongola properly demands a chapter to itself; an outline of its history could be

[13] *The Sudan from within*, 1935, 169.

compiled from the frequent references to it in Arab writers, Sudanese manuscripts and the mentions of passing travellers, from the time of Poncet (who was entertained there by its king) down to the early 19th century. Unfortunately no list of its kings survives, at any rate in a recognisable form. The immediate neighbourhood abounds in ancient remains of all periods, none of them excavated and few even described. Its importance throughout later historical times may be due in part to its position midway between the 3rd and 4th cataracts, facilitating the control (*i.e.* taxation) of a large tract of fertile land, in part to its command of the Egyptian and Kordofan trade routes. The site itself is one of great natural strength, and there is a large and wide strip of cultivable land[14]—the Letti basin—adjacent on the north. But the immediate surroundings are arid and sandy, creating a sense of desolation that is reflected in every traveller's description. The town itself was surrounded by a wall, half brick, half stone, resembling those on other Christian sites in the neighbourhood.[15] Even in 1698 the streets had sand-drifts and half the town was deserted ; and over a century later Prudhoe echoes the words of Brevedent—the town in ruins and the strong-built houses half choked with sand. The Christian church, which was in existence in the 7th century,[16] was converted into a mosque in 1317, as an inscription on it testifies.[17] It is a squat squarish block of masonry (PLATE 3b), visible from afar on the flat summit of the great gaunt berg, whose tactical importance is due to the fact that here (as on other sites) the rock comes right to the edge of the river. One reaches it from the north through bright reddish-yellow sand-dunes that are encroaching on a great ruin-field of brick-mounds, the last vestiges of the suburbs on the flat ground below the acropolis. This probably was the ' large city on the banks of the blessed Nile,' containing many churches and large houses and wide streets, described by Abu Salih (*c.* A.D. 1200).[18] The king's house, he said, was lofty, with several domes of red brick, a novelty introduced by Raphael, king of Nubia, in A.D. 1002. Here, on the skirts of the berg, are four granite columns still standing with their capitals lying on the ground near by, remains of a church. All around are the ruins of houses whose *mud* brick contains very many Christian potsherds ; these were probably inhabited when Brevedent went there, for he describes the berg as in the *middle* of the town which extends round it.[19] The church is on the first floor of the building ; below, on the ground floor, are five 'parallel corridors, their ends opening into cross-corridors. These are closed above by tunnel-vaults, which have in some places fallen in and been badly repaired with beams, which in their turn have decayed. This story, from the floor-level to the level of the floor above, is about seven metres in height.'[20] One reaches the church by a broad stairway whose roof is infested with bats. All over the walls are carved Arabic graffiti. One enters a room with a floor of tiles overlaid with plaster and a flat roof (2·50 metres above it) of beams and straw. In the room are three granite columns on one at least of which the usual cross can be seen. The fourth column[21] has been replaced by one of wood. On the west wall, immediately

[14] Upon which the city once depended for its provisions ; Waddington, 1822, 212.

[15] Mazuel, 46 (description by Linant de Bellefonds in 1821).

[16] See p. 21.

[17] Lepsius, *Letters*, 260. For the church, see also Waddington, 212–3.

[18] Ed. Evetts, p. 265.

[19] See Appendix 4.

[20] Somers Clarke, 44. I was only able to look cursorily over the ground floor, and was told that there was a ' well ' (bir) there.

[21] The northeastern by the orientation.

to the left (north) of the entrance, the plaster which covers the walls has been removed, revealing paintings. Two human faces are still discernible, though the painting is dull and tarnished and the light here very dim. Somers Clarke[22] suggested that one of the heads 'may be intended for Moses, as a pair of horns project from the head.' I looked particularly for these horns, but could not detect them; but Somers Clarke was a good observer, and a more careful examination in a strong light would probably reveal them. They were seen many years ago by Mr Crowfoot who assures me (in a letter) that their existence is quite certain. 'They were,' he says, 'more like those on a Fung cap (tagia umm gerein) than animal horns: *i.e.* they represent the local king rather than Moses.' Another patch of plaster has been removed from the north wall near its west end, revealing more paintings, but all difficult to decipher. There can be little doubt that the rest of the surface of these walls is similarly decorated, and that if the plaster were carefully removed a fine series would come to light. The work, however, would have to be done under the supervision of an expert in such matters (there are several in England), and adequate measures taken for their subsequent protection from deliberate defacement—in the literal sense.

This room seems once to have been larger, for across it runs a wall of mud with some re-used stones, which has every appearance of being later than the others. On it is an Arabic inscription recording work carried out there when the church was converted into a mosque. The inscription gives the date 20 Rabi, 717 A.H. (=1 June, 1317); though often referred to neither the original nor a translation are to be found in any of the works which I have consulted.[23] One of the (re-used) stones in this wall is a small squared block on which are carved several crosses the lowest cut off at the bottom by a later (?) dressing of the block. In the middle of the wall is a pointed niche, doubtless the mihrab. Beyond the wall on the east is another, smaller, room, with two granite columns and a semicircular apse[24] on the east wall. Seen from outside this apse projects from the main wall, and, like parts of it, is built of baked brick in regular courses (PLATE II).

Somers Clarke refused to regard this room as a church at all, but surely it must be. Neither he nor any other writer seems to have observed the two columns in the small eastern room, nor the fact that the dividing wall is of later date than the rest. At any rate both he and Crowfoot speak of *four* columns only, whereas there were originally six, and there are still five and a wooden one, arranged in two parallel rows of three each. (There is room for another pair within the cross-wall, where the spacing requires such). Such a plan would conform with those of the remains at Ginetti and Soba which are admittedly of churches. Moreover, it is surely inconceivable that paintings of human faces should have been executed at all in a Mohammedan building in the 14th century, and then plastered over immediately

[22] *Christian Antiquities*, 44.

[23] The latest reference is in Monneret de Villard's *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, 1938, 220. While correcting the proofs I have received a copy and translation, thanks to the kindness of Abdel Rahman Adam Effendi, of the Sudanese Antiquities Service; it runs as follows: 'This blessed door for religion (*i.e.* Islam) was opened by the hands of Seif-el-din Abdullahi el Nasir in the year 717 on the 16th of the month Rabia the first.')

[24] Crowfoot calls this apse 'reconstructed' ('Christian Nubia,' *JEA*, XIII, 1927, 144). In a letter (dated 20–VII–1950) he amplifies this by saying that any reconstruction affected the upper part of the apse only. 'The external apse,' he says, 'is a common feature in later Palestinian churches, and might well be original.'

afterwards ! The plaster is exactly like that in which the Arabic inscription is written, and the paintings must have been executed *in situ*. They can be paralleled in many churches of Nubia, and are unknown except in churches.

There was no time to explore the neighbourhood. I should like to have found some remains of the defensive wall that is said to have existed there ; did it surround the summit of the berg or the old town whose remains cover the low ground round its foot ? The modern village could be seen from one of the windows, but is hardly likely to yield anything ancient. Even so rapid and superficial a survey as mine had to be showed that most of the Christian, and part at least of the Fung town lay on this low ground and not on the summit. Eastwards can be seen a forest of gubbas, doubtless those of holy men ; the Tabaqat records of several that their tomb is at Dongola.[25] One would like to spend a week in the village. There is much to be done. No one seems even to have published a plan of the church. Certainly no one has ever photographed the paintings or anything else inside. There are no close-up photos of the walls to show their composition. There is no plan of the site showing its environs. (A single air-photograph would do this). Finally, the Arabic inscription should be photographed, copied, transcribed, translated and published as soon as possible. It is in soft plaster and it is marvellous that it should have lasted for over 600 years.

The nearest boat-station is at Ghaddâr, about half an hour's walk to the north, at the Pump station.

Besides Dongola itself there were at least three other places that could be called towns, Khandak (Lat. 18°36'), Debba and Korti. Strangely they are not mentioned in the chief Sudanese manuscripts, but Debba is mentioned by Krump, and there can be no doubt that the other two also existed, for they were described by the early 19th century travellers, and are still in existence today. But they now lie off the main route, and even the few who have been there seem to have left no description of them.

KHANDAK[26] may have been a city in Napatan or Meroitic times, for in the citadel Linant found ' un grand vase de granite, haut de trois pieds et de la largeur d'un et demi ; il a la forme d'un cône tronqué, et avait autour une ligne d'hieroglyphique. Je ne les voyais pas assez bien pour pouvoir faire un dessin.' Though he looked for other remains of the same period, he could find none anywhere, either within the citadel or outside it. Prudhoe, who had heard that there were Egyptian remains there, was unable to find any ; and the vase is not now to be seen. The citadel was built on high ground overlooking the river. Waddington observed that the lower part of the south wall of the castle was built of large stones, and the upper of small ones or bricks ; ' about the middle of this upper part are three layers of stones, not extending quite the whole length of the wall, of the size and architecture

[25] This would be a good starting-point for a gubba survey. There are many still intact on the west bank between here and New Dongola. The names of the holy men buried in them are often known (*e.g.* Satti Aunalla and Satti Bashir, between Urbi and Qasr Wad Nimeiri).

[26] The description which follows is based on the accounts of Linant (*Diary*, 24th September, 1821), Waddington (pp. 60, 219, 220) ; Prudhoe (*Diary*, 9th February, 1829) ; Gleichen, *Handbook*, 1905 (I, 29) ; and on personal observation in 1950.

of the best temples, forming a singular contrast with the rest of the building, which is exactly like the fortresses commonly found in these countries. On the west side of it are some other stones similarly laid, but not remaining so regularly as those described.' He concluded that these regular courses were the only survivors of a building once similarly built throughout which he compared with that at Taffa (Taifa) in Nubia, and from the height at which they occur that the building could not be modern, or the stones reused. He mentions a black granite mortar (Linant's ' vase ' ?) like that in the fortress at Ibrim. The citadel was the palace of ' Malek Chowes ' (Cailliaud's ' Chaouss '), the Shaigia sheikh, ' who till the arrival of the Mamelouks, frequently resided at Handech [Khandak] his capital ; at present there seem to be scarcely two hundred people in the place.' The houses of the town extended for nearly half a mile along the river and were surrounded by a mud wall whose broken remains on the west and north sides were still visible in 1905. Prudhoe observed the ' pointed arch without a keystone,' like an inverted V, over the doorways of many of the houses. The streets, he says, were wide and the market well supplied, the people good-looking and some ' of a very red colour '—perhaps the descendants of Aizanas' 'red Nuba.' Waddington also saw 'an arch, and plaster on some of the walls ; and a fine tomb . . . on a stony elevation behind.' According to Linant, Khandak owed its importance to the fact that it was the terminus of the caravan-route to Kordofan. His drawing (Plate 10, reproduced also in Mazuel, 1937, Plate III, and Douin, *Pénétration*, 1944, i, Plate IV) shows the castle with its battlemented walls and towers, and on the left the flat-roofed houses of the town. Much of this still remains. The general plan of the fort seems to have been similar to that of Qasr Wad Nimeiri—a rectangle divided into two unequal parts. Here the upper part, corresponding to the keep in our motte and bailey forts, consists of a rectangular stone wall with inbuilt rectangular towers or houses ; from the north and south ends of the east side run stone walls down to the river. Both are now fallen into ruin, but Linant shows the southern wall intact, its east end shrouded in trees. The keep, as I have called it, consists (like its prototypes, the Berber-Shendi courtyard houses) of tower-like structures which were probably in fact dwelling-houses joined by the curtain-wall. A peculiar feature of this wall is that in places, as earlier travellers observed, it is built of large blocks of ashlar, squared and dressed. These are not, however, in their original position (as Waddington thought), but re-used from some much older building. The granite vase with its hieroglyphs—not an object that would be transported far from its original location—suggests Meroitic or Napatan occupation (though again no potsherds of this date were to be found when I was there). The castle walls, of rough stone, have on the outside a casing, and in places buttresses, of unburnt brick (PLATE 8). This casing is structurally continuous with the upper part of a semicircular stone tower, suggesting that, when it was made, that upper part was ruinous. A semicircular stone tower in the west wall has mud brick courses in its upper part (PLATE 9). It seems, therefore, that there was here a Christian fort with semicircular towers of the same type as at Bakhit, and that at some later date, perhaps in the Fung period, it was reconditioned in mud brick. Beside the track leading from the landing-stage to the town, just before one reaches the castle, I was shown the remains of a tomb ; the roof, of baked brick, is vaulted and plastered and there may be others round it unopened.

Probably they are Christian; that the site was occupied in Christian times is provided by the quantities of painted Christian pottery on the ground between the keep and the river. North of the town, near the landing-stage, is a Moslem graveyard with many gubbas; and the map marks a church here, but I could not find it in the short time I had at my disposal.

Waddington (p. 220) speaks of 'a mosque supported by some pillars' that 'was found' inside the castle; and I was told of a church built on another church there, and also of a mosque. Some support is given to these tales by a niche in the east wall of the south tower, but it is wrongly placed for a mihrab.

Though the castle is in ruins the town still exists, much shrunken. Some of the houses have more architectural merit than most in this region and may possibly date from Fung times. Linant's drawing shows several with what look like battlements. It is a place one would like to explore. The present Omda is a young man who is interested in the history of his native place. He told me that the place called BUYDUMBUSH on the map (nearly opposite Khandak on the east bank, some distance inland) should be called NUGDUMBUSH, and that the local explanation derived it from two words, Nugdum, a slave, and Bush, Monday; because the king of a neighbouring island gave his slaves a holiday on a Monday and sent them there! The Omda told me that there were columns and other ancient remains there. The site has not, I think, ever been visited by an archaeologist, and certainly there is no published description of it.

The Governor of Khandak is mentioned in his deposition by the Capuchin Justin who was there in 1706; by implication the Governor was subject to the Governor of Dongola.[27]

DEBBA was, however, the chief terminus of the Kordofan caravan-route, and it must always have been an important place. It was spoken of in Bega tradition as the site of a battle in the 7th century,[28] and appears (as Dobaa) on Dalorto's map (1325).[29] The name means a low hill in flat country[30] and is probably connected with the Abyssinian word *debra* which, originally meaning much the same, came to be used of the monasteries so often located on them. There is some uncertainty about the site of the ancient town, and it seems that there were several places called Debba, distinguished by additions to the name. The most westerly is the place now called (Sheet 45 E) 'Debba or Debbat el Mu'askar'; but Cailliaud's Edab el Dolib, Hoskins' Debba el Dolib, Linant's Debba, appear (from Cailliaud's map and Hoskins' narrative[31]) to refer to a site 5½ miles to the east called on the modern map Debbat el Fuqara, whose name associates it with the priestly traditions of Debba. (There was a third site still further east, near Fakrincotti, which Krump calls Dabulet el Garbij, perhaps the Dabet-mansour of Cailliaud). Krump, whose professional interests were concerned, has left (for once) a fairly good account[32] of 'Dabbi' and

[27] See p. 228.

[28] Newbold's File 1, 93; but I feel a little uneasy about this. Was there some confusion about Debba, also called Ed Debba and Aidhab, and between Dongola (mentioned in the same context) and Dongonab? Both these places are in Beja territory and much more likely to figure in their traditions than any places in the province of Dongola.

[29] Marquart, p. CCLIX, giving the date incorrectly as 1339 (see de la Roncière, 1, 64, note 6).

[30] *Sudan Gazetteer*, 1932, 5.

[31] p. 169.

[32] pp. 254–6.

its holy men. It was inhabited by the *vagirs* or *santoni* who differed from the *santoni* he had previously described and were regarded as teachers and as doctors of the Mohammedan law. The place enjoyed the right of sanctuary, and by order of the king, no bailiff (Gerichts-Diener) was allowed to approach or remove an offender (Übelthäter) therefrom—' a custom which should bring a blush to the cheeks of many a Christian prince, king or potentate who does not hesitate to violate or even abolish ecclesiastical immunity.' Of the other travellers none has left any account of the place except Waddington, whose description of ' Dabdi,' 12 miles west of Abdoum, fits Debbat el Fuqara better than the modern Debba. He calls Dabdi a ruined town with several tombs near, one of which he illustrates (opposite p. 205). It consists of three bulbous domes superimposed, the largest at the bottom, round which is a wall which seems to be only a foot or two high. The tomb wall was of mud and very thick and cased inside with brick. It was 30 to 40 feet high and about 20 feet across inside. It contained five bodies, lying side by side, marked by stones at the head and feet ; ' and to a thin rope, hung across from wall to wall, are attached numerous scraps of linen, short pieces of cord, and a smaller string of wooden beads. Many leaves of paper, covered with Arabic writing, passages probably from the Koran, are scattered about the graves.' Debba is described in 1905[33] as being surrounded by ' old field-works[34] of 430 yards perimeter, enclosing a few huts ' ; it was garrisoned in 1884 by 250 Bashi Bazouks. The site had the advantage of being accessible to even heavily laden boats which were able to moor alongside in deep water.

KORTI was the starting-place of the Bayuda crossing. It stands on the left bank, 5 miles below Ed Deiga, the Shaigia frontier-castle on the opposite bank. It was described by Waddington[35] as a ' large town divided into three parts, each of which is defended by a mud castle. It was originally in Dongola, but has for many years been incorporated with Dar Sheygya.' No doubt the ' incorporation ' came about as a result of the Shaigia revolt in the mid 17th century,[36] which was so disastrous for Dongola and the Bayuda caravans. In spite of its obvious importance no traveller has left any description of Korti.[37]

Besides these three towns there were of course villages on both banks, and castles built of sun-dried bricks or of mud, with occasional admixture of courses of stone. Waddington[38] thought that those of brick might have been ' the work of the Christians ' (*i.e.* pre-Fung) and that those of mud were of a later (or occasionally much earlier) date. But no such easy classification is really possible, and each castle must be studied independently and dated on its own merits—a task that is

[33] Gleichen, I, 31, describing the modern site, not Debbat el Fuqara.

[34] These presumably are the ' fortifications ' ascribed by Budge (I, 109) to the Turks who had left there an ' old gun ' which he saw in 1897. He found nothing of any interest in the village.

[35] p. 196.

[36] See Chapter 18.

[37] For Budge, who left it undescribed, it was ' a place famous as the Headquarters of Lord Wolseley in 1884 ' (I, 110). The remains of his fortified residence are close to the landing-stage, just beyond the Pump, and consist of a mud-brick rectangular wall, 100 × 60 yards, with rooms round the inner sides. Archaeological evidence of date is supplied by fragments of glass tumblers and of beer bottles. The sloping river-bank here is roughly reveted with stones. The town of Korti can be seen a mile away; the ' Kirbekan ' did not stop here long enough for me to visit it.

[38] p. 333.

now far more difficult than it was in the last century, for they have tumbled into ruin. It will probably be found that many were of more than one period, but that there was a great phase of castle-building in the 17th and 18th centuries when those built chiefly of mud and stone were erected. They are very numerous in the Shaigia region, and for reasons of climate and topography are not found south of Gerri. Unfortunately the early travellers for the most part took little interest in them, or if they did thought proper to disclaim it. Waddington admitted that they had ' a peculiar kind of interest,' but went on to say that none of them could ever have possessed the slightest claims to beauty or architectural merit ; and he professed to have found it ' painful to be constantly occupied in noticing such productions, while the ruins of Cyrene were yet undescribed.' Such apologies were deemed necessary in an age which despised the works of barbarians, but one suspects that Waddington may have actually been more interested than he cared to admit. His descriptions of Khandak and Hetani suggest as much, and show also that he was an acute observer. His statement that they had no beauty or architectural merit is confuted by some of the drawings of Linant here reproduced (*e.g.* PLATES 13b, 18 and 38); but then Linant was an artist and Waddington by his own admission was not.

The residences of the chiefs of Dar el Bedeiriya, the southern division of Dongola, were, according to Nicholls, at Khandak, Old Dongola, Tangussi island, Abkur and Duffar. The two first have already been described. Of remains on Tangussi (Tángasi) there is no record, except possibly a mere reference by Waddington to a ' curious brick building ' on the island (which he calls Tanger.[39]) Linant,[40] however, mentions the ruins of a large and old village, built like those previously encountered, *i.e.* probably a castle. The Turkish Cachef of Dongola had established a ' caymacam ' there. The island is now $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and seems to have altered since Linant's visit (1821) when it was 6 to 8 kilometres (less than 5 miles). Both his map and Cailliaud's show Hamur island (now joined to the north end of Tangasi) as a separate island and of about the same size.

Abkur castle was on the hill now called on the map Estabel, nearly 2 miles due south of Jebel Abker. The name is an Arabic loan-word meaning ' stable,' and is said to come from the discovery there of dried dung. The site was already cut off from the river on the south by a mile of sand when Prudhoe[41] passed it in 1829, and he was told that the river once ran at its foot, which seems very likely. He describes it as an old town, walled, looking like an English castle. Linant[42] compares the castle at Dufar to it. When the Nile ran immediately below it, the castle would have commanded the route along the north (right) bank ; and an alteration of course, due perhaps to wind-blown sand, may have deprived it of some of its importance. The same process would also have overwhelmed any strips of cultivated land there may have been on this bank. This sector, where the river flows from east to west, would be peculiarly liable to such an accumulation of sand brought by the prevalent northerly winds.

[39] p. 65. Other spellings are Dungasi (Krump), Tangoussy (Cailliaud), Tangass (Prudhoe). The name of the island is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable (Tángasi) ; that of the place higher up on the east bank with the accent on the second (Tangási).

[40] Mazuel, 47 : he calls it also the island of Tombol, but his map shows that it was that now called Tángasi (Sheet 45E).

[41] *Diary*, 11th February, 1829 (pl. 50).

[42] *Diary*, 30th September, 1821.

Ville de Handak (en 1822). (d'après Linant)

PLATE 10

Khandak in 1822, *after* Linant de Bellefonds (p. 37)

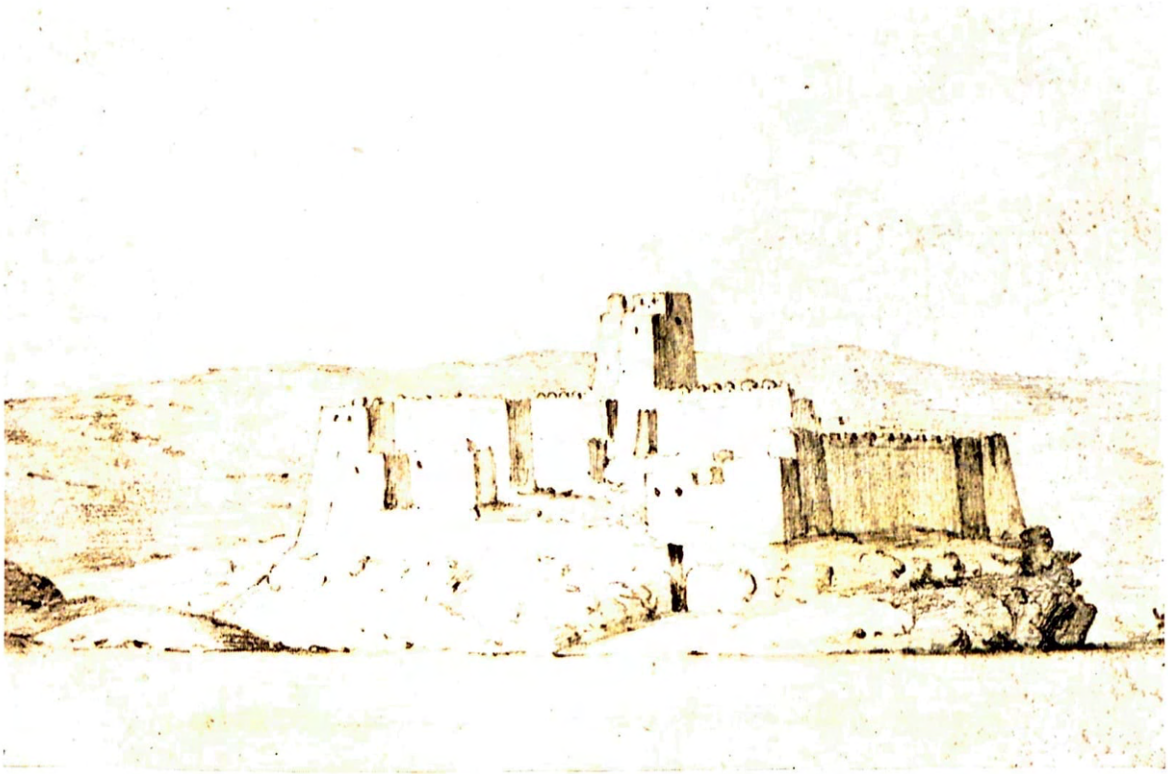
facing p. 40

The east end of Old Dongola church (p. 35)

PLATE 12

The castle of Dufar, *after* Linant de Bellefonds, 1821 (p. 41)

a. Castle of the kings of Shendy, *after* Hoskins, 1833 (p. 62)



b. Castle of Hetani, *after* Linant de Bellefonds, 1821 (p. 42)

DUFAR,[43] (PLATE 12) the last of the Dongola feoffs, is 14 miles east of Abkur, on the same (right or north) bank. The name does not appear on the modern map, but the site is indicated by the remains of a church marked immediately west of the island of Gigernarti (Linant's Gianga-arti, Cailliaud's Guidirnarti). Lepsius[44] observed the church and the ruins of a fort, and Waddington[45] calls the latter a ' well situated town, ruined by the Sheygya.' Cailliaud described it as a ruined village fifty paces from the Nile, on a high rock. It was entirely built of rough stones from the mountain, and was surrounded by a wall, still standing in places, with the remains of small round towers with loopholes. Inside was a well, half in the sandstone rock, half of built masonry, and about 55 feet deep, apparently the work of ' the ancients ' who built there before the Mussulmans. Lying on the ground was a granite column three metres long whose capital (unfinished) was ornamented by a Greek cross (compare the capital from Soba, PLATE 2b). It is clearly Dufar[46] that Linant described in his Diary (30 September, 1821) and of which he made a charming sketch (PLATE 12). Here were what he called ' les ruines d'un petit village[47] dans le genre d'Abcot ' [Abkur]. Outside amongst the ' décombres ' was a fallen column of very pale granite, near a fine dom-palm. (The sketch shows the column beyond the spindly stems of the palm). Nearby was a Mohammedan graveyard with head and tail stones of marble, but without inscriptions. From the sketch it appears that the castle stood on a hill, precipitous on the north side and sloping steeply to the Nile on the south. At the foot of the slope a small bay has been formed by some huge round boulders placed in a row (between the men and the ship they are towing). Beyond is the west wall of the courtyard of the castle, which seems to have the remains of square towers. On the east side, on the right of the dom-palm is a detached structure, straddling and perhaps once defending, the ridge of approach. The doorway of the castle can be seen between a round corner-tower on the east and a battlemented building on the west. Midway along the east wall of the castle is a tall narrow round tower with two loopholes, one above the other. Between the east wall and the precipitous part of the east side is a platform or berm, where the defenders could assemble and repel an attack on the main approach. In the distance, apparently at the three other corners, are what appear to be rectangular towers.

The name Dufar occurs several times in the native Sudanese sources, but always as that of a people, not a place. They are said to have been a branch of the Ga'ali and to have been Bedayria. Several of their kings are mentioned. One of the four famous Awlad Gabir, Abdelrahman, who flourished in the second half of the 16th century, had under him three mosques, in the Shaigia country, at Korti and among

[43] Doofar (Waddington), Deffar (Cailliaud), Tifar (Lepsius), Defur (Hoskins).

[44] Letters, 259.

[45] p. 199.

[46] And not ' Debeche ' as the title (added later, with a query) marked on the back states. Linant gives no name and does not mention Dufar in his *Diary* or on his map ; but the text makes it certain that he is describing a site between the island of Guinatti (now Ganetti) on the west and of Hussein-arti on the east. I think however he confused Guinatti with his Gianga-arti (Gigernarti) when he says that the castle was half a mile from the point of the island, which is true of the latter island. The granite column, seen in the sketch, and mentioned in the text, is clearly the one at Dufar mentioned by Cailliaud. Gigernarti is no longer an island but joined to the mainland at low Nile.

[47] The word is often applied to castles.

the Dufar.[48] It seems that the name of the people is associated with the name of the place, but the evidence is too vague for any certain conclusion to be drawn. The granite column must have come from the adjacent church. The site is probably one that has been occupied from early times, and would be worth investigating further. I have already suggested the possibility that Bion's Dumana, on the east (right) bank one stage below Radata (Korti ?), may have been here or hereabouts. Dufar is 20 miles from Korti.

There are probably remains of other castles in this region yet remaining, but unrecorded.[49] This is not the place for a complete account of all, even if that were possible without field-work, which it is not. But they are a characteristic feature of the period in question, and as southern Dongola and the Shaigia region is the land of castles, this chapter seemed to be the best place to give an account of them. Besides those described as the centres of feudal administration, there are at least two others of sufficient importance to justify a mention.

The first is Hetani,[50] (PLATE 13b) the ' ruin ' marked on the map (45 E) on the south (left) bank SW of Huseinarti, 13 miles below Korti. It guards a narrow pass between the river and the high ground to the south, along which camels have to proceed in single file. In 1884 it was held for the Mahdi by the Emir Heddai against the Mudir of Dongola.[51] (This ' Thermopylae ' is called on the map Agaba el Hetani). Linant[52] describes the castle as being well built of earth and sundried brick and rough stone. The walls were well aligned and quite high. Water could be drawn from the Nile from within the castle ; from his description and illustration combined it can be seen that a shaft had been cut vertically in the sandstone rock down to an artificially excavated ' dock '. This shaft can still be seen. The upper end of the shaft was covered by a rectangular building with two windows or loop-holes over the shaft to protect it in case of attack. It was the shaft which puzzled Waddington[53] ; he could see no meaning in it ; the rest of his description would be unintelligible without Linant's drawing.[54] There were other ruins continuing a few hundred yards along the river side—perhaps the remains of a village east of the castle which Linant mentions. On the rock Waddington saw an Arab inscription which purported to record the death of a sheikh there. The castle itself, he says, was built of mixed stones and mud, ' except the higher part, which is of mud only, with seven battlements, and appears to have been lately repaired.' Linant says the castle was built by the Shaigia who came there when they wished to pillage the neighbourhood. The Mamluk chief, Abdelrahman Bey, used the castle when he was fighting the Shaigia ; and they had therefore ' ruined ' it ; but it could be repaired (and apparently was repaired) at a small cost.

[48] MacMichael, II, 224. For other references see his index ; they are chiefly to AB, composed in 1853 by a Gaali.

[49] It may be worth recording here that there is an illustration of a castle with its tower published as a vignette at the head of Chapter 6 of *Reise des Freiherrn Adalbert von Barnim.* (Berlin, 1863), by Robert Hartmann ; it is said to have been in Dar Mahass but the name unfortunately is not given. A good, but short, account of the structure and arrangements of the castles is given by Hartmann in *ZfAE.*, XIV, 164–5.

[50] Attanné (Linant), Hettayn (Cailliaud), Hettan (Hoskins) : Lat. 18°1′ : Long. 31°23′.

[51] Gleichen I, 32.

[52] *Diary*, 30th September, 1821.

[53] p. 79.

[54] It is not altogether intelligible even so ! He seems to have mixed up his notes, for after describing what is obviously the shaft he ends by stating that there is an old well about 40 feet deep cut in the rock within the castle near the entrance facing the Nile.

I visited Hetani on 24th March, 1950, with Sadik Effendi, and had just time during the few minutes' halt of the ' Kirbekan ' to land and run to it and take a couple of photographs, but no time for an examination. The tower is on the south or land side of the bluff, which has a deep ditch on the east of it that looks artificial. There is a made road leading into the castle from the east. The cliffs east of the castle, between it and the landing-stage, are covered with Arabic names carved in the soft sandstone, some of them quite large.

The second castle is that of Ambikol[55] which was on a jebel about a mile inland from the river. From Linant's description[56] it seems to have resembled the others ; it was surrounded by a wall of stones and sun-dried bricks, irregularly laid out, but flanked by the usual towers and bastions. The hill on which it stands was of schist, and its steepest side faced northeast ; it was commanded by other small hills. The entrance was on the south side, and was very small. To the right of it on entering was a cistern hollowed out of the rock with a protecting building over it of sundried bricks. It ' formed a corner (angle) of the town wall.'

We have now described the towns and castles of the Fung Kingdom of Dongola as they appeared at the end of its existence. The towns, such as they were, had all grown up round castles ; and this overriding need of defence gave special importance to those natural fortresses,[57] the islands in the Nile. Argo and Tangasi are the largest and for that reason the most important and the residences of petty chiefs. Their size rendered them self-sufficient in the matter of food, and there was of course no difficulty (such as the castle-rulers had to meet) in obtaining water. Of the two, Argo was probably the most prosperous, for it was not only greater in extent but also in control of the caravan port of Mushu, and near the western end of a trans-desert route from Karima[58] ; there was also on the east a considerable area (the Kerma basin) where cultivation was possible. Its history goes back into ancient Egyptian times, but no excavations have ever been undertaken there, and the details are therefore unknown.

SHAIGIA. The Fung kingdom of Dongola was bounded on the east by a stretch of river of about 80 miles occupied by the Shaigia people. Their southwestern frontier was marked by a mountain on the west[59] bank called Ed Deiga,[60] and their territory extended to the island of Berti at the upper end of the 4th cataract, a political boundary of great antiquity[61] and until recently the boundary between

[55] Amboucon ou Amboucol (Cailliaud) ; Amboucot (Linant) ; Amboocote (Waddington) ; Ambicol (Hoskins, who marks the site west of the place so named on the modern map, and also calls one of the islands opposite Jebel Deiga by the name Umbikoul) ; Ambukol (Ensor, 1881). The name means ' tamarisks ' (amboug in Kensy, ambiga in Nubian (Burckhardt, 154) ; hence the variant forms. The name seems to cover a considerable portion of the left bank ; the landing-stage (mahatta) called Ambigol is some distance below the name on the map (45 F), and is actually on the next sheet (45 E) immediately below the remains of an old (Turkish) fort marked there and still visible.

[56] Mazuel, 47.

[57] See on this subject p. 127.

[58] Cailliaud II, 72 ; it was used for the transport of dates from Sukkot.

[59] That is, the right bank. Some confusion is caused by the Arab habit of calling the right bank everywhere the east bank, even when as here the river flows from NE to SW. In this book the correct compass-bearings are used, *i.e.* west means west, not east.

[60] Daiga (Cailliaud), Eddeyga (Prudhoe), Daga (Hoskins), Dager (Waddington, Nicholls), Dayka (MacMichael). The name was unknown to the reis of the ' Kirbekan,' who knew only the name Jebel ibn Auf.

[61] See p. 50.

Berber and Dongola provinces. This region was divided into four districts whose centres were at Hannek, Kajeba, Merawi (the capital), and 'Amri.

The Shaigia[62] are a people of marked individuality and mysterious origin. In the mid 19th century they spoke Arabic for the most part, but they (and their neighbours the Manassir and Rubatab) also spoke and understood a form of Berberi most nearly resembling that of Mahass.[63] MacMichael tentatively suggests that they may be 'partly descended from the Bosnian, Albanian and Turkish mercenaries who since the conquest of Selim (A.D. 1517) have done garrison duty and formed settlements in Nubia.' To this theory there is the fatal objection that Selim never conquered or garrisoned this region; and that the region which was so garrisoned, between the 1st and 3rd cataracts, has not produced a population with the characteristics of the Shaigia. They were, as Cailliaud long ago observed,[64] a people of castle-dwellers; and when we know more about these castles we may know more about the Shaigia. That will not be for some time to come, for they have been ignored by archaeologists. I do not know of a single article devoted to them in any learned (or other) publication, nor have I come across a published diagram or plan of any one. Those that I have seen are quite distinctive and have, apart from methods of construction, one characteristic feature: the towers on the periphery of the wall are not so much towers, as houses joined together by that wall. They often project slightly in front of the wall; they have more than one storey; their size is large in proportion to the length of the wall in which they are built; and they are always rectangular. Within the wall are remains of what would appear to have been similar houses. The resulting plan is exactly that of the modern courtyard house which may be seen in every town between Shendi and Berber. The castles are simply fortified courtyard houses, and must be genetically connected with them. But exactly how the courtyard house of the southern region evolved into a castle in Dongola we do not know. One can only say that, on the present evidence, none of the castles seems to have been built until after the Christian period; a date as late as the 18th century is even possible for some of them. (They are not mentioned by the travellers of about 1700).

There were also, however, other castles or forts of a quite different plan that are certainly much earlier. They are characterised by semicircular towers set at the corners and at regular intervals along the walls. They are structually different; the use of burnt brick as a core at Bakhit, for instance, proves that they were built at a period when red brick was still being made, *i.e.* before the end of the Christian period. That conclusion is amply borne out by the abundance of Christian potsherds there. To this earlier class belong the castle at El Kab above the 4th cataract, the pair of castles called the Kubinat above the 4th cataract near Jebel Kalidob[65] and doubtless several others whose true nature will be apparent at sight when they are visited. One is tempted to ask whether these forts might have been monasteries? The existence of churches within them might lend support to such a view. Egyptian monasteries 'seem always to have been enclosed by a wall sufficiently high to be, in

[62] For an account of them see W. Nicholls, *The Shaikiya* (Dublin, 1913) and MacMichael I, 213–221 and the references there given. See also Hartmann, *ZfAE*, *NF*, vol. XIV (1863), 167–8.

[63] Hartmann, *ZfAE*, XIV, 167.

[64] II, 40–1.

[65] *SNR*, XXII, 1939, 269–71 (plans given, scale 1 : 4500).

a certain sense, defensible.'[66] But such remains of the enclosing walls as exist at known monasteries like that of Wadi Gazali, are of a different kind, less symmetrical, and lend no support to this hypothesis.

The castles of the Shaigia captains surprised English by their comfort.[67] The walls of the apartments were hung with large mats of coloured straw, of fine workmanship ; in one of them were ' basins of marble, chests of polished Indian wood—the pillage probably of some caravan—and a small brass cannon.' In another was a distilling apparatus, for fermenting dates ; the rooms were strewn with ' great quantities of written papers '—perhaps the tribal archives.[68] Melik Chaouss—also called Chouas,Shawish, Choush, Shauish, Shouus, and even Shoush, but Sha'us to the élite—kept his court in one of the castles at Merowe (PLATE 16a) seated on a pedestal of basalt inscribed with hieroglyphics.[69] It stood in the middle of the room, round whose sides were built seats against the wall, covered with mats.

All accounts agree in describing the natural beauty and fertility of the Shaigia reach.[70] The Nile, flowing broad and smooth, was more like a succession of lakes than a river, and was studded with a succession of vivid green islands. Here and there the golden sands or sandstone cliffs of the desert came right down to the water's edge ; but for the most part the narrow alluvial plain on both banks was covered with fields of corn, amongst which were the villages—Prudhoe calls the houses ' clean and well built,' but Hoskins (only 4 years later) describes the ' hovels of the peasants ' as ' miserable in the extreme.' English found the land here ' better cultivated than any part of the countries south of Egypt that we had seen.' The thirty miles or so between Merawe and the southern frontier near Korti contained, in 1833, no less than 1368 water-wheels (sakias). Where cultivation gave place to natural vegetation, the land was covered with acacias whose delicate foliage give beauty to the plainest scene, and with mimosas, whose yellow flowers in January perfume the Sudan from here to Abyssinia ; and with Daaser, a species of thyme. The central reach was dominated by the table-mountain of Barkal, beneath which was Napata with its temples and pyramids. Here it seems the Nile hardly justified its proverbial resemblance to the path of a good man in a wicked and worthless world. But even in this alleged Garden of Eden everything was not lovely ; one should remember the great heat and dust, the flies and midges, the white ants, the jackals and vultures, and sometimes Man himself. Under the weak rule of the Meleks no taxes were raised and but little money was in circulation ; administration of the law was left to the ' fakirs ' but their decisions had to have the consent of both parties to be binding.[71]

The Shaigia region was divided into four parts. The southernmost was between the Dongola frontier[72] at Dager [Ed Deiga] and the village of Zuma, a

[66] Somers Clarke, *Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 1912, 95, where the whole question is fully discussed.

[67] Narrative, 1823, 55. The ' fragments of vessels of porcelain ' which he also found there may have been of the finer Meroitic ware, or more probably ' Christian ' ware.

[68] Waddington, 123 : Mr Hanbury did not trouble to pick them up.

[69] Hoskins, 133 : Prudhoe, *Diary*, 13th Feb., 1829.

[70] See for instance Waddington 71, 75, 121 ; Prudhoe (*Diary*, February, 1829) ; English (1823), 52, 60 ; Hoskins 162, 166.

[71] See Prudhoe's *Diary*, 13th February, 1829, for more on this subject.

[72] Cailliaud (II, 34) adds the interesting observation that it was marked by a wall of stones, comparable in function perhaps with some of our British linear earthworks.

distance of 16 miles. Over this ruled Melek Zubayr in his castles. There were several, but from the descriptions alone, unenlightened by systematic field-work, it is not easy to be sure how many. The first was at Dager[73] where Lepsius saw a strongly built fort (which he attributed to the Christian period) with the ruins of a three-naved church and several other large buildings inside. His attribution is probably correct ; the castle seems to have belonged to the first of my two suggested periods. But there seems also to have been another of the second period, described by Lord Prudhoe as ' a crude brick fort, or rather castle, of a Melek, the first against which Ismael Pashaw fired his artillery.' Unfortunately the view is here completely obscured by a continuous fringe of tall palms, so that from the river one can see nothing but the tops of the hills behind, and I was not able to visit the site by land.[74] It was clear, however, that Dager was just such another of those bottle-necks or khannags as Khandak, Old Dongola and Bakhit, ideal sites for castles. At Dager the range of purple hills which first appeared far back from the river below Korti at last reached its bank, where they end ; and for several miles there is a break, until another much lower range comes to the water's edge at Bakhit. Here is another castle of the first class, which I was able to visit.[75] Lepsius saw it and planned it, assigning it correctly to the Christian period.[76] It had, he says, eighteen semi-circular projecting towers, and inside ' under heaps of rubbish, were the ruins of a church, which appeared to have marked the centre of the fortress ; it was here only sixty-three feet long, and the whole nave rested on four columns and two wall pillars.'

The fortress (PLATE 14) is a rectangle whose longer axis runs at right-angles to the river. Three of the walls are fairly well preserved, but the fourth (SE), running parallel to the river, has left only just enough remains here and there to prove its former existence. A fragment near the east end still stands three feet high, of rough stone. The main walls are about 30 feet thick ; at a point in the NE wall where it is broken the wall consisted of a core of unburnt mud brick enclosed between walls of rough stone, the inner 9 feet thick and still standing to a height of about 15 feet on the inside and 35 feet on the outside. The SW wall consists of a core of burnt red brick between walls of rough stone, the outer one four feet thick. The NW wall, running across the land side, is about 420 feet long and has three towers between and excluding those at each corner. They are the following distances apart, measured from N to S between their nearest walls :—72, 72, 87, 117 feet. The outer walls are of rough stone and the inner of mud brick. The tower walls depart from the main wall at right angles, but not enough is preserved to show whether they were truly semi-circular or oblong, probably the latter.

Within the walls are the remains of a building of mud brick, about 40 yards from the SW wall. It is divided into two parts by a cross wall, also of mud brick, and in the larger (NE) room is a shapeless heap of red brick. The building is founded

[73] Lepsius, *Letters*, 259 : Cailliaud, II, 34 : Waddington, 103 ; English (1823), 45–6 ; Prudhoe, *Diary*, 12th Feb., 1829.

[74] At one point however I caught a glimpse through the palms of what appeared to be the tall granite columns of a church.

[75] Prudhoe mentions ' the deserted house or castle of Melek Zobeyr called Odi el Azrek ' at the village of ' Bahekh,' but it is not clear whether this was the same or another distinct castle. *Diary*, 13th Feb., 1829.

[76] Letters, 258 : see also Waddington, 123 ; Hoskins, 168–9.

on rock, exposed in a small gully on the SE side. This is presumably Lepsius's church, but the columns are not now to be seen. The mud bricks are much bigger than the modern ones and seemed to be about the same size as the baked bricks of other Christian sites ; one of them had a long finger-mark drawn obliquely across it like those of Soba and Old Sennar.[77] On the inner face of the ' church ' wall are the remains of plaster about three-quarters of an inch thick.

The whole of the interior of the fort is covered with small (*marug* ?) pits and the debris of stone buildings ; but no shaped stone was found. Christian potsherds are thickly strewn over the ground, some painted, some of a fine red ware like Samian but not red all through. There were no birma-fragments and nothing at all like the Fung ware of the Blue Nile, nor was there anything that looked at all like Meroitic or earlier ware.

The castle is placed, between two small khors, the deeper one on the SW ; and a small khor runs into it from the river on the SE side. On the NW, or land side, the defences have been strengthened by two trenches dug between the lateral khors, and resting on them just like some British cross-dyke. The outer trench is the deepest and its vertical height is not less than 12 feet, the material excavated has been thrown up as a strong bank on the inner side, but there are no traces of any built wall. Outside the NE wall of the fortress is an open oblong grave cut in the rock and empty, and there are strong hints of other unopened graves all round it.

I made enquiries about the name, and was told that it was called Hilleila, but the old man who gave this information was not, apparently, quite sure of it, nor did he inspire confidence for other reasons. The name Hillélé appears, however, on Linant's map just here. The hill is called Jebel Bakhit, and it will be best to call the fortress after it.

Our observations were made under considerable difficulties on both occasions. The first visit was necessarily hurried as we arrived only a few minutes before sunset (30th March) and had to do the last part by moonlight. The ground is extremely rough and the mosquitoes swarmed. The second visit (1st April) was more leisurely, but at the hottest time of the day. We could not measure the length of the longest side of the fort, but it is certainly considerably longer than the NW wall and may be as much as 600 feet or more. No archaeologist seems to have visited it since Lepsius in 1844, and it is high time that a proper plan of it was constructed.

At Magashi[78] was the castle once called Karat Negil, an old fortress with towers of defence, situated near the pyramids ; it was not far beyond (N of) Hannek and was the chief residence of Zubayr. The walls had the usual loopholes for firing.

The next reach, 7 miles long, was ruled by Melek Medinah from his castle at Kajeba, whose picturesque tower still dominates the west bank and can be seen from the Residency terrace at Merawe. By a strange freak of fortune this Shaigia castle masquerades on the map as a ' Roman fort.' Anything less like one it would be difficult to imagine. The castle occupies a low bluff of sandstone at a point

[77] This scoring is to give the mortar a firmer hold. It is still practised in Egypt ; see an admirable description of modern brick-making and building in Somers Clarke's *Christian Antiquities of the Nile Valley*, 1912, 22–9.

[78] Lepsius, *Letters*, 257 : Cailliaud II, 38 ; Prudhoe, *Diary*, 12th Feb., 1829.

where the cliff abuts right on the river-bank, without any intervening belt of low land. Right on its tip is perched the tower which almost overhangs the river (PLATE 1, *frontispiece*), and behind it on the land side the edge of the rocky plateau carried a rough stone rampart which followed every convolution like a contour-line and enclosed an area more than a quarter of a mile from end to end.[79] This contour-fort could effectively control all traffic along the west bank precisely as did the builders of Qasr Wad Nimeiri, Hetani and Bakhit; and since at all these places the normal channel followed at low Nile passes close to the bank below the bluffs, it could control river-traffic as well. The scatter of stones shows that the area was covered with houses; it was, as Prudhoe says,[80] 'a walled town . . . completely guarding the pass which leads to the fertile plains to the east.' He adds that it was 'destroyed after the [Turkish] conquest of the country,' but the tower still stands to a considerable height (PLATE 15). Its NW corner is built of re-used burnt brick, taken from a Christian site just below.[81] With the bricks are some stones and this method is used up to a height of about 15 feet, above which the wall is of unburnt mud brick. Cailliaud[82] records walls here as still standing 30 feet high. At about 5 feet from the ground Sadik Effendi found remains of a grass mat used to reinforce the cement and bond the bricks together. A similar technique was employed in the joints of mud mortar at every fifth course' in the walls of the Nubian town of Serre Shark.[83]

Next on the north to Medinah's little feoff was the more important one of Melek Chaouss whose chief castle still stands, much ruined, at the southern end of the old village of Merowe on the right bank (PLATE 16a).[84] It covers a large area, but is difficult to visualize as a whole because several mud-brick houses have recently been built within it, and the main wall has been destroyed in many places. It was here that Hoskins saw the inscribed basalt block used by Chaouss as a sort of throne. Immediately after their arrival the Turks took the castle over and used it as their merkaz, and it was under this name that it was pointed out to me. There are three other mud castles in the old village. One with two towers still standing faces the end of the short causeway from the meshra (PLATE 16b), and the other two are close by a little further north. They are all of mud or mud brick, the corner tower of one not being bonded into the curtain wall (PLATE 17). Like all such it is rectangular and is in fact merely one of several distinct houses whose courtyard wall has been more strongly built than usual. The evolution of the castle from the courtyard house (mentioned above[85]) is well shown by these smaller Merawe castles. One of them, according to Cailliaud, belonged to Sheikh Kabachy.

The northernmost reach was that of Melek Hamet Wallad Asla, who ruled a rocky district 'called, like its capital, Amri,' extending three days [from Kassinger]

[79] Major G. W. Titherington has amply atoned for the error in his title, 'A Roman Fort in the Sudan,' by having a survey made and published (scale 1:2500) in *SNR*, XXI, 1938, 331–2.

[80] *Diary*, 13th February, 1829.

[81] There is another rather larger Christian site about ¾ of a mile lower down (to the SW), with brick walls still standing, and the remains of a stone-walled building, perhaps a church.

[82] II, 39.

[83] Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 1912, 64.

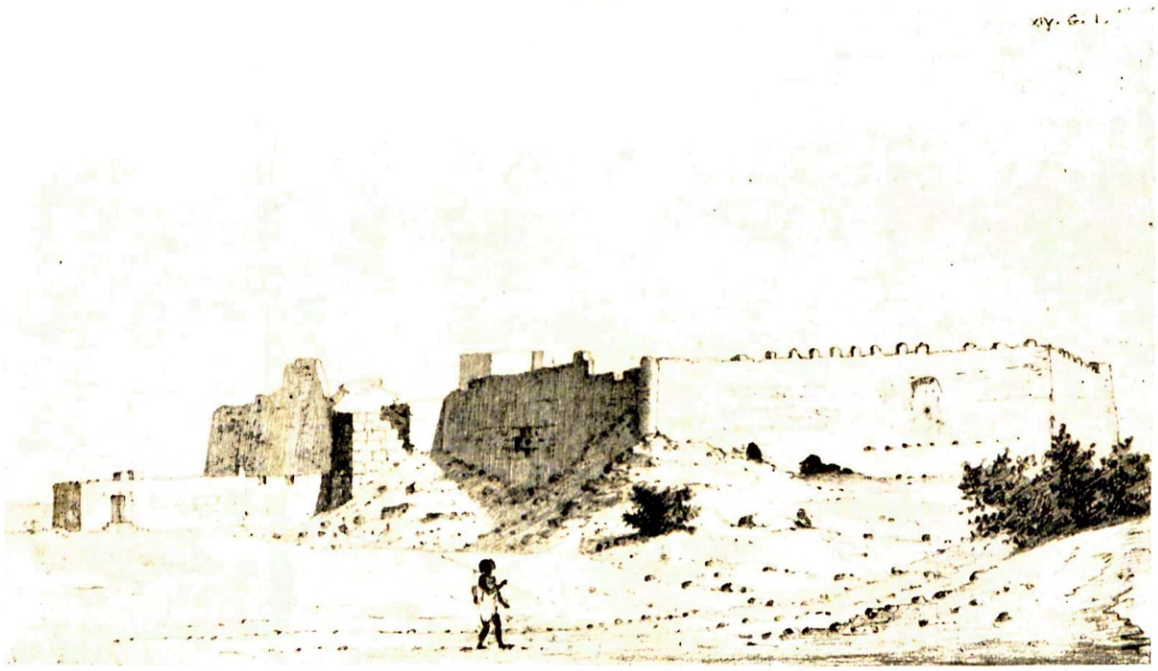
[84] Much confusion is caused by this habit of always calling the right bank of the Nile the east bank even when, as here, the river flows south westwards. Thus old Merowe is called Merowe East, though it is due west of Merowe West on the opposite (left) bank!

[85] p. 44.

The fort of Bakhit below Merowe ; the NE. wall with its towers (p. 46)

facing p. 48

Kajeba castle; w. wall of the tower; note construction of re-used red brick (chiefly on left), rough stone, and mud-brick (upper storey): p. 48; see also Plate 1, frontispiece



a. Castle of Melek Chaous at Merowe, *after* Linant de Bellefonds, 1821 (pp. 45, 48)

Another castle at Merowe, opposite the ferry (p. 48)

Tower at sw. corner of the North castle, Merowe (p. 48)

to the frontiers of Berber.[86] Its chief ' towns ' were Zowera, near the 4th cataract, Amri and Doom el Goozar. Zowera is marked on English's map between Amri on the north and what he calls the cataract of Doulga, evidently meant for the 4th cataract, on the south ; both are marked as district names. But his map here is very inaccurate, making the Nile go some 40 miles too far north, beyond Lat. 20°. Cailliaud marks a place called Soueyqat on the north bank north of Karima, now Jebel Sueigat, and the name Es Suweigat also appears as a district name east of Birti island. One of these, probably the southern, may be Zowera.[87] Doom el Goozar cannot now be identified. The *de facto* frontier of the Shaigia was at Birti island where Linant marks the ' limites des Chaguiés ' at Guebelle Menaye, now El Jebel, on the north bank ; he states that the last Shaigia village was Guerouf (not Querous as Mazuel[88] prints it), now Hosh el Guruf. Amri, Melek Hamet's capital, was presumably the island of that name, 10 miles above the 4th cataract. No description of the castle of Melek Hamet survives, nor is its exact situation known ; but the whole district round is full of ancient remains. At Hellet el Bib, on the west bank just below the cataract, Lepsius[89] saw a brick castle, probably the ' ruins of a strong fort on the right hand bank of the river ' mentioned by English, who also records immediately opposite ' what was apparently a Christian monastery.'[90] (This latter was perhaps the large monastery on the east bank at the 4th cataract mentioned, but not named, by Abu Salih[91]). Close by on Saffi island Linant marks ' Melek Homar ' ; the name survives in Jebel Dar el Humar on the west bank.[92] Heuglin[93] says the Sheikh of W. Qamer lived at Selemah (Selmi, Lepsius).

This region of Amri is little known archaeologically even today. It is very thinly inhabited, but its many islands have produced evidence of early, perhaps Meroitic, occupation, and would be well worth exploring further. Excavation in a region that is still rather remote from civilization would not be easy ; but plans of such sites as contain the remains of buildings would be invaluable. The making of such plans, both here and elsewhere, would be in itself a valuable contribution to knowledge, for it would enable comparisons to be made and types to be established ; it is a task that might well be undertaken by the interested amateur, who wishes to do a useful piece of work. A few air-photographs would be of enormous help, and if taken from a low altitude—*and vertically*—would be a substitute for plans.[94]

MANASIR. RUBATAB. The next two regions go together, and as we have just seen, they were to some extent controlled by the Shaigia. The Manasir occupation extended from Birti island to El Kab, and the Rubatab from there to the

[86] Waddington, 135.

[87] It would appear however to have been also a district name, for it seems to be the same as that spelt Sogara and written in large letters over the district name Amri (in small letters) on a map in the Griffith Institute. This has as its heading the following :—' Skeleton of a chart by Dr Rossignol ; chief points supposed to be stolen from Monsr. Constant, French astronomer, companion of Monsr. Cailliaud. Traced from a copy by Salt in W. Hamilton's possession.' The course of the Nile is very inaccurately shown, and there is very little of value marked on it.

[88] p. 50.

[89] Letters, p. 253.

[90] Narrative, 1823, 73.

[91] Ed. Evetts, p. 273.

[92] A more likely origin than from the Arabic word for donkey.

[93] Petermann, *Erganzungsheft*, no. 15, 1865, 23.

[94] The task is urgent, for already there are rumours of a project to dam the river here, which would destroy for ever all historical evidence.

island of El Usheir, 30 miles north of Berber.[95] This island was called Dricki by Linant[96] and Dreqeh or Dreq by Cailliaud, both of whom show it as separating the villages of Berber from the Rubatab. The Manasir Sheikh in Linant's time was Cocal, and he had his seat near Shirri island (Lat. 19°8′ : Long. 32°31′). On his map Linant writes ' Chek Cocal ' below Guebelle Béhal, a mountain on the north bank opposite the island of Sherari (his Schirari) and between Jebel el Fa'al on the sw and ' Darfadi,' which seems to be Dakhfili, on the east. Linant visited the Sheikh there and attended a wedding ; but the published abstract[97] gives no topographical details. Not far off—apparently between 5 and 10 miles distant—on the east bank was a dwelling (demeure) of Chaouss, the Shaigia melek ; it was built, says Linant, on the ruins of a village situated on the top of a rock, and had been deserted since the Shaigia defeat. The exact site is uncertain, but may be that of the stone-walled fort on the east bank opposite Us island mentioned by Jackson.[98] The locality must once have been of some importance, for the island now called Darmag (south of Us) seems to be that called Tarmag where Sheikh Ibrahim el Bulad settled and taught in the 16th century, and where he and the three other famous sons of Gabir were buried.[99] It is interesting to note that Tarnag is described as in the Shaigia country. At the south-east end of Us is Tibet island, which I have suggested[100] may be conjecturally identified with Tabito, one of the two stone-walled towns which, as stated in Aizanas' inscription, the Noba had taken. (Fertito, the other, may be Birti). Shirri island was described as ' fertile and densely populated ' in 1905, and the valley below it and above it as far as El Kab contained much cultivation. Above El Kab is a barren stretch of about 30 miles to Mograt island ; and then begins again a region that becomes increasingly prosperous as one ascends the valley towards the rainlands.

El Kab (PLATE 18) guarded this region and the permanent settlements of the cultivators below and beyond. Cailliaud[101] describes the fortress as the ruins of an old castle built of unworked stone, on whose foundations the Arabs had raised structures of burnt brick. Behind it on the north, but on the same hill, was the site of a village enclosed within a wall of great extent. The walls of the houses were of dry stone and as much as 7½ feet thick. It was in this fortress that the inhabitants of the district had on many occasions put their animals and corn, to protect them from the raids of the Shaigia ; normally they lived in straw huts round about. Linant, whose drawing is reproduced on PLATE 18, describes[102] two castles, one of a melek, and the other ' ancien, tout ruiné ' with ' tourelles ' and a double ' enceinte.'

The latter fort at least still exists and seems to be well preserved ; it is the right hand one in the drawing. It can be seen from the train about a mile away just after leaving El Kab station going east. It stands on the north bank

[95] Lorimer (*SNR*, XIX, 162) gives the modern limits as extending from Shamkia to Khor Singeir, a distance of 116 miles. This is the same, under other names, as the extent quoted here. For a full account of the Rubatab see his article, and Crowfoot's, on their customs, *SNR*, I, 119–34.

[96] *Diary*, 3rd November, 1821.

[97] Mazuel, 50. In his Diary (21st Oct., 1821) Linant mentions a fort of rough stone at Béhal. The modern name of the district is Shankuk.

[98] *SNR*, IX, 25.

[99] MacMichael, II, 71 (AB §89), 220 (D3, Introduction) ; 224 (D3, No. 17).

[100] p. 19, note 62.

[101] III, 191–2 : *Atlas*, Vol. I, plate 75. See also *SNR*, IX, 31.

[102] *Diary*, 22nd October, 1821.

overlooking the river ; the east wall is of stone and has at least four round towers set at regular intervals along it. The fort would appear therefore to be of the same type as that at Bakhit already described.

The RUBATAB region may be divided into three parts : (1) the barren stretch between El Kab and Mograt island (2) Mograt island (3) from Mograt island to the southern frontier at El Usheir or Dricki island. In the first district at least two castles have been recorded.[103] One was near the rock of El Ar and the other at Gurgurib,[104] a little further east, both on the south bank. On the north bank at El Mo'eys, opposite Tanta island and Gurgurib, were the remains of a large castle of rough stone ; and at Gurgurib large accumulations of debris indicated the presence of an ancient site. The map here marks the name Shamkiya and Shemkiya,[105] which I have little hesitation in identifying with Macrizi's mine of Shanka, though there is no actual evidence of mining here. The place was described as in the district of Shankir which is certainly near the great bend of the Nile here, and the name may easily have been transferred from the mining region at Um Nabardi in the northern desert. This identification is perhaps confirmed by the tribal name El Ginefab marked on the modern map along the north bank in the same region as Shamkiya. This must surely represent Macrizi's Zenafeg,[106] a Bega tribe who occupied the region of Shankir. This stretch is open, so to speak, to the north, and in Linant's time was cultivated by the nomads of the northern desert, the Ababdeh.[107]

Cailliaud calls the Manasir country ' Dar el Kambre ' which evidently means the country of Gamr [108] ; Linant on his map gives ' Ouadée l'Camar ' as the name of the region inhabited by the Manasir; and the ' stolen ' map in the Griffith Institute marks Gamra as a district name south of Amri, which is evidently quite a distinct name.

Mograt island is 20 miles long and surrounded by tiny islets many of which also have ancient remains on them.[109] There are the ruins of stone villages at both ends of Megal, and on Jebel Sihan are rock paintings, including one showing ' a boat manned with 15 oarsmen.' On Abbar island next to Korti island was found a book buried in a pot, but it was thrown away for fear of the Mahdi. But it encourages one to hope that documents may still survive underground in this dry climate, in spite of the white ants. On the north bank opposite Korti island Cailliaud saw the ruins of a large building of dry stone and unburnt brick which he regarded as either a monastery or more probably a fortress built at an earlier date.[110] This desert region north of Mograt and west of Abu Hamed once bore the name Takaki,[111] which does not

[103] It is not easy to disentangle the different accounts which may refer to the same remains under different names.

[104] This name is given to the mountains in the NW part of the Nile bend, south of the river. It is marked here on some of the early maps, such as that of Blaeu-Verbest (1644, based on Ortelius, 1570) and is probably the Gueguerre which André Corsal in 1516 considered to be the name then given to the island of Meroe : ' Historiale Description (*Alvarez*) ; 1558, p. 25. No doubt he based his information upon some similar but older map which he had seen. Cailliaud calls the pass in the mountains NW of the Atbara mouth Akaba Guirguir : II, 130.

[105] The name occurs, differently spelt, on both sheets 45B and 45C.

[106] Burckhardt, 497; p. 100 below.

[107] Mazuel, 50.

[108] A personal name Suleiman wad Gamr is mentioned at Birti, Gleichen, I, 39.

[109] *SNR*, IX, 23–31.

[110] II, 187, 189. May it not have been both ? Even as late as the 17th century the Portuguese monasteries in Abyssinia—Mai Goga, for instance—were built as forts, and in early Christian times there may have been a similar need of defence here. The name Karmel (recorded by Cailliaud) strongly suggests a monastic origin, and elsewhere I have suggested that this building is to be identified with Fra Mauro's Hermel (*Geogr. Journal* CXIV, 1949, 16).

[111] See also p. 137, note 15.

appear on the modern maps. Linant[112] gives it as the name of the Arabs inhabiting the whole central Rubatab region, and also on the Atbara. Bruce[113] locates the name in the same region as that of a people ' west of Assa Nagga, and Asserobaybe upon the Nile ' ; his map proves that it was Takaki, not the other two places (which I cannot identify), which was on the Nile. The ' stolen ' map referred to above marks Takaki as a district-name south of Mograt. Cailliaud[114] says the ' Arabes de Takakis ' infested the desert route from Abu Hamed to Sebou and plundered the caravans. Burckhardt[115] says that ' at Tekaki in Mograt there lives a tribe of Fokaha [holy men] who are Sherifs, and pretend to be descended from the Abbasids.' The name does not occur in MacMichael's index or in any of the Sudanese manuscripts.

The third and southernmost Rubatab region extends from Mograt or Abu Hamed to the island of El Usheir or Dricki. Abu Hamed itself derives its importance from its position at the point where the Egyptian caravans from Sebou first reached the Nile on their southward journey. Being also the last place on the Nile on the northward journey it was used as a sort of depot for heavier baggage which would uselessly encumber the camels and was deposited, for subsequent collection, at the tomb of the Sheikh who gave his name to the place. Here both Linant and Cailliaud saw a huge pile of such baggage, resting under an acacia tree ; neither of them speak of a village, but Hoskins[116] mentions ' a few houses, or rather wretched huts, built of mud and straw,' and the fortified house of Sheikh Halif, which was almost as large as the village itself, but had been abandoned after his death. It consisted of a large quadrangular brick enclosure with a round tower at each corner. In the centre was a building of one storey, in which were the Sheikh's divans and sleeping-room. Along the enclosing walls were many little huts where his wives and concubines lived.

The modern town is of quite recent growth but of similar origin, being the point where the railway from Wadi Halfa rejoins the Nile after its desert journey.

In this and the adjacent regions Linant's map contains a large number of names which seem now to have been forgotten. It appears that the hill called J. Burg el 'Anag on the modern map [45 C] is a corruption of Bergalamag (Linant) and is connected, not with the Anag, but with the district Amaki on the west bank opposite, and means the bluff or cliff[117] of Amaki. There are many ancient sites of all periods ; perhaps the most interesting is a mosque on Artul island, 6 miles north of Shereik, which is attributed to the 15th century, but seems to incorporate a Christian church. Jackson was not able or willing to enter it, and apart from his description, necessarily brief and inadequate, nothing is recorded about it. A plan and full account are badly needed, if such could be obtained.

The Nile valley between Mograt and Usheir has been little described ; it lay off the main route from Berber to Egypt which went by Jebel el Nugeim, Burckhardt's Nedjeym, and well to the east of the points where the Bayuda crossings met the river. It hardly enters at all into the history of the Fung period, but it may have had more importance when the centres of government were nearer, at Napata and Meroe. No excavations have been made anywhere in the district.

[112] ' Rabattab, peuplé par les Arabes takaquis et par quelques Bicharis ' ; map.
[113] VI, 457.
[114] III, 185.
[115] p. 227, note.
[116] p. 34.
[117] *Sudan Gazetteer*, glossary, p. 5 : barqa, a bluff or cliff.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTHERN FUNG REGION

IF the Nile, instead of turning westwards at Abu Hamed, had continued northwards, the whole history of the Sudan would have been different. The main caravan route naturally did not wish to double its journey to Egypt by following the river, and therefore cut across the bend. This meant that for all practical purposes the continuity of the Nile valley was broken by a belt of desert—the Bayuda. Now it so happens, quite accidentally, that this desert belt roughly divides the region where rain falls regularly from that where it does not—the rainlands from the desert. Whether the desert crossing was made from Korti to Dereira and Gerri, or from Sebou to Abu Hamed, or from Egypt via Korosko to Berber, the northern start was in the desert and the southern ports of arrival (except Abu Hamed) in the rainlands. Dongola, whose regime is that of the desert, was thus physically and culturally separated from the rest of the Fung kingdom, and belonged culturally (as once politically) to the north.

The southward-bound traveller would strike the Nile again at Abu Hamed, Berber, or at one of the terminus-points between Aliab and Gerri. The reach of 150 miles between Berber and Gerri was a sort of arrival-platform for such travellers; it was their first sight of the new world south of the Great Desert. The petty kingdoms that occupied this belt belong to the south rather than the north, and it is for this reason that I have drawn the dividing line between north and south at El Usheir.

BERBER. Berber is geographically the first of these petty kingdoms or mekdoms. Its importance in history—which was considerable—is based upon location; it is here that the Nile valley approaches nearest to the Red Sea. But the trade which passed through Berber on its way to the Red Sea came, not from the south but from the west—from the Shaigia country and Dongola. The much bigger volume of trade which came from Sennar, Kordofan and Darfur bypassed Berber, passing direct from Shendi across the desert to Suakin.[1] Berber was also the first place of call of the caravans coming from Egypt by the longer eastern route, and therefore had first pick of their goods. The western trade was killed by the revolt of the Shaigia, and in Burckhardt's time Berber was in decay and many of the modern buildings were in ruins. The caravans were then obliged to follow a more southerly course to Shendi, to which Berber was always second in importance. It was once famous as a horse-market,[2] and it seems that the strong horses of Dongola, needed for his mail-clad cavalry, passed through Berber on their way to the king of Abyssinia.

Berber is first mentioned by name by Paez,[3] but there must have been a town there from early times. Actually there were four distinct villages, each with a

[1] Burckardt, 235.
[2] Munzinger, 576. See also p. 269.
[3] Beccari, II, 271. The name also occurs in various forms all over NE Africa. For an early mention of one place of this name see *SNR*, I, 229.

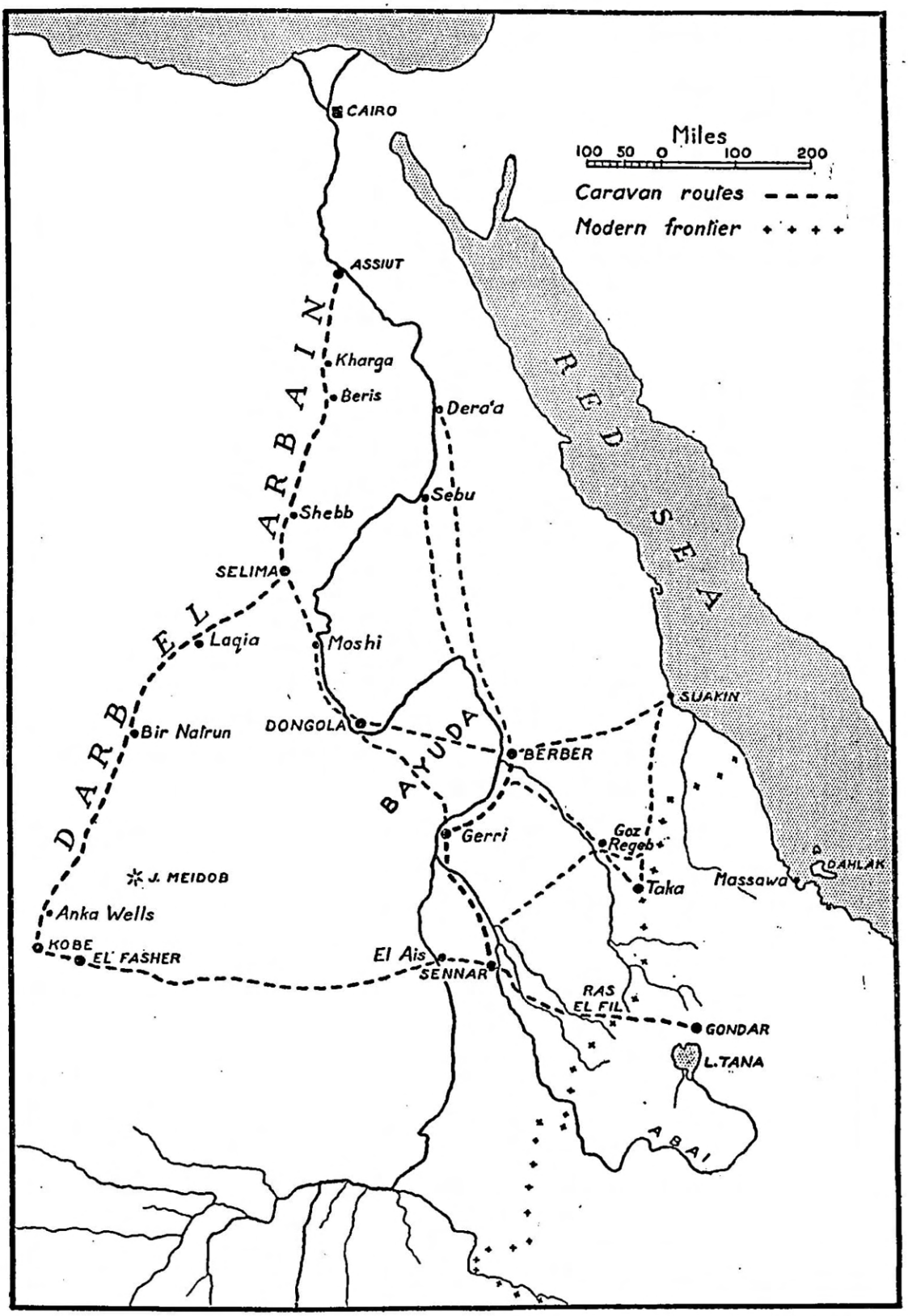


FIG. 8. Caravan routes

name, making up the conglomeration to which the name ' Berber ' was applied. Burckhardt[4] calls them Ankheyre, Goz el Funnye, El Hassa (the northernmost) and Goz el Souk or Goz. They were about half an hour's walk from the river, on the east bank, and had no regular streets. ' Each habitation consists of a large yard divided into an inner and outer court. Round this yard are the rooms for the family, which are all on the ground floor; I have never seen in any of these countries a second story, or staircase.' The inner court was generally used to keep the cattle, camels, cows and sheep, and there was a subdivision for keeping the dry Dhurra stalks on which the cattle were fed in summer.

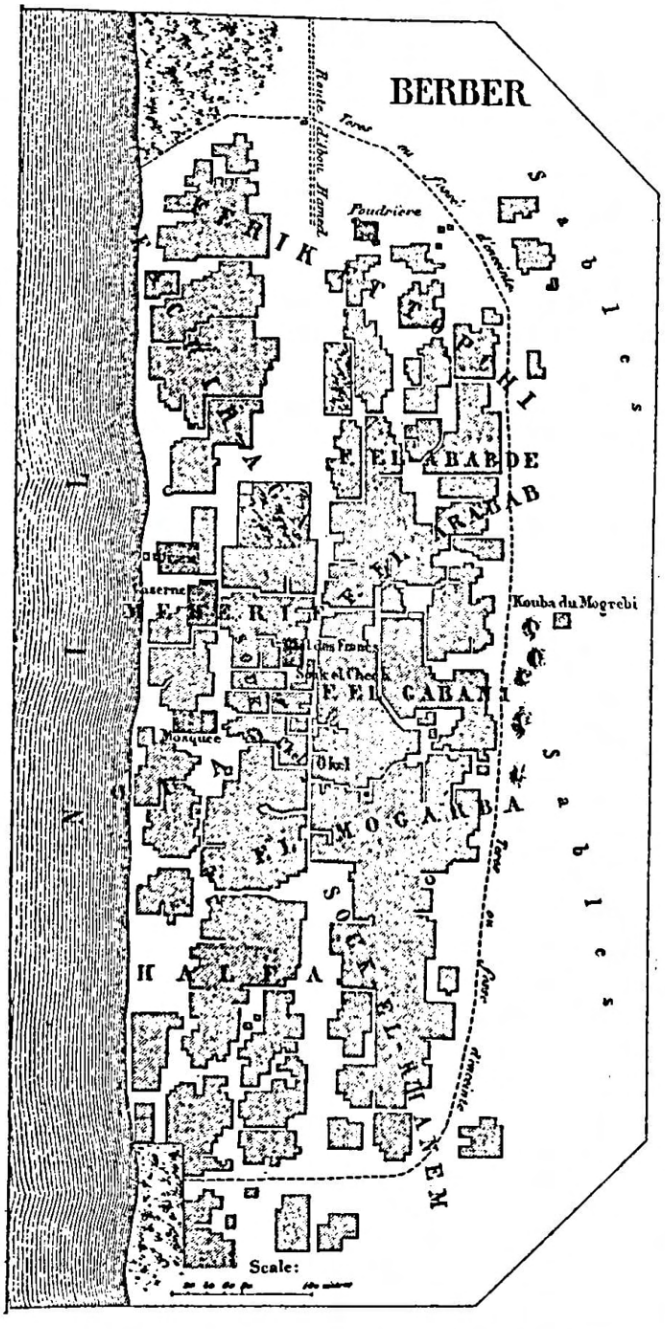


FIG. 9. Berber in 1861–2, *after* Lejean

This plan, though rectangular, clearly grew out of the round nomad encampment, and later developed into the castle. All over Africa nomads pitch their tents in a circle and put the camels and cattle inside for safety, and to prevent straying.[5] When the nomad becomes rooted to a particular spot he naturally makes similar dispositions. The mud castles are merely fortified houses, and their internal arrangements were exactly the same. In prehistoric Europe there was a parallel development; the earliest fortification consisted of a row of houses facing inwards.[6]

Cailliaud's account[7] of Berber supplements Burckhardt's in a few details. El Mekheyr was the chief village and was 300 yards from the river and a quarter of a league long north and south. There were three lines of houses separated by two streets. He describes the wooden doors, made without nails on account

[4] 209–12

[5] See for instance *Antiquity*, VII, 345, plate 4 (Morocco); XIII, 1–2, plates 1 and 2 (Rhodesia); for other examples and a discussion of the subject see my note in *Antiquity*, XI, 210–12.

[6] See ' A hill-fort in Switzerland ' (the Wittnauer Horn), by Gerhard Bersu, *Antiquity*, XX, 4–8.

[7] II, 100 ff.

of the scarcity of iron, the planks being bound together with thongs (like the Red Sea boats). There were, he noted, no date-palms south of Abu Egli, which was at the northern frontier of Berber, just above the 5th cataract ; and he correctly associated this fact with the climate. Palms dislike rain, and although there are years when the rainfall of Berber is nil,[8] the average annual rainfall is 73.7 millimetres and the highest recorded 241.6 millimetres.

Berber is mentioned occasionally in the native records, but its history is a blank and no list of its rulers has survived. The curtain is lifted for a brief moment in 1700 by De Maillet, who met the ' Governor of Barbar ' in Cairo that year, whither he had fled for refuge, having killed ' le Chef de la Justice ' whom the King of Sennar had sent to him. At Cairo he bought 300 muskets with which he was proposing to propitiate the king, returning via Mecca and the Red Sea. De Maillet unfortunately does not mention the governor's name, but says that he was a young man of between 25 or 30 years of age, having about 30 blacks in his suite, and a quantity of gold dust. The governorship was hereditary in his family. De Maillet, who was already planning the ill-fated embassy of Du Roule, had no scruples in giving him some presents, for his principality lay (as he thought) on the route to Sennar and Ethiopia, and his good will was therefore worth purchasing at the cost of a few trifles.[9]

Between Berber and the Atbara was a minute mekdom which in Burckhardt's time was independent of Berber and ruled by its own Mek. Ras el Wady was a big village whose inhabitants, like those of Berber, called themselves Meyrefab, a word that Burckhardt regarded as not Arabic and probably Bisharin.[10] The Mek, Hamze, was appointed by the king of Sennar, and was much dreaded by the caravans.'[11]

DAMER. The Atbara, which formed the southern boundary of Berber, was in theory the northern boundary of the kingdom of Shendi. But just as there was an independent mekdom between the Atbara and Berber, so south of it there were two, Damer and Mekaberab. In actual fact the Nile valley between the chief centres was a no-man's-land inhabited by robbers, who would strip every caravan that was unaccompanied by the recognized protectors. Cailliaud gives the regional name of Dar Djal to a strip of about 30 miles between the Atbara and Hallaouyeh,[12] now Hawia near Aliab ; but the Ga'al region proper includes Shendi and extends to the Shabluka gorge. The Mekaberab, whom Burckhardt identified with Pliny's Megabari, were of minor importance when we first hear of them from modern travellers ; but Damer was a centre of some distinction. Like Debba it was a holy place, ruled by a Mohammedan sheikh ; but whereas of Debba we know little beyond what Krump tells us, Damer had the good fortune to be visited by Burckhardt who stayed there for five days (10th to 15th April, 1814).[13] His account, one of the best in a superlatively good book, gives a picture of a little community that seems to

[8] *The Sudan from Within*, 1935, 258 ff. The meteorological records are made at Atbara, 20 miles south of Berber.

[9] Letter from De Maillet to Monseigneur, dated Cairo, 22nd April, 1700. Archives Nationales (Paris) : Affaires étrangères B1, 314 (1699–1702) Tom. 2, fol. 108.

[10] p. 210. He also says the Meyrefab, though cultivators, did not use the plough.

[11] Burckhardt, 259.

[12] Howiah (Burckhardt and Bruce), L'haoué (Linant), El Howyeh (Hoskins). The name means ' hell ' in Arabic, but its common occurrence in place-names suggests some other origin.

[13] *Travels*, 265–71.

have been much happier and better ruled than those of the meks. The town, of about 500 houses,[14] was cleaner and neater than Berber; there were many new buildings and no ruins, and there were regular streets and shady trees. The inhabitants belonged to the Arab tribe of Medja-ydin (*i.e.* the Megadib, descendants of Magdhub) who were *fuqqara* or religious men. Their ruler was called El Faky el Kebir and was of the family of 'Medjdoule' (which is presumably a misprint for Medjdoub). When Bruce[15] passed through Damer in 1772 the Sheikh was Fakir Wed Madje Doub, probably Hammad ibn el Maghdub[16] (1693–1776), whose tomb was at El Damer. He was, says Bruce, a performer of miracles; and Burckhardt says that the family had the reputation of being necromancers, as too were some of the others fakirs there. The Great Fakir lived the life of a hermit in a small building in the square, in a room about twelve feet square, the other part being a chapel. 'About three o'clock in the afternoon,' says Burckhardt, 'he quits his chamber, after having been shut up all the morning, occupied in reading, and takes his seat upon a large stone bench before the building. He is here joined by all his fraternity, and business is then transacted until long after sunset. I went once to kiss his hands, and found him a venerable figure,[17] entirely wrapped up in a white cloke. He asked me from whence I came, in what school I had learnt to read, and what books I had read; and he seemed satisfied with my answers.' There were several schools to which young men came from Darfur, Sennar and Kordofan to study law, returning home 'to make a figure as great Fakys in their own countries.' There were many books in the place, but concerned only with religious and legal subjects. The mosque was large and well built, resting upon arches built of brick, but with no minaret; it was the coolest place in Damer and much resorted to by strangers for a quiet nap.

The affairs of this little hierarchical state, perhaps remotely resembling a medieval university town in Europe, seemed to Burckhardt to be well conducted. Even the Bisharin respected travellers from Damer, but their respect was partly due to a fear that the Fakys might otherwise use their supernatural powers to deprive them of rain and so cause the death of their flocks. Many of the Fakys were themselves traders. No passage duties were demanded, the income of the state being derived from agriculture and trade, the latter chiefly with Dongola and Shendi, to which Damer acknowledged allegiance.[18] There was a well supplied weekly market[19]; the Damer mats were in considerable demand. These covered the floors of the houses and were made of leaves of the dom-palm dyed with coloured designs. On the walls of the sitting room were hung large wooden bowls and dishes, for ornament. In spite of its austere priestly rule there were many bouza-shops and houses of debauchery.

According to the local Megadhib tradition, Damer was founded towards the end of the 15th century; but dead reckoning by generations back to Hamad ibn Abdullah, the reputed founder, would put it about a century later—a much more

[14] Cailliaud estimated the population at about 2000: III, 175.

[15] VI, 451.

[16] MacMichael, II, 242 (D3, No. 123).

[17] If he was the immediate successor of Bruce's Fakir, he is not likely to have been less than 70.

[18] Linant (Mazuel, 56).

[19] Cailliaud, III, 175.

probable period. The original settlement was at a place outside Damer on the south called Darru (now Shaadinab[20]).

On the west bank opposite was a small village called Damer el Gharby (West Damer), with which there was communication by a ferry boat—a dug-out made from the trunk of a Nebek tree.

No castles are recorded in this district, and the only ancient site at present known is that at Hasaya, 9 miles SW of Damer, where the map (45 K) marks ' Christian remains.' Some of the names on the early 19th century maps are not found on the modern map. The island of Genigabia opposite Zeidab South on the southern frontier, is the Gunnabra of Hoskins and the Guetr Gabi[21] of Cailliaud; it may be the place called Gerf Agib among the Zaydab, the residence of Dow el Bayt ibn Ahmad el Shafa'i, a holy man who was born at Berber in the 17th century.[22]

SHENDI. The kingdom of Shendi extended in Fung times from the Atbara (or from Hawia) to the rock of Hagar el Asal below the Shabluka gorge, a distance of about 130 (or 100) miles. The limits are also given by the Shukria as from Al Hawa to Al Dodawa, an expression equivalent to the phrase ' from Dan to Beersheba ' according to Hillelson.[23] Al Hawa is presumably the Wadi Hawa, debouching at Kabushia. Dodawa recalls the Nubian Do-tauwo (Lower Do); it should be somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Shabluka Gorge, and cannot be the place Dow-dowa, 3 miles SW of Damer, mentioned by Bruce[24] if my identification of Al Hawa is correct, for then Shendi itself would be excluded. The northern limit here stated (Al Hawa) is 30 miles south of Hawia, suggesting that this gap may have had some sort of independence of Shendi. This is in agreement with the hypothesis that it was the region called the Gebeil (probably Reubeni's Ataqqi and the earlier Al Takeh[25]); and with the fact that ' Gebel ' (obviously an invented person) is given[26] as the ancestor of the Gebelab and brother of the eponymous ancestor of the Mukabirab (Macabrab) and of Adlan, the founder of the Shendi dynasty, the two mekdoms between which the Gebel lies.

We are now well within the region of regular rainfall, though it amounts at present to no more than between 50 and 100 millimetres on the average (about 2½ to 4 inches). This is the heart of the ancient kingdom of Meroe, succeeded later by that of El Abwab and then by Shendi. Geographically the region belongs definitely to the south rather than the north; but throughout history its attachment has fluctuated. In some respects it is geographically comparable with Palestine which was situated at a bottleneck of caravan-routes. For Shendi was a great market. Here crossed the two greatest trade-routes of Eastern Africa; from Darfur (and even beyond) and Kordofan to Suakin, and from Abyssinia and Sennar to Egypt. The Kordofan route proceeded from El Obeid by Umm Kantur, Jebel abu Tabur, and thence across the desert to Shendi.[27] There were three alternative routes from

[20] See ' The Megadhib of El Damer ', by F. C. S. Lorimer, *SNR*, XIX, 1936, 335–41, with genealogical tables.

[21] This may be an incorrect reading of the written Arabic form supplied to Cailliaud, which may have been something like Guerf Agib.

[22] MacMichael, II, 238 (D3, No. 91).

[23] *SNR*, III, 1920, 60.

[24] See Appendix 8 (22nd October, 1772).

[25] See pp. 25, 137.

[26] ABC. Tree 2.

[27] Burckhardt, 316, 482: G. Lejean, *Voyage aux deux Nils* (1865), 54. Lejean describes the route (which was then abandoned) as going from Lobeid by Abou Ganatir and Abou Dhober to Metamma.

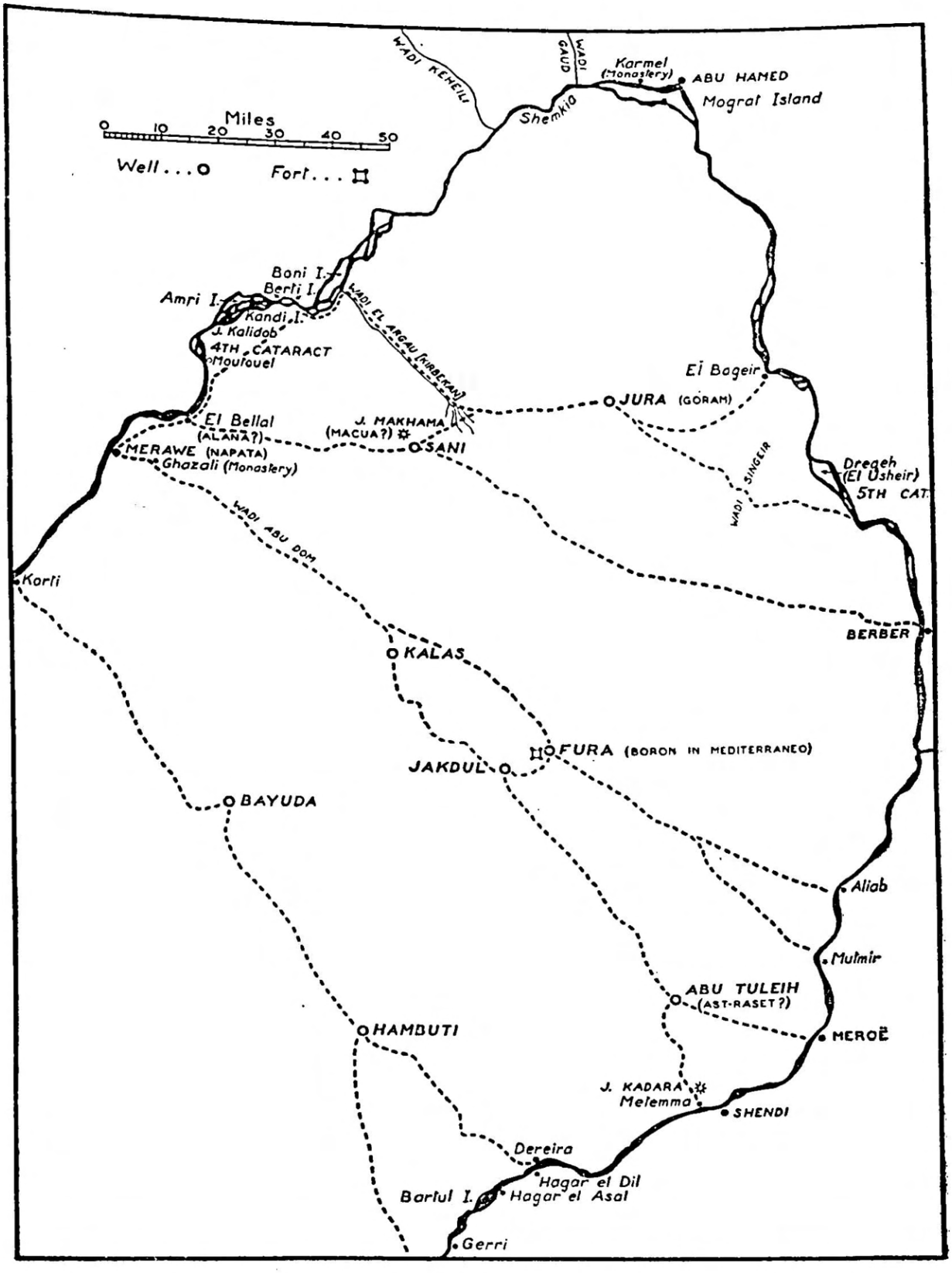


FIG. 10. Bayuda crossings (modern)

Egypt ; the first was probably used more by local than by through traffic, and came from Merawe by El Fura to the place now called Saqadi West, opposite Mutmir ; the second came from Korti by Jakdul to Metemma, opposite Shendi, and the third from Korti to Dereira, below Gerri. These three termini were each at different periods the political centres which controlled the region ; the cause of their political importance is, I think, economic, but the factors which determined their successive rise and fall were probably political.

The first (and northernmost) route starts from Merawe and ends at a point on the river, 14 miles north of the ancient city of Meroe, where the Wadi el Widai (called higher up the Wadi el Badoba) debouches.[28] This point was chosen, partly because the Wadi formed a natural route, easy to follow, and partly because the desert journey is shorter than if it ended opposite Meroe. For here the Nile, after flowing north-north-east from Meroe, turns and flows north-eastwards. In the slight bend thus formed is a small plain on which Cailliaud observed the foundations of buildings and the columns of two small sanctuaries, and (a little further north) the remains of a town indicated by heaps of burnt brick.[29] I have little doubt that one of these sites was that of Mallos, near Meroe, mentioned by Bion as next southwards after Boron (El Fur ?) and by Juba as between Serem and Agocen. This identification is made on geographical grounds, and both it and the others following are independent of any similarity between the ancient and modern names, which was not observed until afterwards. But it is significant that the name of the mountain south of the ancient sites is given as Omalli by Linant and Immeli by Hoskins. Possibly the name may be merely the Arabic Umm Ali, which now appears there on the map, but it is equally possible that this is a corruption, by Arabic-speakers, of a non-Arabic word. If Mallos was here, and Boron was at El Fur, it follows that this route was the one used, or chiefly used, during the Meroitic period.

During the Christian period the kingdom later called Shendi was called El Abwab, the Gates. I have dealt with the meaning of this name elsewhere (p. 24). It is stated that the name still survives, attached to the Kabushiya district, *i.e.* to the neighbourhood of Meroe. The author of D6,[30] who knew the district well, mentions a place Wahayn, which was ' north of the city of El Abwab, which is a great city said to contain stone images of such beasts as lions and wolves and snakes ' ; this must surely refer to Meroe. Wahayn should then be somewhere near Mutmir.

For various reasons elsewhere stated[31] it is probably in this neighbourhood that Reubeni's Ataqqi is to be looked for ; and I have suggested that it may have been the village of Gebel or Gebel Daiyiq.[32] This also is a more likely neighbourhood for the princedom of Al Takeh[33] than the distant Kassala, especially if MacMichael's

[28] There is necessarily some repetition in the following paragraphs of statements made elsewhere in this book ; but it seemed desirable to bring all the evidence together here.

[29] III, 174–5. Lepsius made a special visit to the northern site which was between the villages of Sagadi East and Genna, but was disappointed to find only ' the inconsiderable ruins of a place built of bricks and strewn with broken tiles ' : he does not mention the other site. Letters, 157.

[30] MacMichael, II, 344.

[31] pp. 137-8.

[32] The same name seems to recur at Eddeyga near Korti, and may be the Nubian word ' eddiga,' an elbow.

[33] In the list of princes from the history of Kalaun (Quatremère, *Mémoires*, II, 101, quoted by MacMichael, I, 183, note 6). It has been stated, by a modern scholar who examined the manuscript of Kalaun at Paris, that the place-names here mentioned have no diacritical marks, and that Befal is a misreading. Unfortunately I have mislaid my reference to this observation.

identification of Barah be accepted. El Abwab is mentioned by Yacoubi[34] (A.D. 891) as a place on the way from Allagi to the country of the Nouba called 'Alwa. Thirty days from Allagi was Kabaw (El Kab ?), then came El Abwab and then the capital of 'Alwa called Soba.

The second (midmost) route started from Korti and went by Jakdul to Metemma, the rival of Shendi on the opposite bank. Above Metemma on the north is Jebel Kadar ; and I think this is where we might well place the ' Kedrou ' of the list just mentioned. (Befal in the same list was probably close by at the debouchment of the Wadi el Bafalil). One might regard as a continuation of this route the one that led southeastwards from Shendi by Abu Deleiq, Reira, Gedaref and Gallabat (Ras el Fil) to Abyssinia. Such a route was certainly in use, but the valley one was safer, if more expensive. The Jakdul-Metemma route whose real terminus is of course at Shendi, would presumably be closely associated with the fortunes of Shendi itself, but there is no direct evidence on this subject.

The third (southernmost) route ran from Korti by Bayuda and Hambuti to Dereira, a little below the Shabluka Gorge. Cailliaud marks the village of Derreira on the north bank immediately opposite ' Hadjar el Assad,' the frontier-mark. There is now no village so named on the map ; the island called Dereira is three miles below Hagar el Asal. The terminal point of the desert crossing was controlled by the Sheikhs of Gerri, and the river itself was crossed, not at Dereira but higher up. Krump's caravan crossed at a place which he calls Hambia. This route was the usual one for the Sennar caravans in the Fung period.

Shendi was the seat of a line of kings[35] that, by dead reckoning, appears to begin at the end of the 16th century. This may mean that during the earlier part of that century no central control existed and the province was ruled by independent, or semi-independent, sheikhs, whose allegiance to the Fungs was little more than nominal. Such a state of affairs would be merely a continuation of that obtaining during the preceding Dark Age. It is consistent with the picture dimly visible through Reubeni's narrative, for (if my interpretation is correct) there were then two rulers in the Kingdom—Abu Akrab in or near Shendi, and the ' great chief ' at Ataqqi. It seems also to be consistent with the genealogies[36] which mention a certain Melik Adlan, who was the ancestor of some of the kings of Shendi mentioned by Cailliaud and was the brother of Sha'a ed Din, the founder of the Shukria, who flourished right at the beginning of the 17th century, and of ' Gebel.' It would seem, then, that the dynasty of Shendi, together with those of other adjacent regions, was founded during the reign of Agib Mangilak—and this is probable on other grounds. But this may merely mean that enterprising Arab adventurers acquired, by marriage or otherwise, the ascendancy over certain already existing groups of people.

Shendi[37] was not merely a provincial capital like Dongola or Berber ; it was a

[34] *Mon. Cart. Afr. et Ægypt*, Vol. III, fasc. 1 (1930), p. 540 v.

[35] Their names are given by Cailliaud (III, 106–7), and the difficulties in reconciling this list with the genealogies are discussed by MacMichael (I, 232–4).

[36] MacMichael, A11, ABC, Tree 2.

[37] This account of Shendi is based upon the descriptions of Bruce in 1772 (VI, 436–44), Burckhardt in 1814 (277–361), Cailliaud in May, 1821, and March, 1822 (III, 104–121), Linant in December, 1821 (Mazuel, 58–60), and Hoskins in 1833 (87–93, 120–25).

metropolis of commerce whose connections reached from the shores of Lake Chad to Arabia and India and from Egypt and Europe to Abyssinia. It was the largest town in the eastern Sudan, the entrepot of trade between Sennar, Kordofan and Darfur in one direction and Cairo, Mecca, Abyssinia and India in the others. There were at one time about 800 to 1000 houses and a population of about 6000.[38] The town was about 2 miles in circumference and was divided into quarters separated from each other by public places or markets. The ordinary houses were mostly ' miserable hovels of clay and reeds ' (Bruce) ; Burckhardt saw no walls of burnt brick there, and Hoskins considered that the place could never have been ' worthy of much notice as a city ' because he could see no shops or cafés. But appearances were misleading and it would be quite wrong to draw the obvious conclusion from them. To see the richest merchants in their homes one would think them sunk in deepest poverty ; their houses were dirty, and devoid of all amenities ; they lived in a single room and never ate meat ; they slept on the ground and went about half naked. But they had buried away in the ground large sums of money, mostly in the coinage of Charles IV (called from this Abu Harba[39]). This squalor may have been due partly to mere miserliness, partly to a fear of exciting envy by ostentatious display of wealth. The Dongola merchants (who occupied a separate quarter) were notorious for avarice and inhospitality ; they were the chief brokers and had the characteristics imputed to Jews in Europe. They were even, it was said, too mean to be vicious. There were few artisans ; Burckhardt came across only blacksmiths, silversmiths, tanners, potters and carpenters. The last were employed to lay the roof of a house after it had been built by the owner himself and his household. There was actually no mosque in Shendi, though many of the holy men had private chapels ; nor were there any weavers. All this means is that craftsmanship was widely distributed and not concentrated in specialists. Such crafts as the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of mats and baskets were practised in every household. For the rest, the wealth of the traders enabled them to import from elsewhere what they could not make themselves or obtain on the spot. Commercial prosperity always kills home products.[40]

The Mek lived by the river in a mud castle (PLATE 13a), which was bigger and cleaner than the other houses ; it was whitewashed outside and, unlike all the rest, had an upper story.[41] The interior was bare of furniture but there were of course angarebs (with mother-of-pearl inlay) and mats. The Mek was wealthy and owned horses, camels and flocks, but his chief wealth consisted of slaves. He also had the right of pre-emption in the markets. Some of his income was derived from the immoral earnings of his slaves whom he distributed for this purpose in the outlying villages. He was subject to Sennar, but except for the purchase money paid for his accession and occasional presents he was entirely independent and governed as an absolute ruler. Unlike the king of Berber he was not thwarted by the influence of

[38] The size had decreased in 1833 to about 600 to 700 houses and a population of about 3000 to 3500 (Hoskins, 87).

[39] Mazuel, 58.

[40] Thus we in England found during the war of 1939–45, when we were cut off from Europe, that we had become dependent on Europe for many household necessities that were once made in our own country.

[41] Cailliaud, III, 104–5. He speaks of ' les résidences du mélik ' in the plural. He had several houses in addition to the castle, and three harems. He went from one house to another, remaining a fortnight in each (Mazuel, 57).

powerful families ; for none of the Arab tribes in his province were strong enough to cope with his own. He also did not practise rapacity which made Berber so much dreaded by strangers ; as at Sennar the caravans passed free of duty.

Commerce was the very life of society in Shendi, and agriculture was very little thought of, and left to the peasants. The chief crop was dhurra and there were many water-wheels, but the people were lazy and did not grow as much as they might. Shendi could not live on the products of its own territory, and had to depend on imports, chiefly dhurra from the Abu Haraz region. There were, however, many fine cattle, and some market-gardening.

The character of the inhabitants was bad. Debauchery and drunkenness were fashionable, the latter even more so than at Berber, and no night passed without Burckhardt hearing the loud songs of some bouza-meeting. ' Public women ' were not often seen in the streets, as at Berber, but were almost as numerous in the courtyards of the houses. Cailliaud described the people as ' méchans, faux, rancuneux, perfides à un plus haut degré que les Barbars leurs voisins.'

The market was held in an open space between the two principal quarters of the town. There were three rows of small shops built of mud, one behind the other, in the shape of niches, about 6 feet long and 4 feet deep, covered with mats ; these were occupied by the wealthier tradesmen who brought their goods there in the morning and took them back again in the evening. The other merchants sat on the ground under an awning of mats, supported by three long poles, arranged to give shade to buyer and seller. Burckhardt has given a very complete account of the articles sold, and here I can only mention a few. Tobacco was sold retail in every corner of the market ; the best (called Taba) came from Sennar and was of a dark green colour ; and from Sennar also came pipes and pipe-heads of clay.[42] Tobacco also came from Dongola, together with dates from Mahass ; but the Dongola trade was unimportant. Some of the Sennar tobacco was taken by the Suakin merchants, for sale in the Yemen. Soap (made with olive oil) was manufactured in Palestine for the whole of Arabia and Egypt, except for what came from Siout—an inferior kind, made with lettuce-oil. There were all kinds of beads—of wood and dom-kernels from Upper Egypt, glass beads from Hebron in Palestine, Venice, Bohemia and Surat. From Solingen in Germany came razors and swords. From Venice and Trieste via Egypt came small mirrors which every married woman hung in her room. There were also sold small bells[43] (sonaglii) used in Sennar and Darfur to ornament the camel's bridle and halter. The peasants of the district brought for sale mats, baskets, ox hides, coarse pottery, camel saddles, wooden dishes and other articles of their own making. Large wooden dishes or bowls were also imported from Kordofan ; they were carved from the root of a tree, then rubbed with butter and held over a fire to blacken them. Some were big enough to hold food for a dozen people ; they were very skilfully made and showed no marks of the instrument used, and were often hung on the walls for ornament. Shoemakers worked in the market and would make a pair of sandals at an hour's notice ; the leather was tanned with the *garadh* or pulse of the acacia (sant). Leather bags were also made. The principal other imports from Sennar were damur cloth and Abyssinian gold, the

[42] Many of these, covered with incised ornament were found on the site at Abu Geili which I excavated for Sir Henry Wellcome in 1914.

[43] See p. 293, note 10.

collecting market for which was at Ras el Fil. Gold was bought by the Suakin merchants who used it to buy Indian goods at Jedda ; it was in the form of ring-money. A minor export of Sennar was monkeys who were trained to perform tricks and taken round to amuse the people of Arabia, Syria and Egypt ; Burckhardt was often asked if he had come to acquire such. The monkey-hunters were held in great contempt ' because, as the Negroes say, they pass their whole lives in making others laugh at them.' There were always on sale on the great market-days some four or five hundred camels and as many cows, a hundred asses and twenty or thirty horses ; every Suakin caravan bought a number of Dongola horses which were sold to great advantage in Yemen. The cavalry of Yemen in Burckhardt's time were mounted almost entirely upon Dongola horses. The Mek of Shendi had himself from two to three hundred horsemen.

The Suakin merchants supplied Shendi with Indian goods—cambrics from Madras and Surat,[44] coarse muslins from Bengal, cloves, sugar, ginger, beads and sandalwood. A great part of these goods was taken by Kordofan merchants in exchange for slaves, which were the staple article of trade in Shendi. Burckhardt has given a long and valuable account of the slave-trade, to which I must be content to refer the reader. Hoskins states that male Negro-slaves were sold for between ten and twenty dollars, which was the usual price also of camels and dromedaries.

On the opposite bank was Metemma, the seat of Musa'ad, who ruled the country on that side of the river.[45] In 1833 it appeared as a much more desolate-looking place even than Shendi, the only habitable abode being the castle of the meleks, then occupied by a surly Turkish kashaf. I have already alluded to the possibility that Kedrou, one of the towns of El Abwab, may have been here, and that of the remainder, possibly two others (Al Takeh and Befal) were in the (later) province of Shendi.

This is not the place to describe the Ethiopian city of Meroe and its pyramids, nor the other Meroitic sites at Wad Ban Naqa and inland at Duanib, Musawwarat es Sufra, and Naqa.

There were between Shendi and its western frontier a number of sites associated in Fung times with holy men. The island of El Figeiga, 10 miles above Shendi, is presumably the place El Figayga which was the abode of Zughayerun (D3, No. 241). A little higher up, just below Wad Ban Naqa, Bruce[46] passed the tomb of the Fakir el Deragi ; the place is called Chek Darage on Linant's map. Was this the famous Ban el Nuka, called ' El Darir ' (the Blind) who certainly lived in these parts in the late 16th century ?[47] Wad Ban Naqa was called Betnaga by all the early travellers, the modern name (in the form Ben Naga) appearing first in 1853.[48] On the north bank about 7 miles below Hagar ed Dil, Bruce records the existence of a large village (now gone) called Deleb, where was the shrine of a famous saint of that name.[49] A little further west on the same side the map (45 N) marks Qasr el Hafir, presumably

[44] A Shukria poet described the warriors of Sennar, *c.* 1780, as ' decked in Surati cloth.' *SNR*, III, 48.

[45] For the Sa'adab see MacMichael, II, 416 (note on D7 § 144).

[46] VI, 434.

[47] MacMichael, II, 233, 284 (D3, No. 71).

[48] Lepsius, *Letters*, 162.

[49] This can hardly be Dolib Nesi (D3, No. 90), for he seems to have lived in Dongola and was buried at Debba.

the site called Gos Basabir by Lepsius[50] who saw there the ' ruins of an old fortress-wall with towers of defence which encircled the hill-top.' The diameter was about 300 paces. Apart from Shendi and Metemma this is the only castle recorded in the province—in striking contrast to the region between Berber and Dongola.

GERRI. The province of Gerri, ruled by the Abdullabs, contrasts most strongly with that of Shendy. Though in no sense metropolitan, Gerri was the political centre from which the northern part—and all the Arab part—of the kingdom of Sennar was ruled. The control was, as we have seen, loose, and the subordinate riverain rulers, once they had bought their office, were left alone. But they could be deposed at will by the Sheikh of Gerri whose power over the meklets of Nubia and Dongola was absolute.[51] We must, in studying the history of these regions, disabuse our minds of all modern European conceptions of government. The concept of trusteeship was completely unknown ; political power was exercised solely for the advantage of those who had obtained it (by force or marriage) without regard for the interests of the subjects. Law and order were maintained because, without them, the bases of tribute might be endangered. The paramount ruler felt no moral responsibility for the good of his subjects. Medieval kingship in England was based upon a similar political theory, according to which the sole criterion in law was the profit or loss of the Crown, which were the terms of reference of every inquisition.

Gerri was near the point at which in Fung times the main Egyptian caravan-route by Selima, Mushu and Dongola regained the Nile after crossing the Bayuda desert. It must for this reason have been important also in earlier times, and I suspect that it may be the ' height of Hua' mentioned in an inscription assigned by Breasted[52] to Amenhotep III (1411–1375 B.C.). This was beyond Karoy, the modern Kurru, the name of the Napata region. The modern name of these heights is Hawawit (Linant calls them Sibo). In the same context are mentioned the land of Uneshek and Khesekhet. Nothing is known of Gerri during the Christian period, nor is it known when it became the seat of the Abdullabs. Native tradition tells of a king of Gerri who, together with the king of Soba, was defeated by Amara Dunkas and Abdulla Gema'a[53] ; the Abdullab chronicle[54] attributes to Hassaballah, commander of the defeated Anag army of Soba, the building of a great wall of defence, with strong towers, which could still be seen on the heights of Gerri. But we must not trust too much in a tradition which may have assigned to Gerri an importance which it may not have acquired till later. Reubeni does not mention it, but he may have avoided the place intentionally. Poncet passed it and crossed the Nile there in January, 1699 ; he calls it ' the residence of a Governour, whose principal employ is to examine whether in the caravans which come from Egypt anyone has the small-pox.' This may have been one of his concerns, but the principal one was certainly to squeeze from the merchants as much ' customs duty ' as possible. For Gerri was primarily a customs post, levying tribute on the caravans

[50] Letters, 167.
[51] Krump, 265.
[52] *Records of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II, pp. 339, 340 (Nos. 849, 850).
[53] MacMichael, II, 359 (D7 § 6).
[54] *SNR*, XVII, 60–1.

and collecting it also from the Arab shepherds at the time of their annual migrations. The Sheikh of Gerri also had ' the charge of levying the tribute of horses from Dongola, in which consists the great strength of Sennaar.'[55]

The command of the Sheikhs of Gerri extended in Bruce's time from Hagar el Asal to the ferry at Eilafun ; Cailliaud[56] states that it reached, on the east bank, as far as the Dinder, and this is consistent with the rights of the Sheikhs on the east bank as defined by Clause 3 of a famous treaty.[57] Eastwards it reached to the Red Sea and westwards to Korti and in theory over the whole Bayuda desert and the Nile bend ; but in practice the revolt of the Shaigia had curtailed the Sheikh's powers northwards. It was at Gerri that the caravan-routes from Egypt and Suakin met[58] and paid toll ; and the riverain villages south of Gerri doubtless profited also by this constant double stream of merchandise. Probably it was largely on account of its geographical situation that Gerri and the Abdullabs played so important a part in the history of Sennar. The ruling Abdullab sheikh bore the title of Mangil, or Viceroy, and was second only in rank to the King himself. On at least three occasions there was a trial of strength—about 1504 at Arbagi, about 1611 at Karkoj and in 1705 (the Horsemen mutiny) ; and on each occasion the Abdullabs were worsted, and the central government emerged victorious. This uneasy union of opposites—for it was an alliance of freebooters and peasants, of the desert and the sown—lasted nevertheless for three centuries, maintaining for the earlier part of this period at least some sort of order over a region that stretched from Abyssinia to the 3rd cataract, and eastwards to Suakin.

One is tempted to ask sometimes—why was Gerri subject to Sennar and not *vice versa* ? The answer is probably to be found in man-power and horses, in both of which lay the wealth and strength of Sennar. For, although the Dongola source might be cut off or endangered by Gerri, Sennar had an alternative source in Kordofan for both. The little state of Gerri, on the other hand, was thinly populated had a much smaller rainfall, and could not compare in fertility or numbers with the Gezira.

Krump, who spent several months in Gerri in 1701, unfortunately gives no description of it, but one may infer that it was a small collection of houses grouped round the Sheikh's residence. It would appear to have been situated at the upper or south end of the gorge, on the east bank, controlling the ferry below. In Bruce's time the village consisted of ' about 140 houses, none of them above one storey high, neat, well-built, flat-roofed, and all of one height, composed with the same coloured earth as that on which it stands, and, for this reason, it is scarcely visible at a distance. It is immediately at the foot of the Acaba, something more than a quarter of a mile from the Nile.'[59]

The site of the old village is on a piece of flat ground immediately east of the miserable modern village. It consists of a shapeless confusion of holes (probably dug for marug), amongst which may be detected the remains of mud walls of houses ; but nowhere is anything resembling a house-plan discernible. There is the usual

[55] See Bruce, VI, 370, 423, 428–9.
[56] II, 198.
[57] Clauses 2 and 3 : see the slightly different versions traditionally recorded, Appendix 22, p. 335, and *SNR*, XVII, 64.
[58] The Suakin traffic could avoid Gerri by crossing the Butana when it was free from Arabs.
[59] VI, 425.

scatter of stone rubbers, broken querns and pottery, the latter all of birma type and quite modern in appearance, though not necessarily so in age—for the birma has an ancient ancestry. A few have a coarse incised ornament on them like that on the existing ones. There was none of the typical burnished black Fung pottery with its unmistakable decoration. Nor could we find anywhere the remains of anything that looked like a mud or stone castle. When I was flying to Khartoum (21st January, 1950) the captain of the aircraft, knowing of my interest in Sudanese history, most kindly circled round Gerri, and I looked most carefully for traces of a castle, but could see nothing (I did not even spot the ancient village site). There was nothing to be seen on the flat top of Jebel Rauwiyan nor on the plateau on each side of the Shabluka gorge.

Close to the village on the south is the tomb of Agib the Great. The gubba over it has collapsed, and the bricks and palm-trunks once supporting the dome are lying above round the grave. This consists of a long coffin-shaped enclosure of red brick (PLATE 2a). Attached to the gubba on the east was a small enclosure once surrounded by a wall of rough stones. Some distance east of the ancient village site is another graveyard still in use with an ancient gubba still standing, attributed locally to one Jamil Rikabi of whom nothing is known. The modern inhabitants are not Abdullabs and know and care little for the ancient history associated with the place.

Bruce did not visit Gerri, and before Mr Shinnie and I went there no other European (except of course government officers) seems to have done so; there is at any rate no written description of it known to me. He met the Abdullab Sheikh Mohammed el Amin at Arbagi. This was the Sheikh whose interrupted rule lasted from about 1772 to 1790.[60] Bruce describes him as a man of about 30 years of age, and of 'very gentle [*i.e.* gentlemanly] manners,' though addicted to drinking—a common association in the 18th century. Arbagi, he says, was 'the seat of Wed Ageeb,' and was 'a large and pleasant village, but thinly inhabited.' Most of the townsmen were then out in the country, looking after their farms. Bruce was the last European to see Arbagi; for twelve years later that same gentle-mannered Sheikh razed it to the ground in a fit of most ungentlemanly fury, 'though it had been the fairest town in the Gezira, populous and prosperous in trade, with fine buildings and schools of learning and religion, inhabited by men of wealth, and well stocked with provisions.'[61] Bruce records a tradition that, after the battle there in 1504, Amara Dunkas 'removed the seat of government of Wed Ageeb to Arbagi that he might be more immediately under [his] own eye.[62] He does not say where it was before the removal—presumably Gerri. We know that Gerri, however, remained in the possession of the Abdullabs throughout the Fung period. Arbagi, therefore, must have been an urban centre of administration; it was here and not at Gerri that, in 1701, the Sheikh of Gerri received the customs tolls of Krump's caravan.[63] It is often stated that Halfaya was the Abdullab urban centre; but it is not mentioned in connection with the Abdullabs until the year 1798.[64] This was the 8th year of the reign of the Sheikh

[60] Bruce, VI, 423 (16th Sept., 1772); D7, §§ 77, 112.
[61] D7, § 90.
[62] VI, 371.
[63] Krump, 265.
[64] D7, § 129; see also D2, § 10.

Abdulla IV, and the statement in the Abdullab chronicle[65] that the transfer from Gerri to Halfaya took place in the 8th year of Abdulla III (*i.e.* before 1747) is manifestly wrong. If, however, the date 1798 is correct, it implies that Arbagi remained their centre for 14 years after its alleged destruction, which could not then have been as thorough as the annalist thought. One suspects that Arbagi was decaying for some reason which we do not know, and that the sack merely hastened, but did not complete, the process.

Arbagi[66] is said to have been founded 30 years before A.H. 910 (*i.e.* in A.D. 1475–6) by Hegazi ibn Ma'in ; but this date is manifestly too early and may be a century out, for elsewhere[67] the author of the Tabaqat states that Hegazi was instructed by Tag el Din, who began his mission during the reign of Agib Mangilak, *i.e.* not before *c.* 1570. The date of A.H. 980 (which may have been misread as 880) (A.D. 1572–3) is on all grounds an acceptable date for the ' foundation ' of Arbagi ; but there was certainly a town on or near the site long before. Christian remains have been found there,[68] and Sefeita, a village on the opposite bank close to Rufaa probably represents the town of Saferta ' on the east of the great island which lies between the white and the green rivers.'[69] Can the name be ancient Egyptian ?[70] There is a mountain of the same name which is a landmark on the route from Abri to Selima. Arbagi is first mentioned by Ludolfus[71] (spelt Arbatg) in 1681. It was here that was hatched the revolt of 1705 led by El Amin Aradib, the Abdullab.

The site of the ancient town of Arbagi lies on the left bank in the bend of the Nile SE of Hasiheisa at a distance of about 2 miles from it. There is nothing to be seen now but low mounds covered with the usual debris of potsherds and broken stone artifacts. Much of the pottery is of the Fung type. The rest consists chiefly of birma-fragments, some of them ornamented with patterns rather like those on the Fung sherds. There were no other wares. North of the mounds are the remains of three gubbas, the northernmost (now consisting only of foundations) that of Abu Sinayna (D3, No. 51), the middle one that of Dushayn (D3, No. 93), and the southernmost that of Abu Zayd (D3, No. 117). Only the two last still remain standing, somewhat decayed. All are built of brick. Abu Sinayna would appear to have flourished in the middle or latter part of the 17th century. Dushayn is presumably the famous Kadi of Arbagi, one of the four Kadis appointed by Agib Mangilak ; but the Tabaqat says that his tomb was at El Dakhila.[72]

Halfaya was, of course, a town of some importance before the Abdullabs went there. Krump[73] describes it as a fine and large place with houses like those in Nubia but more handsome and covered on the outside with a smooth coat of dung. Bruce estimated the number of houses at about 300 ; the principal industry was the

[65] *SNR*, XVII, 67.

[66] D3, § IV.

[67] D3, No. 67.

[68] Crowfoot, *Island of Meroe*, 8.

[69] Makrizi, quoting Masudi (A.D. 956) : I quote, not from Burckhardt's printed work (where the passage is abbreviated, p. 517) but from his MS papers in the British Museum (30,240 A, fol. 32).

[70] Arbtgi or Arbatngi is cited as an ancient Egyptian personal name by Krall, ' Beitrage zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier, *Denkschrift Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaft zu Wien*, Vol. 46, 1898, 13 (offprint).

[71] *A new history of Ethiopia*, by Job Ludolfus, translated by J. P. Gent, 1682, 395, quoted by MacMichael, II, 273. See p. 288 below (Appendix 2), quoting Latin edition of 1681.

[72] The above information was obtained on the spot from an old man by the District Commissioner, Mr Balfour-Paul, when Mr Shinnie and I inspected the site with him on 3rd February, 1950.

[73] p. 266, spelt Halfai (18th April, 1701).

manufacture of a ' very coarse cotton cloth called Dimour, which serves for small money through all the lower parts of the Atbara.[74] Krump also mentions this cloth currency, calling it *tubthamur*.[75] There are palm-trees at Halfaia, though they produce no dates. The people there eat cats, also the river-horse and the crocodile, both of which are in great plenty.'[76] He does not mention it as being an Abdullab centre, and I have no doubt that its modern name, Halfayat el Muluk, dates from after the destruction of Arbagi in 1784.[77] Cailliaud was at Halfaya at the historical moment when the Abdullab Sheikh surrendered to the Turks in May, 1821, and he stayed the previous night in the Sheikh's house. The population had then been reduced by the Shaigia raids (so he says) from eight or nine thousand to three or four thousand. The houses stood in large enclosures, and the area covered with houses was not less than 4 miles (une lieu et demi) in circumference. There were no regular streets ; the houses were built of clay and only two or three had an upper story—those of the chief people. These had flat roofs with gutters hollowed out of palm-trunks. The doors turned on pivots ' like those of the ancients.' [78]

There were within the kingdom of Gerri several sites associated with holy men. Kagog island at the north end of the Shabluka Gorge was the birthplace of the famous Sheikh Hasan wad Hasuna[79] who died in 1664 ; it is also mentioned as the name of a king (otherwise unknown) who was the ancestor of Nail, Sheikh of the Shukria early in the 17th century[80] ; Hasan's grandfather came from Andalus (Southern Spain), and he himself founded the settlement bearing his name near Abu Deleiq, the Shukria centre ; his sister married a Shukria. Kagog island was also the birthplace of Khalil ibn Ali (D3, No. 151), a contemporary of Hasan's ; his gubba is on the west bank opposite the south end of the island.

Aslang island (Islang, 55B), 20 miles north of Khartoum, had a mosque and was associated with several holy men from the time of Agib Mangilak onwards. The mosque is said to have been built by Agib for Hammad el Negid, who was a ' man of power and rank ' at his court ; and it was still standing in 1805 when the Tabaqat was written.[81]

Tuti island opposite Khartoum was occupied before the Fung period ; the remains of a church have been recorded there.[82] It was the birthplace of the famous Khogali,[83] a holy man of the Mahass colony, who performed a miracle there. He was the founder of the Khogalab who lived on the east bank above Aslang island. He was buried at Halfaya, where his tomb was the resort of pilgrims, and is still a prominent object in Khartoum North.

We now enter the province of Sennar. The exact territorial limits of the jurisdiction of Gerri in the south are, as we saw above, a little uncertain ; and it must be remembered that that jurisdiction was not exclusively, or perhaps primarily, territorial, but rather racial. The Abullabs administered Arab affairs in the

[74] Bruce had very vague notions about the meaning of this word ' Atbara,' which he used as more or less equivalent to the Butana.

[75] p. 289 ; see p. 323 below.

[76] VI, 423.

[77] D7, § 90.

[78] Cailliaud, II, 194–5.

[79] MacMichael, II, 244–5 : *SNR*, VI, 213–5, 229–30.

[80] *SNR*, III, 43.

[81] MacMichael, II, 243 (D3, No. 126).

[82] Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, 1935, I, 268, quoting E. von Callot, ' Reise durch Kusch und Habesch ' (in L. Frobenius and J. Bieber, *Zur Herrlichkeit des Sudans*, Stuttgart–Berlin–Leipzig, 1923), 149 : Cailliaud, II, 198.

[83] MacMichael, II, 250–2 (D3, No. 154).

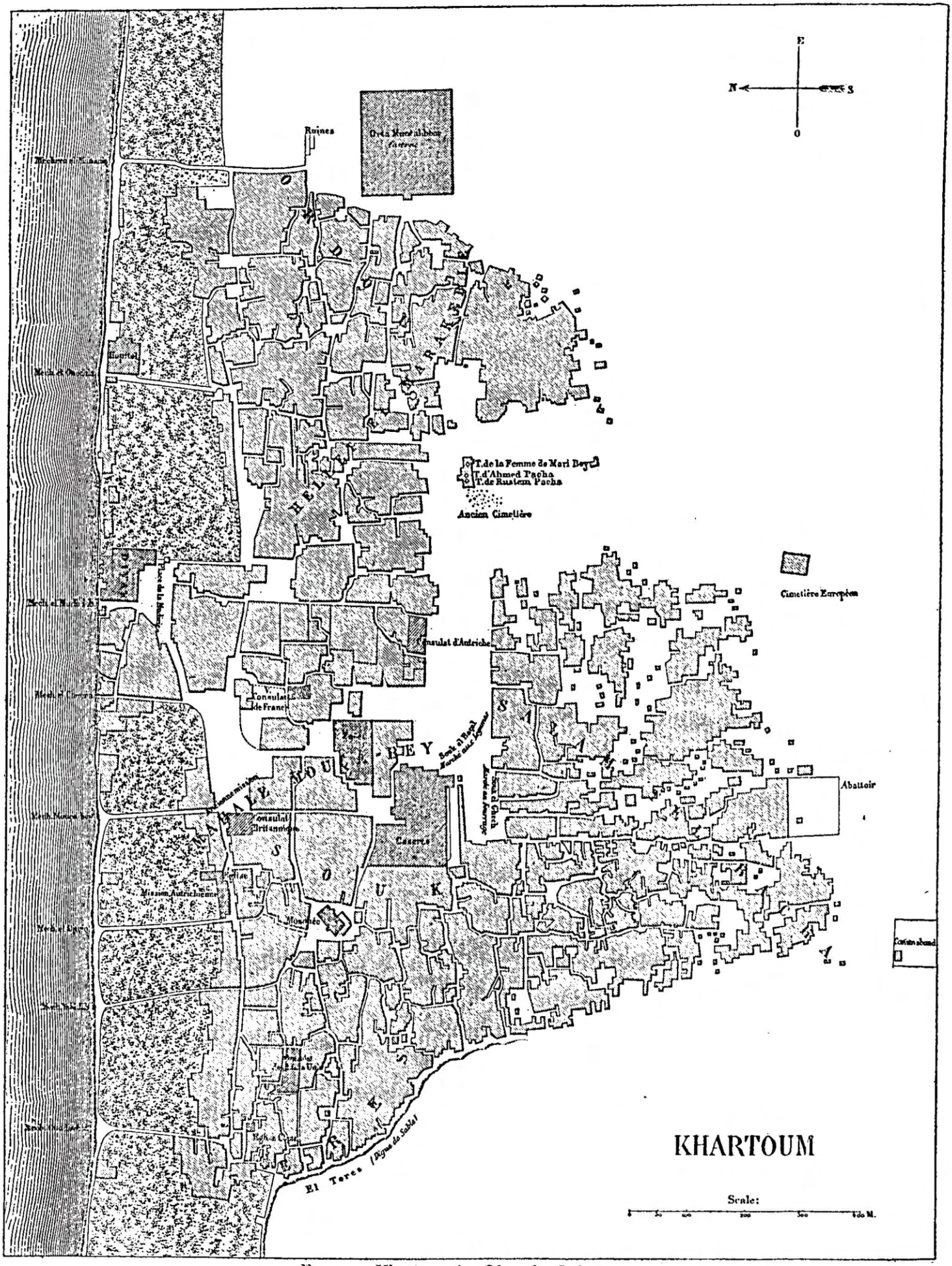


FIG. 11. Khartoum in 1860, *after* Lejean

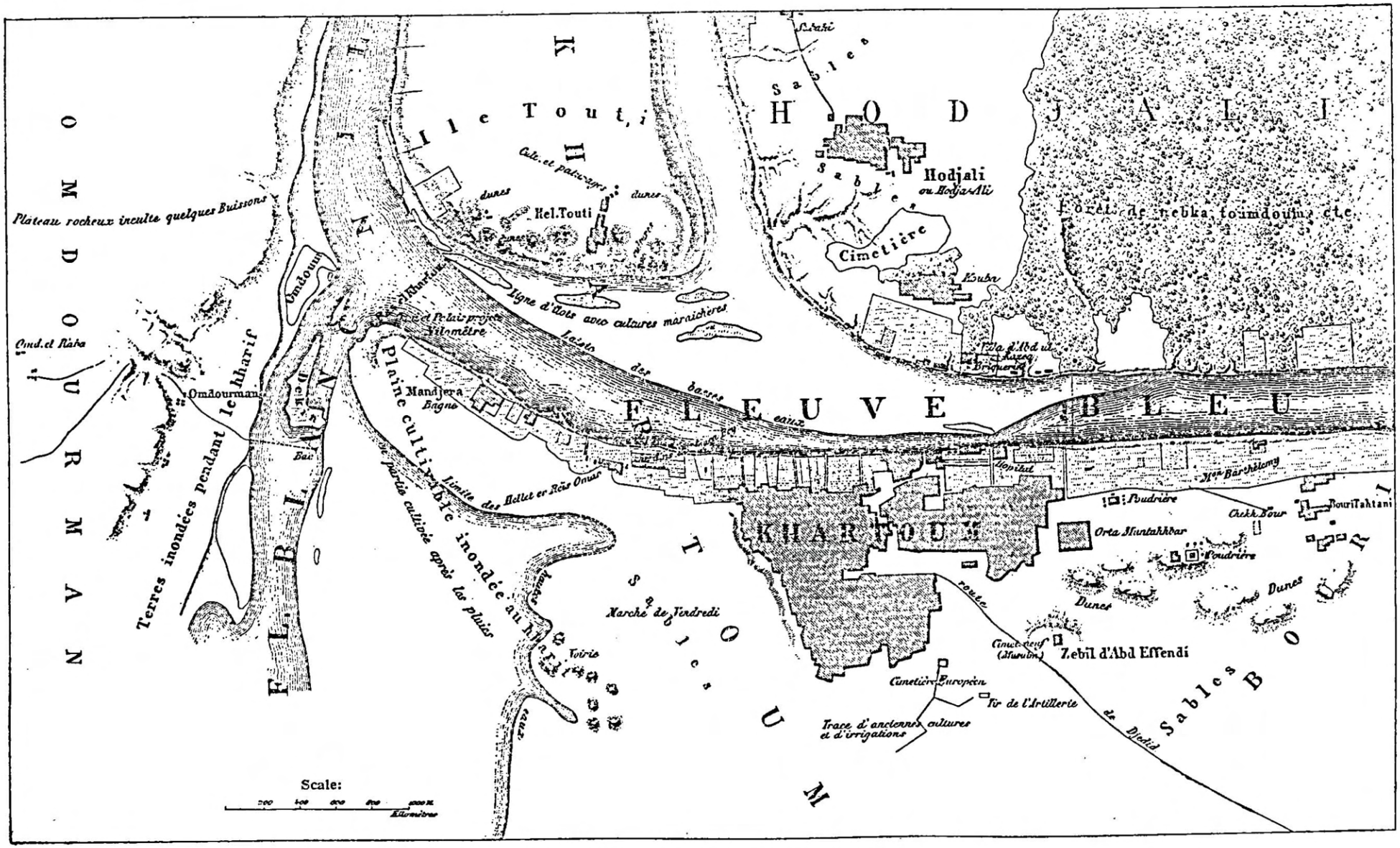


FIG. 12. Environs of Khartoum in 1860, *after* Lejean

kingdom of Sennar, which meant in practice that it was their business to extort from the Arabs as much tribute as possible. There was of course a riverain belt of cultivators some 70 miles long, and the suzerainty over Dongola province, but there was also the Butana and its nomads, which forms a distinct region and will be dealt with separately.

SENNAR. For the purposes of description the province of Sennar will be taken to cover the Blue Nile valley and the Gezira from Khartoum to the frontier of Fazughli at Mangangani (66 c), 8 miles north of Roseires. But we are now well within the rainlands, and have to reckon not only with the Nile Valley itself but also with the arable and pasture land on either side, and a large extent also of bush country covered (before it was irrigated) with a dense growth of thorn. The Gezira, formerly called Gezirat el Huoi, falls roughly into three parts: (1) the barren triangle in the north whose base is a line joining El Geteina and Kamlin: (2) a region that, once covered by bush, was settled and cleared (chiefly by goats) and may be called the village region; it extends roughly to Gebel Moya and the Kordofan railway-line; Linant on his manuscript map (Griffith Institute) describes the whole of the eastern Gezira north of Sennar as 'covered with woods and cultivated for the most part; there are also many villages situated fairly close together': (3) a sparsely inhabited bush and dry forest country with a few isolated gebels extending southwards as far as the large gebel-massif of the Tabi hills. The village region enters largely into Fung history, but the gebel country does not. It was left pretty much to itself by the Fungs. The inhabitants of the southernmost gebels were negroes; but north of them the Arab tribe of Rufa'a el Hoi or Abu Rof had the rights of pasture.

The descriptions of old travellers are full of references to the 'woods' through which they passed, and it is certain that clearance of bush and forest has proceeded far since then and is still in progress. Within my own memory the Sennar area has been almost completely cleared. In order to demonstrate the destructive agency of goats, which eat young shoots and so inhibit regeneration, a small patch of about an acre has been fenced in beside the road at Sennar, and left to itself. It has already become quite thickly covered with grass, trees and shrubs, and before long will be a copse in a wilderness. Today as one travels one can always tell when one is approaching a village by the thinning out and cessation of trees and bushes. As one goes southwards from Sennar along the east bank one starts in a region of low small trees, thinly distributed. A few miles before one reaches Bunzoga (12° 50′ N.) one enters the dry forest proper with tebeldis and other tall trees and high grass—the height gradually increases as one goes south. This dry forest abounds in game—leopards, ostriches, pigs and smaller animals. It came as a surprise to me (for which the very inadequate government map had not prepared me) to find a growth of quite thick forest with big trees not merely beside the river itself but also over all the intervening country. We trekked from Gerif to the Khor Aqayilin through forest all the way to Shamfur (to see an ancient site). In this heavier southern region the forest clearance round villages is no longer to be seen.

The lowest reach of the Blue Nile was a region of great sanctity. Eilafun was a Mahass village, the home of the famous Sheikh Idris wad el Arbab, who made four

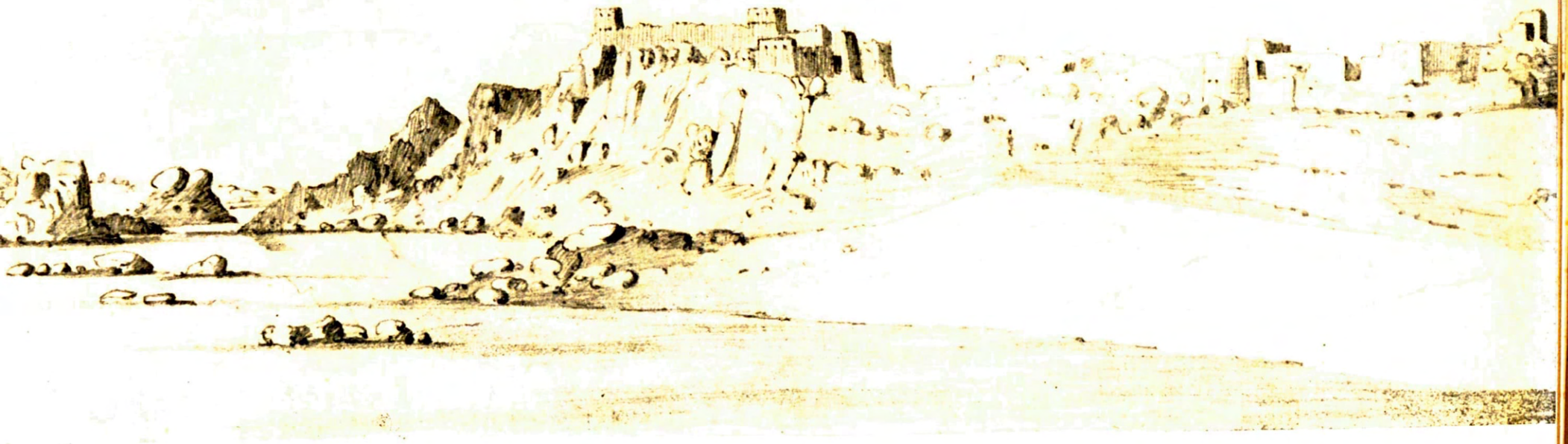
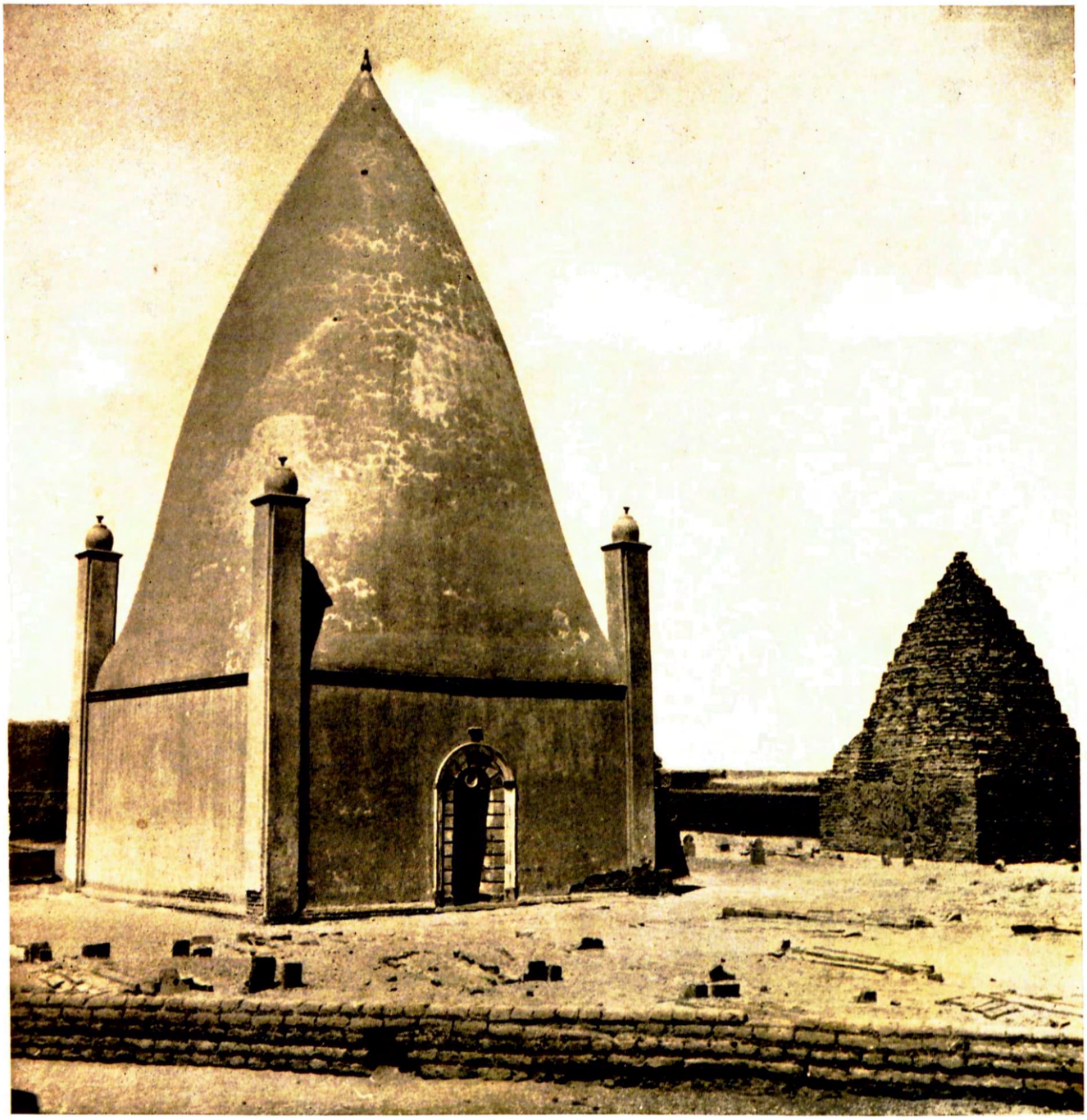


PLATE 18

The castles of El Kab between the 4th cataract and Abu Hamed, *after* Linant de Bellefonds, 1821 (p. 50)



The gubba of Sheikh Idris wad el Arbab at Eilafun ; restored in 1928 (p. 73)

Gubba at Eilafun, near that of Sheikh Idris (p. 73)

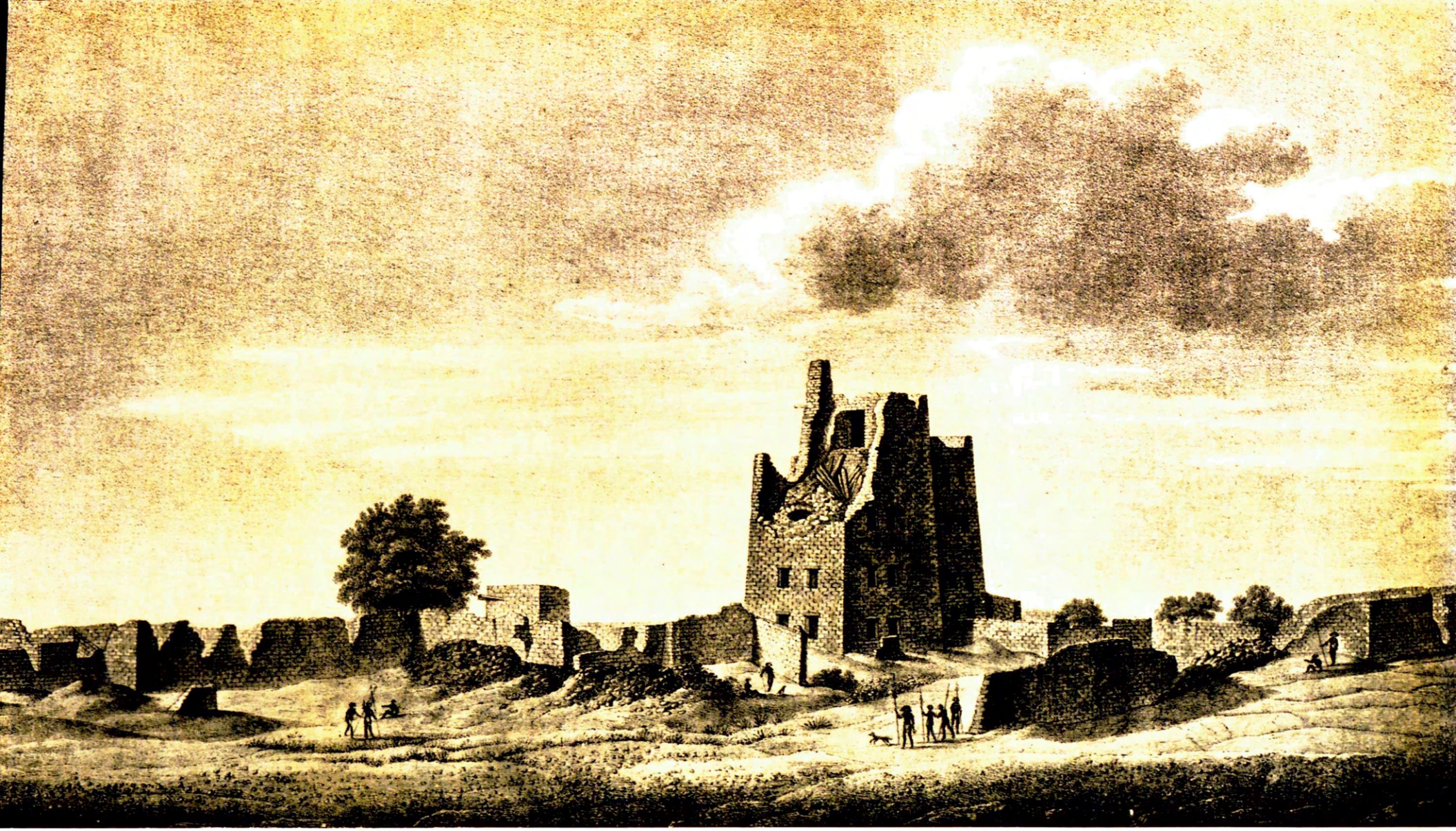


PLATE 21

Sennar: the remains of the king's palace, *after* Cailliaud, 1821 (pp. 79, 190)

sanctuaries there ' to which those who were disaffected towards the king and were being pursued by the authorities for some crime or other might flee for refuge.'[84] Jackson, himself an administrator, comments that the abolition of this custom is to be welcomed ; but it may well have served a useful purpose in the cruel days of the Fung, and it saved the lives of Bayard, survivor of the du Roule mission and of Father Joseph, who eventually died there.[85] The Mahass of this district had left their homes beyond the 3rd cataract, perhaps about the time of the foundation of the Fung kingdom, and established themselves as holy men among the more ignorant medley of Arabs, Fung and Nuba. Thus they acquired rich lands along the river-bank, and by intermarriage with the nomads of the hinterland they could obtain a share in pastoral wealth. The Mahass were essentially and always sedentary, and profited quite legitimately by the nomad Arabs' ignorance of artificial irrigation and contempt for manual labour.[86]

Eilafun is 6½ miles above Soba, the old Christian capital of Alwa, on the same (east) bank. It is surrounded by ancient sites, and may well be of great antiquity itself (though no evidence is on record), for it was the first place to be encountered by travellers from the south who crossed the Nile (as Bruce did) near Gedid. But from now onwards as we proceed southwards there are so many ancient sites that it will not be possible to enumerate them. Some are on record[87] ; others, probably far more in number, await discovery ; all except two await excavation. The region is one of great fertility and its history goes back well into the first millennium B.C. It is the heart of the kingdom of Sennar.

Eilafun village looks interesting but, apart from gubbas, it is likely to be as disappointing to the archaeologist as are all such in a region where mud is the chief building-material. One looks in vain for even a carved wooden doorway such as were once so common at Sennar itself. The gubbas stand immediately to the east of the mosque. First comes that of Sheikh Idris (PLATE 19), rebuilt in 1928, as recorded by an Arabic inscription on the wooden lintel of the door. It is now covered outside with plaster, and there are pinnacles on each of the four corners supporting the dome, whose substructure is square. Next comes a much smaller round gubba built of brick and belonging to his son Hammad (D3, No. 122) ; and last another brick gubba on a square substructure (PLATE 20). The two last have an ancient appearance, and it seems probable that they are more or less contemporary with the gubba of Idris, which may well survive more or less intact under the plaster. The date is probably early 17th century, for Sheikh Idris was a contemporary of Agib Mangilak and his first cousin. North of the village is a half ruined gubba with some brickwork set in open herringbone style about halfway up the dome which rests on the ground.

The group of ancient settlements at and near Hasiheisa—Arbagi, Amara, Sefeita (?), Rufa'a—need not be further described.[88]

Abu Haraz, now an insignificant village on the east bank, 4 miles below Wad Medani, was once a place of considerable importance. It was the southern terminus

[84] Jackson in *SNR*, II, 288 (the Mahass of Eilafun).

[85] See pp. 210 ff.

[86] MacMichael, I, 342 (summarising his first paragraph). He adds that the Danagla in Kordofan did the same.

[87] See Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Medioevale*, I, 1935, 271–5.

[88] See pp. 17, 67-9.

of an overland and slightly shorter route from Shendi to Sennar by Abu Deleiq and Gebel Geili[89]; and it was also a ferry-town. Travellers from the north who had not crossed the Blue Nile at Gedid or elsewhere lower down were compelled to cross it here in order to avoid crossing the Rahad, which flows into the Blue Nile here, and the Dinder. A little lower down on the west bank is Taiyiba Hamad en Nil,[90] a place that in the mid 19th century was inhabited only by *fuqara* called Arakin,[91] but which Linant some 30 years before found to be (so he says) a much more important market than Shendi.[92] Both places have been superseded by Wad Medani, the capital of the Blue Nile province and chief commercial centre of the Gezira, but an ancient site near which remains of a church have been found.[93] The name dates at least from the 17th century and is derived from Muhammad ibn Medani, son of Dushayn, one of the four judges appointed by King Dekin. Muhammad died about 1700.[94] Bruce[95] describes it as a 'town or village' belonging to a Fakir, who received him very hospitably. Up to 1835 it was the centre of the Turkish government of the Sudan, but it was then superseded by Khartoum. It stood at the point where the caravan-route from Kordofan (by Wad Shala'i, on the White Nile 23 miles south of El Geteina, and Abud) to Gedaref, Kassala and Suakin[96] crossed both the Blue Nile and the route mentioned above to Sennar. The crossing-place of the Kordofan route is, like that of the Sennar route, located here for the same reason, of avoiding the Rahad and Dinder crossings. This geographical necessity must have created a market and an important town here in ancient times as well; and as we have seen[97] there is evidence of the existence of such.

The whole of the eastern Gezira has now been completely changed by the irrigation system made possible by the Sennar Dam; but it is satisfactory to observe that, as this system avoids the immediate neighbourhood of the river, most if not all the ancient riverain sites remain unaffected.

Between Wad Medani and Sennar were several large villages—Saba Doleib with its six gubbas,[98] Mouna (now Wad el Haddad), Taiba Kandalawi and (on the east bank) Wad el Abbas and Basbosh, the ferry village on the road to Abyssinia. The name of this last has vanished from the map, but it is quite well known locally and we were guided to the site by a man of Abu Geili. It lies about a quarter of a mile from the river at a point a little below Old Sennar and about a mile or a little more north of Abu Geili. It is covered with sporadic granite boulders, all broken, a feature which we learnt to recognize as the marks of a recently extinct Fung village. (They would probably be just visible on an air-photograph). The area covered is large, but there are no traces of buildings and the mounds appear to be natural. It is said that during the Mahdia a suk was built here by Sherif Yusuf el Hindi. We walked through the big trees and cultivation patches to the Nile where we saw some rocks in the river, probably of Abu Geili conglomerate. Old Sennar was visible on the other side a little higher up. Between Basbosh and Abu Geili is the village of

[89] Burckhardt, 316.

[90] To be distinguished from Taiba Kandalawi (D7 §§ 102, 168, 173) now Taiyiba Qundal (55 K), 13 miles N. of Sennar Junction.

[91] Lepsius, *Letters*, 203–4.

[92] Mazuel, 63.

[93] Trémaux, *Le Soudan*, 84. Is this, however, one of the sites on the east bank already mentioned?

[94] MacMichael, II, 302.

[95] VI, 413.

[96] Lejean, *Voyage aux deux Nils* (1865), 115.

[97] p. 18, and figs. 5 and 6.

[98] Lepsius 18, and figs. 5 and 6, *Letters*, 183. Four of them were then ruined.

Kandawa. The spelling is difficult to write down and a better form would probably be spelt something like Bajboi. Russegger calls it Basbosch, adding also ' Badzboi, von dem Turken Basbosch genannt.'

Inland on the west side, north west of Sennar, were Shadli (13 miles), the last halt before Sennar on the road from Kordofan, and many villages whose names are not on the modern map. Russegger[99] marks Dadulo (Dadoul, Cailliaud), Bagara (now Wad el Bukhari ?), Duchen, Locha (now el Lukha), Woadd Noka, Kadero, Wualia, W. Bilia, Achmed Tod (now Hamad Tot), Tekele, W. Ombru, Sandeluba ; and on the east bank opposite Sennar (from south to north) El Bugulti, Toman, Basbosch, Karko, Woadd Hamdalla and Darfaia (now Wad Tarraf). Linant on his map marks Abou Soliman on the west bank immediately north of Sennar—no doubt the place where Bruce stayed the first night after his departure—and Airea south of it, where he visited Sheikh Adelan in his camp.[100]

One of the most important of the inland Gezira villages was Abud (Russegger's Ebur), 30 miles SW of Wad Medani. According to Jackson[101] it was founded by Fiki Abudi, great-great-grandson of Agib Mangilak whose daughter married Abd el Nebi. Abud traced his paternal ancestry to Kahil, the ancestor of the Bega tribe of Kawahla, who still flourish, in small numbers, in the district. From occasional references in the Fung Chronicle Abud would seem to have been a kind of ' cave of Adullam,' the resort of disaffected elements. In 1820 it consisted of about 500 houses and 1500 persons. Bruce[102] describes Abud and Shaddly together as founded by great saints of those names, and as containing many ' matamores.' These were dug at the direction of the aforesaid saints and were large pits plastered with clay ' into which a quantity of grain was put when it was at the cheapest, and these were covered up, and plastered again at the top, which they call sealing . . . These matamores are in great number all over the plain, and, on any prospect of corn growing dearer, they are opened, and corn sold at a low price both to the town and country . . . Upon these two charities [of Abud and Shaddly] the chief subsistence of the Arabs depends ; for, as there is continual war among the people, and their violence being always directed against the crops rather than the persons of their enemies, the destruction of each tribe would follow the loss of the harvest, were it not for the extraordinary supplies furnished at such times by these granaries.'

Out in the bush nearly half way to the White Nile are the two granite gebels of Moya and Sagadi : the former is destined to become famous as the centre of the activities of Mr H. S. Wellcome (as he then was called and will best be remembered by those who worked there under him[103]). These showed that the gebel was inhabited during the centuries preceding the Christian era by a negroid people probably akin

[99] *Atlas*, published in 1849, compiled in 1843, sites visited in 1837, and described in his text Vol. II, part 2, 1844, 474–5.

[100] VI, 351–6 (Aira).

[101] *SNR*, III, 94 (Two Gezira families). Jackson's date for Abudi agrees with the dead reckoning from Agib ; but it is then difficult to associate his son Mohammed with the Fung king Ranfai who was on the throne in A.H.1220 (1805–6) : see *SNR*, IV, 15 (original document of Ranfai, dated).

[102] VI, 384.

[103] The present writer was a member of the expedition of 1913–14 and worked, first at Gebel Moya itself and then at Abu Geili near Sennar. The accounts of these excavations have only recently been published ; see *Jebel Moya* by F. Addison, and *Abu Geili* by O. G. S. Crawford and F. Addison, Oxford University Press, 1949–51. It was Mr Wellcome's policy to publish nothing ; he considered that, by keeping elaborate records, he was absolved from this task which he left to be carried out at a later date. All members of his staff had to sign a contract

Continued on next page

to the present inhabitants of the Nuba mountains. The place can never have had much importance and remained heathen right down to the time of the Fung conquest. Bruce mentions ' Jibbel Moia ' and ' Jibbel Segud,' though he never went there.[104] Gebel Moya is a conspicuous object on the western sky-line of Sennar, standing up like a rocky island out of the sea of mimosa scrub. It bears a vegetation of small trees, including ebony and wild fig, and has an ideal winter climate. In the hot season, on the other hand, it is hotter than the plain, for the granite mass absorbs heat like a sponge and radiates it at night for some distance over the surrounding plain.[105] Consequently the nights are hotter than on the plain.

Cailliaud's curiosity was aroused by the tale of a huge stone statue with a long bonnet that was to be seen near Gebel Moya, and on the 5th of July, 1821, he set out on an expedition to visit it.[106] He slept there the first night ,after climbing the gebel and securing some plants ; he was the first European to go there. He then went on to Sagadi and found that the alleged statue was ' un jeu de la nature.' I suspect it to have been caused by the rainfall (aided perhaps by the baboons that once lived there). The smooth granite face of the rock was streaked with long white streamers that might well give rise to the legend, and on the top sat baboons chattering and barking. There is a sort of rock-shelter at Sagadi on the walls of which are paintings of giraffes.[107] On the floor of the rock-shelter I remember finding some potsherds in 1913, one at least with a reddish-brown burnish unlikely to be modern.

Cailliaud paid a second[108] visit to Gebel Moya in November, 1821, and made a tour round it. On the east side at its foot were the villages of Om Dekour, Aye, Alaka (two), El Mek, the southernmost ; on the west side, starting from the south, were Matamma, Faqir el Bichyr, Meter, Debeyat, Aniga ; on the north side, Masnab and Fadol. When I was there the principal village was on the north side where the Mek lived, and an old Fiki called Fiki Balla. Cailliaud's Faqir el Bichyr, who was scared at the sight of strangers from the Turkish camp, showed him the wells, said to be the work of the ' anciens Caffères '—those no doubt whose bones are now in boxes in the Cambridge Museum. They seemed to him (correctly) to be derived from rain rather than from underground sources ; and on his return he advised Ismael against the formation of a camp there, as the water-supply was wholly inadequate, and the ' wells ' dry for half the year.

Old Sennar[109] was situated on the west bank of the Blue Nile, a little below the

Continued from previous page

binding them to secrecy, and to hand over to Mr Wellcome even objects of ethnographical interest which they might acquire while in his service. The contract was severe and was much criticized. The policy of not publishing results cannot be defended. But in fairness to the memory of a redoubtable character, I must state that I found him a just and even generous employer ; and that, so far as the retention of small objects was concerned, he had only to be asked to permit it. (Naturally I refer to objects unconnected with the excavations). One such was a tinned copper tray which I bought in the village of Kandawa, and which was said to have been buried during the Mahdia and dug up there. It bears the date A.H. 1290 (=A.D. 1873-4) and the name Melik Muhammad Nur ibn Muhammad Nusr. I still have and use it.

It was my work in the neighbourhood of Sennar which first roused my interest in its history, culminating in this book.

[104] His *Travels*, 1805, vi, 385.

[105] When motoring after dusk from Gebel Moya to Sennar, one passes suddenly, at a certain distance from the gebel, out of the range of the radiation into a much cooler air.

[106] II, 245–9.

[107] It was from them, I believe, that Sir Henry Wellcome adopted the conventionalized crest that adorned the notepaper and all other documents relating to his Gebel Moya undertakings.

[108] II, 327.

[109] For the name see Brugsch, *ZfAE*, XVII, 22.

modern town, and 150 miles above Khartoum. The first question we should ask is—why was it that the administrative centre of the Fung kingdom was placed here rather than at, say, Arbagi? For Sennar is not in the geographical centre of the kingdom; it was only about 150 miles from the frontier of Abyssinia in the south-east, but 500 miles from its northern frontier at the 3rd cataract. The answer can of course, only be speculative. I would suggest that it was chosen, in preference to other places further north, because it was nearer to the source of man-power in the south, whence, if I am right, the original Fung army came. It was, moreover, almost exactly central in the region of cultivators directly controlled by its kings; for the Abdullabs, though held firmly in subordination, enjoyed almost complete autonomy in their own sphere, of which the larger portion, geographically, was pastoral. Sennar, too, was placed on the far side of the Nile—a wide natural moat which actually saved it from certain destruction on the only occasion (in 1744) when it was threatened from the south. This river-barrier was tripled when the Dinder and Rahad were full of water; and that was just when the danger of attack from the east was greatest, for it was then that the flood of Arabs streamed northwards over the Butana. Sennar was a meeting-place of caravan-routes, but we must not argue back from this to account for its importance; this may have been a consequence and not a cause. The route from Abyssinia to Egypt, coming from Gallabat and Debarki, crossed the Blue Nile at Sennar; but it had to diverge from its true course to do so; it would have been more natural to continue northwards between the Nile and Dinder and cross just above their junction, and this may have been the earlier route.

The Fung capital has been described many times, and some of the accounts are printed in this book. Certain features of the town, such as Badi's palace and the mosque, are dealt with in other parts of the narrative.[110] Cailliaud's description is, as one would expect, one of the best, but it is too long to reprint; and as it contains much that, though valuable, is irrelevant in the present context, even a summary cannot be given. Unfortunately those travellers who could have told us most tell us least. Reubeni left nothing on record about Sennar except the name, but that little is valuable because it is the first mention of Sennar in history. Brevedent and Poncet paint a lively picture with much picturesque detail. Krump, who was there for a year and could have told us so much, was too much preoccupied with disease (bodily and spiritual) to see much else, but he has left something.[111] His colleagues had their eyes fixed on Abyssinia and Rome, and in any case both they and their letters perished. Bruce tells us a lot but he was tired and wanted to get away. For all these travellers Sennar was, in varying degrees, an 'accursed spot' inhabited by a 'horrid people, whom Heaven had separated by almost impassable deserts from the rest of mankind.'[112] The historian may understand their feelings while regretting the result.

The old town was already in a state of advanced decay when the Turks arrived in 1821. It had even been raided by 'pagan mountaineers' from the southern gebels who had scrawled 'uncouth figures of animals' on the walls of the mosque.[113]

[110] See pp. 189-92.
[111] See Appendix 12.
[112] Bruce, VI, 387.
[113] See Appendix 13. This incident suggests that some of the Sudanese rock-paintings of animals may have been made in quite modern times. When the African scribbles on a wall, he usually draws animals. There are some good ones on the west wall of the rest-house at Kutum in Darfur, built by A. J. Arkell.

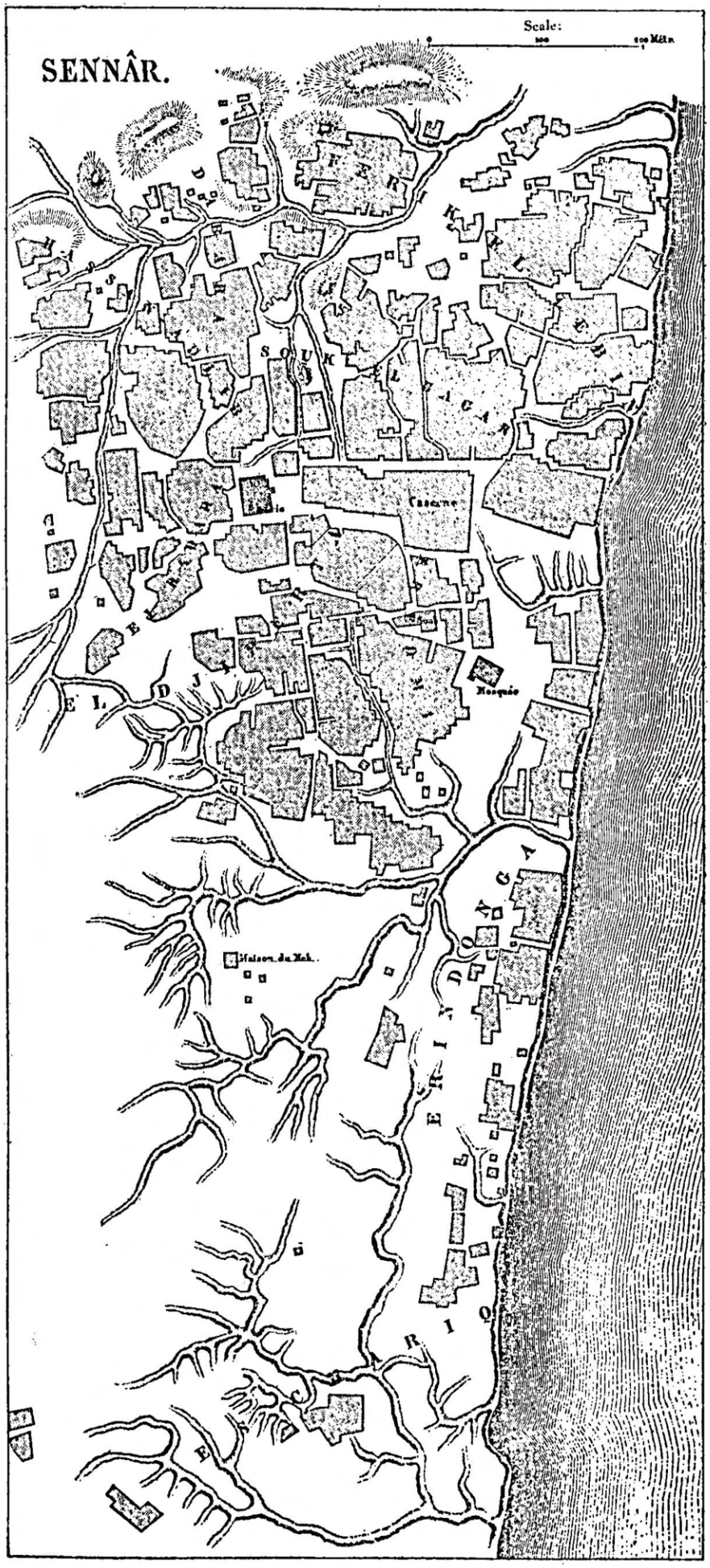


FIG. 13. Sennar in 1862, *after* Lejean

The palace was falling down (see PLATES 21 and 22), and the ruins of houses were to be seen everywhere. Some of them had old carved wooden doors of excellent workmanship; one regrets that no picture of one was ever made. There were three market-places; the circumference of the town was estimated at about 3 miles. In 1860 there were great open spaces and piles of ruins and a population of about 4000; and the mosque was still kept in repair. We hear no more of Sennar's appearance, for not long afterwards descended the iron curtain of the Mahdia, and when it was raised the old town had gone. In 1913 it was merely an ancient site, and as such I visited it with Mr Wellcome. Unfortunately I kept no record and can now remember nothing except an open space over which we saw a bustard running. The modern town was then near the railway station, to the SE of it, I think; it has now completely vanished, except for a few buildings immediately round Sennar Junction, and has re-appeared as a frowsy settlement near the dam. Gone too is the shrubbery of trees whose golden blossom scented the whole region in January and gave a certain charm to it. The Nile is hidden from view by the long earthen embankment of the Main Irrigation Canal, a beneficent eyesore. There are, therefore, three Sennars; the town has gradually moved southwards. The Fung capital was NE of Sennar Junction; the post-Mahdist, pre-dam town came next; and the existing town lies NW of the dam.

So changed is the landscape that in 1950 I could hardly identify the site of the town I knew in 1913; its buildings were mostly of straw which have vanished without leaving a trace. Nor was the Fung town too easy to find, for here the trees have remained. The track to it from the modern town at first goes along the right bank of the Main Canal, then leaves it through a gap in the right embankment and goes on between the canal and the Nile. The first thing one sees is a low broad bank running parallel with the track from south to north; this is the western side of a great earthen entrenchment that was thrown up round the town during the siege of 1884. This side has been much flattened out but both bank and ditch can still be traced continuously to the NW corner, where a semicircular mound marks the site (presumably) of a bastion or gun-emplacement. The north side is much better preserved, and about the middle of it is another emplacement. It ends on the river. The south side is also well preserved, but seems to be duplicated; it is said that it was found necessary to reduce the area enclosed and build an inner bank. The whole thing is exactly comparable historically with the walls built round certain towns in Roman Britain to meet the threat of barbarian raids. The comparison may be extended to later times; the Sennars were built on fresh sites, just as were the Saxon towns of St. Albans, Shrewsbury and Lichfield, superseding the Roman towns of Verulamium, Uriconium and Letocetum. The reason is obvious when one visits Fung Sennar. Many of the houses—and all the best ones—were built of mud brick, and the palace and mosque of baked brick. During the early stages of decay a mud brick building becomes an encumbrance of the ground, and when there are many such in ruins near together, it is far easier to build on a new site than to remove the debris. The capital invested in the site consisted solely of the buildings.

Within the area of the siege-entrenchment is a maze of low mounds covered with potsherds and broken stones. Nowhere do any Fung walls remain standing

except those of the mosque (PLATE 24) which was of baked brick.[114] Here the walls still stand to a height of several feet, though they are gradually collapsing. In the northwest wall is a niche (mihrab). The site is now about 100 yards from the bank of the river. From the drawing (PLATE 22) we know that Badi's palace was immediately opposite the mosque in the west, and there are here some big mounds representing all that remains of it, but no walls visible. That is only what we should expect, for the bricks were used to build an official residence for Soliman Pasha in 1844. The mosque, however, was kept in repair and still intact and in use when Trémaux saw it in 1860. One may guess that it was not abandoned until 1900 or soon after, for at the reconquest the Fung town was still sufficiently 'alive' for an English mudiria to be built there, with other houses round, though they were soon abandoned.[115]

The potsherds consist exclusively of Fung ware and birma fragments, together with bits of quite modern glazed ware. Some of the Fung sherds have the typical criss-cross pattern incised, with rows of dots; and although the fine black burnish of the Abu Geili bowls does not seem to be present, there can be no doubt whatever that both wares belong to the same class and are roughly contemporary. My assignation of the Abu Geili ware to the Fung period, made on purely stratigraphic evidence, is thus confirmed by the discovery that the same ware is the prevailing type on the site of the Fung capital itself only a couple of miles distant. And since my account of the Abu Geili excavations was written, similar Fung sherds have been found in abundance at Arbagi, next in importance after Sennar in Fung times, and at many sites higher up in the Blue Nile; so that this ware may be regarded as typical for the whole region in Fung times.

Whether the site of Sennar was occupied in pre-Fung times is very doubtful. Virgin soil is to be seen in the cliff-face at a depth that is never more than three feet, and the soil seems to contain nothing pre-Fung. I carefully examined the debris at the foot of the cliff, and the foreshore at low Nile, and nowhere did I find a single earlier potsherd. Two Roman coins[116] have been found here, but they can hardly counterbalance the complete absence of more substantial evidence, and alone do not prove occupation. The chief Meroitic site in the district was probably below the dam where a rich cemetery and remains of an occupation site have been found. The latter was on the west bank on the foreshore, just below the steps from Sennar garden to the river, and is only exposed at low river. Typical Meroitic sherds from it were deposited in the Khartoum Museum by Mr A. J. Arkell in May, 1944 (No. 4763). Amongst them are many sherds of the granitic ware like that from Gebel Moya and Abu Geili. There is a granite outcrop here, and it now seems highly probable that the Abu Geili sherds, once thought to come from Gebel Moya but proved not to, by analysis, were in fact made at this Sennar garden site only a couple of miles above Abu Geili.

[114] The size of the bricks is $10\frac{1}{2} \times 5 \times 2$ inches. They are hard baked, rough on one side and scored diagonally by a couple of finger-marks on the smooth side.

[115] A rough plan of these, with the names of their occupants, is to be seen in a file (CA/55.K.1) now in the Archives of the Commissioner for Archaeology at Khartoum. It was compiled from local information by Mr A. J. Arkell who was District Commissioner at Sennar between May 1929, and May 1932.

[116] *SNR*, XV, 271–2.

PLATE 22

Sennar in 1821, *after* Linant de Bellefonds ; on left, the mosque ; on right, the ruinous tower of the king's palace (pp. 79, 80, 190)

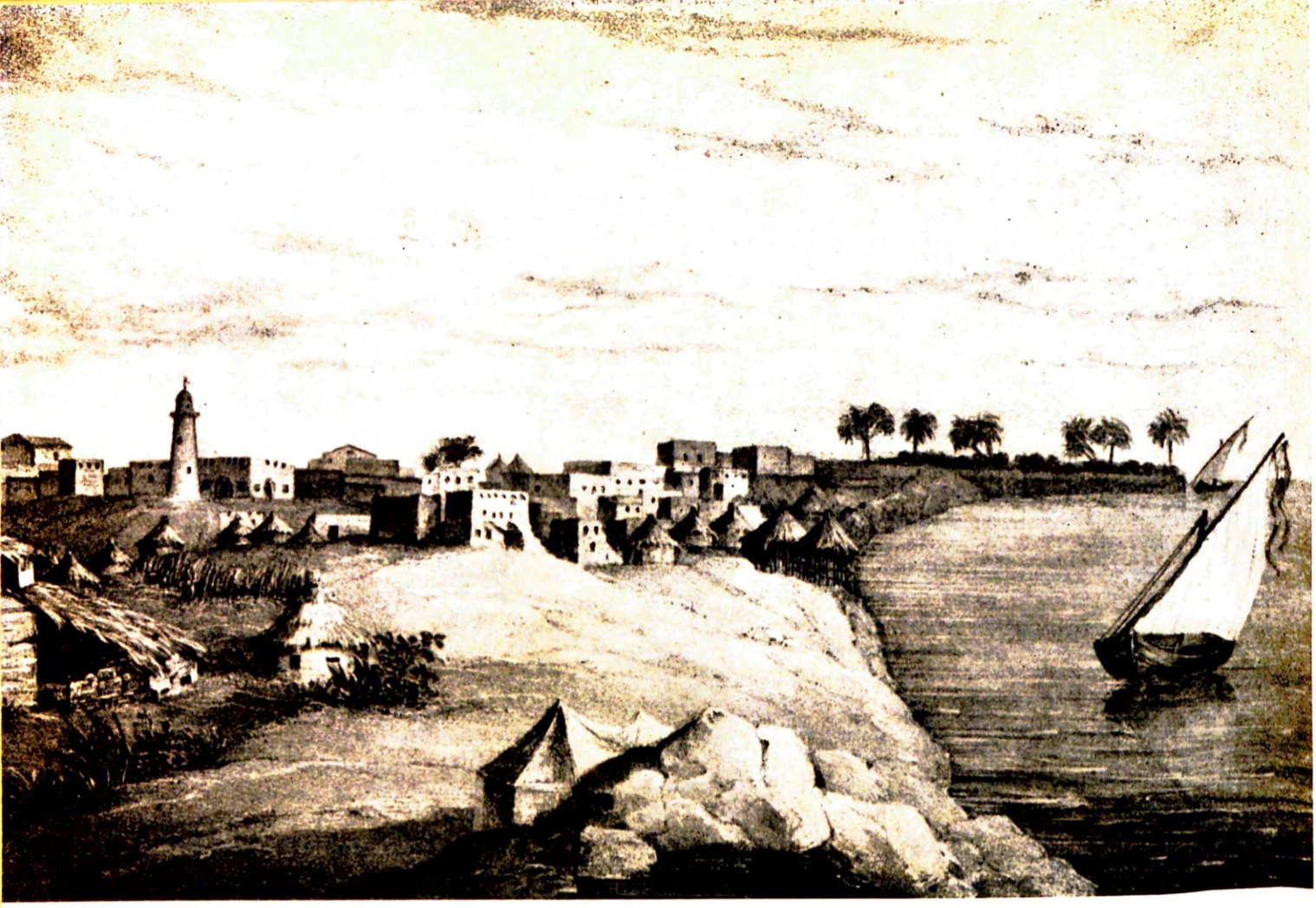


PLATE 23
Sennar in 1837, *after* Russegger (p. 191)

Sennar mosque today, showing mihrab in N. wall (p. 80)

(*Sudan Government photo.*)

PLATE 25

Kassala mountain : p. 66.

The site of Fung Sennar is being rapidly eroded away both by the river itself and by the small gullies which carry off the rain. No protective measures are possible. The best that can be done is to take an air-photograph of the site and from it construct a plan. It would be easy also to make a plan of the mosque, though this might involve the removal of some of the fallen bricks which encumber the walls. Excavation of the palace would be a formidable undertaking, but, if one can trust earlier accounts it might reveal some nice tile flooring. At any rate some attention should be given to the remains of a city which was for three centuries the capital of a Sudanese kingdom.

The Blue Nile valley above Sennar seems to have been divided into two portions. The northern, extending as far south as Karkoj, may have been directly under Sennar—that is to say, a region within which grants of land were made by the king of Sennar.[117] I can find no direct evidence relating to the northern part, but the fact that the southern part, the Khashm el Bahr, extended from Karkoj to Roseires implies that the other, the Sennar-Karkoj reach, was a separate unit, which may have been a sort of demesne land of the crown.[118]

The Khashm el Bahr was governed by a Sheikh bearing the title of Sheikh of the Khashm el Bahr. The first holder of the office was Bruce's Adlan, son of Subahi.[119] It carried the right of wearing the horned cap, and Adlan was wearing it when Bruce saw him. The Fung Chronicle[120] gives a list of the various holders of the office from Adlan onwards; it was the prerogative of the tribe of the Kamatir, whose headquarters were at Barankwa,[121] a village on the west bank 15 miles south of Karkoj: the privileges of the Sheikh of the Khashm did not include the granting of land—in legal theory at any rate; one presumes that there were others which went with the office, but there is no evidence about them. Adlan was one of the two outstanding personalities of the time, and the office was probably created for him.[122]

The rainlands away from the Blue Nile to the east and west were occupied by Rufa'a nomads. The eastern region, called Rufa'a es Sharq, contained the Nas abu Gin, whose headquarters were at Debarki[123] on the Dinder, a station on the caravan-route from Sennar to Gondar. Here and elsewhere was a certain amount of scattered cultivation dependent on rainfall. The ruling family of Abu Gin belong to the

[117] The king of Sennar certainly exercised such a right, for two original grants were in existence in 1909, one by Ismail (1769–76) of land at Gezair (El Gezira north of Karkoj), and the other by Ranfai (1805) of land at Kenciza south of Karkoj. The land of the second grant was in Khashm el Bahr, and shows that, even when they had no effective power, the kings retained this right, and it is probable that the king's authority was regarded as necessary to give such grants legal validity. (Even a century later this validity was maintained as against grants made by the Turkish government: *SNR*, IV, 7–8). Perhaps it was because of this view about validity that the Fung kings were retained for so long when in fact they were mere puppets of the viziers.

[118] I would suggest that this demesne had passed like the rest of the kingdom, under the effective control of the Hameg vizier Kaylak; and that Adlan, whom Bruce interviewed at Aira, was holding it on behalf of Kaylak, whose task (as commander of the Sennar army) was to collect the tribute from the Arabs—and that was exactly what Adlan was doing when Bruce met him. Adlan was at this time 'Acting-Vizier.'

[119] He was not, as Bruce says, the brother (akhu) of Kaylak but merely a close friend, as MacMichael points out (II, 412).

[120] §§ 200–205.

[121] *SNR*, IV, 8. According to D2 § 24 the 'place' of the Kamatir was Karkog.

[122] For an authoritative definition of the office and its sub-divisions, see MacMichael, II, 414.

[123] Or at Abu Hashim, 10 miles to the west, according to Gleichen, I, 109.

Hammada, and in Fung times had the ' mangil and cap.' (The Abu Rof however never had these privileges). The sections subject to Abu Gin were drawn from a medley of all the Rufa'a in the south.[124] It is said that the Mangilia of Abu Gin was a late acquisition and bought ; it remained in force down to the present century and may still so remain.

Archaeologically the whole of this inland region, both east and west, is *terra incognita*. Apart from Chattaway's valuable but brief notes[125] (which relate chiefly to riverain sites) nothing at all has been recorded. There must be many ancient sites awaiting discovery ; but it is unlikely that a region so remote and situated so near the Highland zone of Abyssinia, the home of raiders, would ever have been able to develop a high culture.

FAZUGHLI. The mek of Fazughli was subject to Sennar and wore (and still wears[126]) the horned cap. The province was small and barbarous, and of little importance except as the source of alluvial gold. This was washed out of the deposits of the Tumat, and was the lure which led Ismail to invade the region. Cailliaud has given a good description of the workings which he himself tested. There seems to have been a steady flow of gold dust from this region northwards to Ras el Fil, the market, whence it found its way to Shendi, Suakin and eventually to India.[127] Some of it also went no doubt to Sennar itself, and for this reason it was sometimes described as Sennar gold.

Fazughli was in the Shangalla frontier-zone, and it would be unprofitable to attempt to find any clearly defined line separating the kingdom of Sennar from that of Abyssinia. Such a conception of a frontier is quite modern. To the Abyssinians ' Fazequelo ' was regarded as the uttermost limit of their land to the south, that in the north being Sevaken (Suakin).[128] In the Nile valley, it is true, there were points marking the exact limits of jurisdiction ; but in the open country such certainty never existed. ' Allegiance ' to one or the other power consisted solely in the payment of tribute ; and in the remoter fastnesses it could only be enforced by periodical raids.[129]

There appears to have been a certain amount of desultory trade passing south of the kingdom of Sennar between Darfur and Kordofan on the one hand and Abyssinia and the Red Sea on the other. Linant[130] obtained some information from the ' Arabes Corouns ' and the Abu Rof Arabs who occupied the country between the Blue and White Niles and were in hostile contact with the Dinkas. He mentions certain merchants who travelled between Fazughli and the western negrolands, but gives no details of the trade. Salt[131] when he was at Dixan (in Eritrea) met certain members of a caravan that had left Ril at the end of February, 1810, and because their country (Darfur ?) was at war with Sennar, had passed a long way to the

[124] MacMichael, I, 241.

[125] *SNR*, XIII, 259–67.

[126] See Appendix 15.

[127] See pp. 63-4.

[128] Pereira, *Susenyos*, 161.

[129] Conditions in this area north of the Blue Nile are also dealt with in connection with the origin of the Fungs, Chapter 10.

[130] Mazuel, 88–9.

[131] *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, 1814, 436. Owing to the infuriating habit of the author (and nearly all other writers of travels) of not mentioning the year, or even the month, in their various descriptions, but only a figure (' on the 19th,' etc.), I have not been able to discover when Salt was at Dixan.

south of it through ' Mitchecié,' which is the modern Machakl (Bruce's[132] Metchakel) 80 miles south of Lake Tana. This seems a very roundabout route and it is difficult to believe that one through such difficult and mountainous country can ever have been of much importance.

We have now reached the end of our journey up the Nile, and there remain only a few ill-defined regions, hardly to be called provinces, about which for the sake of completeness, something must be said.

Between Fazughli and the White Nile are several groups of gebels, the largest being the Tabi and Togo hills and the most interesting, Gebel Guli.[133] They are still, as probably from the remote past, inhabited by primitive peoples, living a simple life as cultivators and herdsmen, and doing a little trade with their neighbours. The Tabi and Togo people[134] have no name for the whole region or its inhabitants but only for the groups composing it ; the Arabs, however, call them the Ingassana, the thankless ones. The massif is some 60 miles in circumference and consists of a number of small enclosed plains on which, or on the slopes of the hills, are groups of round huts. Before the present government was established there was some mutual raiding between the Ingassana and the Arabs to the north, centred at Gebel Mazmum ; but this has now been replaced by a steady trade within a radius of about 50 miles. The local products—baskets, pottery and iron-work—are exchanged for millet, cloth and ornaments. A distinct language, with local dialects, is spoken, but its affinities are uncertain.[135] The total population is estimated at about ten to twelve thousand.

Two harvests are gathered every year. The first crop is sown on small terraced plots adjoining the huts and enclosed within stone walls ; the second on the plains some two hours distant. They consist of millet, sesame, beans and earth-nuts, with some tobacco. Herds of cattle are kept on grazing-grounds about 3 or 4 hours away ; and flocks of sheep and goats are also kept, and pigs. Hunting is practised occasionally. A few small fish in a running stream at Soda are caught after intoxication by a preparation made from the heglig tree.

Iron is imported from the Niles (formerly from Abyssinia), and there is a flourishing manufacture of knives, spears, kolbedas,[136] digging sticks, hoes and adzes, and a small export trade. Pots are made by the women on the coil system, the clay being mixed with fine grass, and decorated with incised ornament.

But this is not the place for a detailed account of the life of these almost self-sufficient village communities. I have only included the foregoing brief summary because the Ingassana people may be considered typical of the vast region bordering on the Fung domains to the south and in the Nuba hills to the southwest. They never formed part of the Fung kingdom except as slaves or soldiers. But these gebel-folk may well be the aboriginal inhabitants.

[132] III, 461.

[133] See C. G. Seligman, ' Pres. Address,' Section H, Brit. Assoc., Manchester, 1915, p. 9 of offprint.

[134] The description which follows is based upon an article by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *SNR*, x, 69–83 : ' A preliminary account of the Ingassana tribe in Fung Province.'

[135] See Mrs Seligman, in *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, Bd. II, heft 4, 1911–12.

[136] These are iron weapons, now mainly ornamental, once used for hacking and slashing.

THE WHITE NILE. The Fung rule extended as far as the White Nile, but the region played, it seems, a small part only in the history of the kingdom. The reach from Khartoum to El Ais (now Kawa), about 130 miles in length, was definitely within the kingdom of Sennar, and seems once to have been colonized. But the early settlements were wiped out by the Shilluks and famine.[137] Bruce[138] described El Ais as one of the 'three principal governments in the kingdom of Sennaar,' the other two being Kordofan and Fazuelo. 'It must be a relation of the Mek of Sennar that commands at El-aice; and he is never suffered to leave that post, or come to Sennaar.' A garrison was maintained there.[139] Its importance lay no doubt in the fact that it was the key to Kordofan—or, from the opposite view point, to Sennar. By its ferry could come horses and men if the Dongola route should be cut by the Sheikh of Gerri; and by it too might come a hostile army of invasion which, once across the White Nile, could march and take Sennar without difficulty, as in fact Abu Likeilik did. The river here is very broad, so that 'the features of a person standing on the other side cannot be distinguished, but the human voice is heard.'[140] Browne's informants told him that there were two villages, Hellet Allais on the west bank and Shilluk on the east. Both towns were 'built with clay' and inhabited by 'idolators' clothed in bands of long grass. The Shilluk 'had the dominion of the river' and were apt to be truculent with passengers on the ferry. But they were also said to be hospitable 'to such as come among them in a peaceable manner,' and never to betray those to whom they have once accorded protection.

Linant[141] was the first modern traveller to see 'Aleis' which in 1827 was a place 'of considerable size and built like Sennar, but chiefly in ruins, having been long since abandoned except by some families who continue to reside there on account of the caravans which occasionally pass.' Twenty years later Werne found it 'almost entirely abandoned.'

Kordofan, the Nuba hills and other lands of the west and south lay outside the Fung rule for the most part, although Kordofan was conquered by the Fung vizier in the 18th century. They belonged to the negrolands of Central Africa, and their history is part rather of the history of Darfur than of Sennar.

[137] D3, No. 157: see also D7, § 11.

[138] VI, 390: VII, 91.

[139] D3, No. 153.

[140] *Travels in Africa*, by W. G. Browne, 1799, 452.

[141] *Journ. R.Geogr. Soc.* II, 1832, 182: Mazuel, 87.

CHAPTER V

THE ISLAND OF MEROE

CLASSICAL authors used the name ' Island of Meroe ' to describe the great steppe lying between the Nile and Blue Nile on the west and the Astaboras (Atbara) on the east. On the south the area is in fact bounded not by the Blue Nile but by the Rahad which was then unknown. This region is almost an island in the rainy season, when the torrent-sources of the Jira-Rahad are divided from those of the Gandwa-Atbara by a ridge of land only about 6 miles in width ; but the term was used in ancient times to describe what we now call peninsulas. It is nowhere absolute desert, but is covered by an open growth of trees and bushes that is fairly close in the south, but thins out almost into desert at the confluence which is close to the northern limit of regular annual rainfall. Excluding valley settlements, there are a number of centres which in Fung times were the rallying points of nomadic tribes ; in earlier times some of them certainly contained permanent habitations which imply cultivation. At all times there has been sporadic cultivation ; but the reservoirs so common in the western part are evidence rather of pastoral than agricultural conditions.

The island is divided by the Arabs into four regions[1] : (1) a triangular area called El Daheira (the high stony ground) lying between Damer, Adarama and Shendi : (2) the district in the west which includes Shendi, Halfaya, Geili and Abu Deleiq, called El Karaba : (3) a region south and southeast of the last, lying to the east of the Blue Nile between Khartoum and Abu Haraz, called Sharg el Adeik : (4) all the country south of Adarama and east of Um Hatab, El Hawad, Geili and Qalaat Arang, called the Butana. The name of the third region means ' east of the Blue Nile,' called Adeik by the Shukria.[2]

The chief centres in Fung times, and perhaps also before, were at Abu Deleiq, Jebel Geili, Wad Hasuna, Gedaref (also called Teawa, by Bruce, and Suk abu Sin), Beyla and Gallabat (Ras el Fil). On the Atbara were a number of semi-permanent nomad villages, of which the most important were Adarama, Baaluk, Goz Regeb, Khashm el Girba, Tomat and Sofi.

Crowfoot[3] has given a graphic description of the Island of Meroe in Meroitic times. Meroe was the capital of a rich agricultural state which, unlike Egypt, had broad rainlands as well as the narrow belt of irrigation in the valley. The harvest of these rainlands was so abundant that later generations attributed its wealth to supernatural assistance. The social régime of the rainlands seems to provide one of those rare, but for that reason all the more interesting, examples of political conditions influencing economic ones. When peace is maintained by a strong

[1] Gleichen, I, 103.

[2] *SNR*, III, 61 ; Werne, *Reise durch Sennaar nach Mandera*, 1852, 97 (Adchk). English says it was called Adit at Sennar, Narrative, 1822, 179.

[3] *The Island of Meroe*, 7, 29.

government, the nomads no longer have to move in large bodies for self-protection, but can break up into a number of smaller units, which, since they do not eat up the pasture so rapidly, can stay longer in each camping-place. Such units tend to become sedentary, and the natural result is increased cultivation, followed by new conditions of exchange and barter. Such a development has actually occurred in the Shukria tribe and was described to Crowfoot by Wad el Furawi, one of their sheikhs.[4] With the coming of the British rule the old social organisation, which was the background of the Shukria poems translated by Hillelson,[5] broke up ' into a number of smaller natural units—a change which is popular with quiet folk, who are mainly anxious about sheep-breeding and cultivation, but naturally resented by those to whom " pilling and killing " seem the best things in life.'

These stable conditions appear to have obtained during the Meroitic and Christian periods—whether with or without the usual Dark Age interval we do not know. They returned in the first part of the 17th century, when the Fung kingdom was at its best ; witness the graphic description of Hasan wad Hasuna's ranche and his ' swift horses ' which traded as far as Darfur.[6]

One of the chief nomad tribes in the region was the Shukria whose inland centre was at Gebel Geili. The hero and founder was Sha'a ed Din, son of Tuaym, whose story is told in tribal legend.[7] He was taken prisoner when still a small boy ' when the Fung massacred the tribe,' then ransomed but left at Sennar until he grew up. He then won the favour of king Badi by a daring exploit and was granted the king's daughter, Bayaki, in marriage. He was buried at Gebel Geili, where Crowfoot saw his tomb.[8] His date can be fixed approximately by dead reckoning nine generations back to the early 17th century.[9] This date is confirmed by three independent lines of evidence. The king Badi can only be Badi I whose regnal period may be put at *c.* 1611–16 with a fair degree of certainty. His wife is almost certainly the ' daughter of the Fung Mek ' mentioned in the agreement reached between the Fung and the Abdullab Sheikh Mohammed el Agail.[10] Now Agail succeeded Othman who seems to have reigned only for a short period after Agib. Agail's date and that of the agreement must therefore be not long after the battle of Karkoj, for it represents the peace reached after the battle—not it seems immediately after it, but after a short interval. Both these lines of evidence place Sha'a ed Din's marriage after 1611, but not long after—I should say well before 1620. The third argument is less compelling ; was the ' massacre ' remembered by tradition the Battle of Karkoj ? It seems likely, for the Shukria would probably have fought on Agib's side and shared his defeat.

We must also take into account the statement of the Tabaqat[11] that Sha'a ed Din was taught by Taj el Din (a contemporary of Agib Mangilak) who seems to have flourished at the end of the 16th century. The date given by the Tabaqat is, however, the conventional one for many other early saints whose exact floruit the author, not knowing, prudently gives in this form. The statement of the Tabaqat is not

[4] *SNR*, III, 86–7. This account seems to answer to MacMichael's criticism, I, 45–6, note 3.
[5] *SNR*, III, 33–75.
[6] D3, No. 132. He died in 1664–5. See also *SNR*, VI, 213–5.
[7] Recorded by Hillelson in *SNR*, III, 38–42.
[8] *Island of Meroe*, 25.
[9] MacMichael I, 251.
[10] See Appendix 22, p. 335. In another (probably less trustworthy) version 'family' replaces ' daughter ' (*SNR*, XVII, 64).
[11] D3, No. 67.

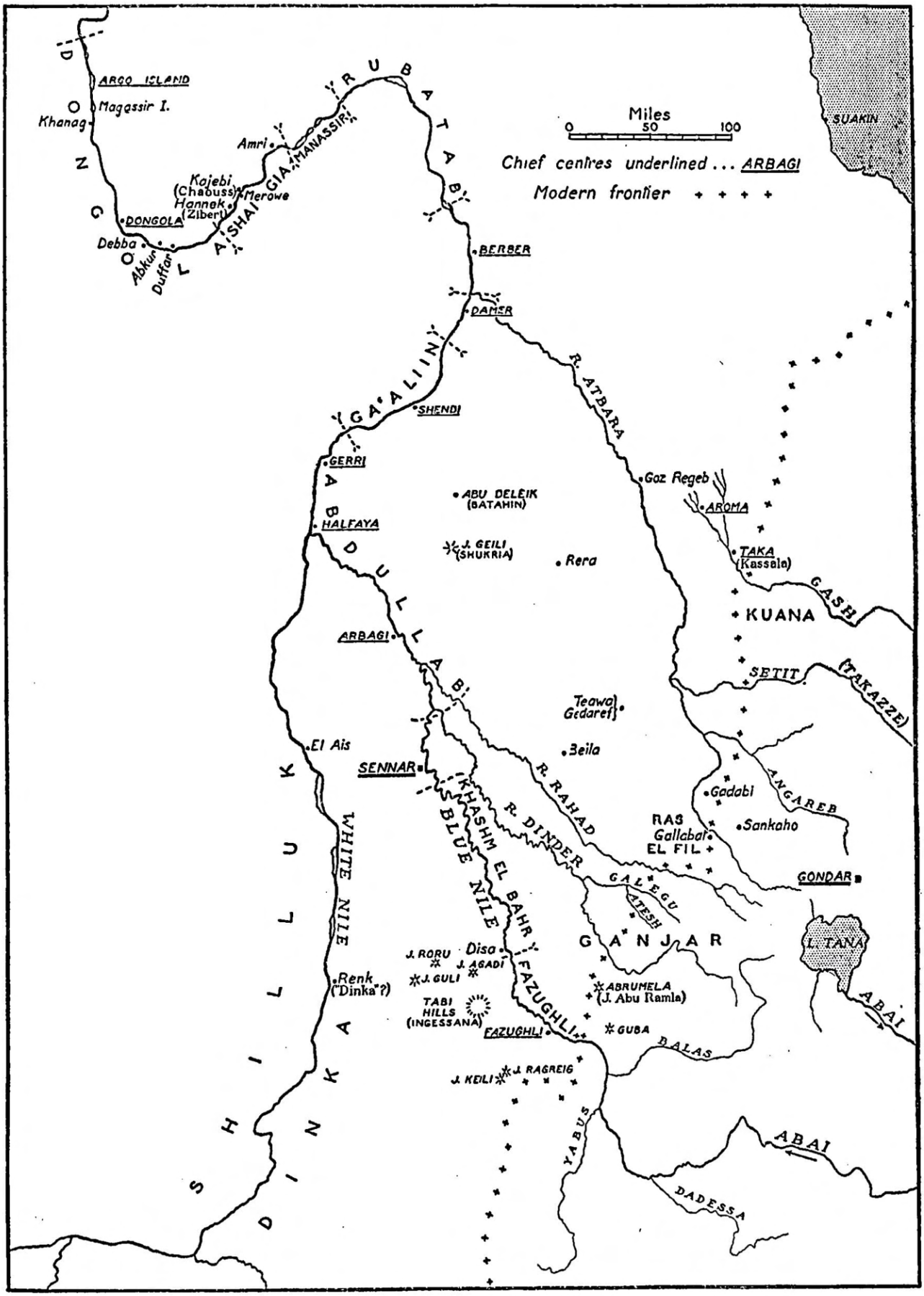


FIG 14. The Fung Region

contradicted by the other evidence, and if generously interpreted is consistent with it.

Sha'a ed Din's son and successor was Nail. If the date above suggested is correct, this Nail cannot be identified with the Nail son of Agub mentioned in the Chronicle of Susenyos,[12] who flourished between 1614 and 1620, and had thrown off his allegiance to Sennar. Possibly Nail son of Agub may have been the sheikh of the Rufa'a es Sharq whose territory bordered on the regions where Nail is recorded to have been active ; the chief in recent times[13] was, or perhaps still is, El Agab abu Gin, and if the name Agab is, like many such, hereditary, Agub may represent Agab. The name Nail does not occur in the Agib (Abdullab) pedigree. There are earlier Nails in the Abu Gin pedigree, but none as early as 1614–20.

The Shukria Nail was succeeded by his son Adlan and he by his son Mohammed el Ideghim. There would be no *chronological* difficulty in identifying Mohammed with Bruce's ' Mahomet, Shekh of Nile,'[14] whom he met at Gondar and again at Ras el Fil in 1772 ; but he says the Nile was a division of the Daveina, the two forming together the most important of the nomad tribes.[15] In favour of such an identification is the known hostility of the Shukria to the kings of Sennar, which is consistent with Mohammed's association with the king of Abyssinia, and is borne out by the events which immediately followed.[16] Against it, perhaps decisively, is Bruce's statement[17] that the ' Nile ' were ' Welled Ali,' and that the latter were located east of the Atbara and south of Taka.

Gebel Geili is the Shukria centre. The name ' Geili ' means ' red ' in Nubian, and is a faithful description of the rusty colour of the great granite berg.[18] On the top are remains of stone huts and coarse pottery indicating former habitations. Local tradition says that Bayaki lived on the top of the hill and her people at the bottom—doubtless an aetiological legend invented to explain the huts. Near some disused wells Crowfoot was shown, by a Bathani, remains of a red brick building round which were scattered ' fragments of the fine-grained chalky pottery ' which belonged to a much earlier period than any that could be associated with the Shukria. Similar remains were found in the Wadi Nail a few miles to the west. At Geili itself near the SE foot is a rock called Umm Daium on which is the rock-carved picture of a Meroitic king whose cartouche unfortunately is indecipherable.[19] The name of the rock may be significant, for Dayuma's father is said[20] to have been Abdulla Gema'a, the Abdullab founder ; was the mother of Dayuma a Shukria ?[21] Abu Deleiq, the Batahin centre 28 miles to the north, has definite Abdullab connections, for here was buried Sherif Hammad abu Denana, whose daughter married Abdulla Gema'a and was the mother of Agib Mangilak.[22] Nail, son of Sha'a ed Din, was said to have ' cast his cloak ' over Abu Deleiq.[23]

[12] Pereira, II, 124–5, 180.
[13] MacMichael, I, 240 : *SNR*, IV, 1921, 5.
[14] VI, 259. Bruce states that the name has nothing to do with the river ; it was his way of spelling Nail.
[15] V, 44 ; VII, 84.
[16] See for instance, Bruce, VI, 417 and D7, § 90.
[17] VII, 83.
[18] *Island of Meroe*, 25.
[19] See *SNR*, IX, 51–6.
[20] For the source (not a very good one), see MacMichael, I, 248. Another authority (the present Abdullab Sheikh) makes Mohammed Deiyoma the son of Agib I and ancestor of the Deiyomab, of whom there is no mention in MacMichael's book.
[21] The source, however, states that Dayuma's mother was a ' Fung girl.'
[22] MacMichael, II, 86 (ABC, § 13).
[23] *SNR*, III, 43.

Werne, who visited the Shukria in 1841, stated[24] that at this time the tribe spoke a dialect identical with that of the Bishari and Hadendoa. This statement has been questioned by Mr Hillelson,[25] who gives four reasons for rejecting it and for regarding the Arabic spoken by the Shukria as ' a genuine tribal dialect with distinct features of its own, which it would be exceedingly difficult to account for, if it is a borrowed speech only recently adopted.' He concluded that the sheikhly families are certainly Arab, and that, though not proven, ' the common people may include elements of Beja origin.' It is not for me to pass judgment ; but I would mention that Werne is not the only authority for the fact he alleged. A much better authority, Dr Robert Hartmann, said the same.[26] The Shukria, he says, are distinguished by their idiom as ' echte Afrikaner ; sie sprechen einer dialect des Bigawi, jener Ursprache, die auch von 'Ababdeh, Besarin und Taqah-Stämmen geredet wird. Neben dem Bigawi verstehen diese Tribus aber auch meist arabisch.' Some of the kindred tribes such as the Abu Rôf, Bagâra and Magârien, spoke Arabic mixed with many native (eingebornen) words. Abu Sinn, the Shukria sheikh, and many of his own people (Seinigen) spoke very fluent Arabic.

The Batahin, once described (from their colour) as the ' red people,'[27] are ' one of the oldest offshoots of that early group of Arab immigrants to whose descendants the name Ga'aliin is applied ; and they probably represent the original stock more closely than do the other branches.'[28] They have been in the neighbourhood of Abu Deleiq since the 17th century at least, and claim, it seems justifiably, to have been there before the Deleiqab. The older name of the centre was Nigfa, a name which appears on the modern map (55 c) as Jebel Nichfa, 5 miles south of Abu Deleiq. No love is lost between the Batahin and the Shukria who despise them ; Crowfoot tells an amusing story of the pushful Batani Muhammad Ibrahim, who showed him the brick site at Ge'li that was not known to the ' eminently respectable ' Shukria Sheikh Khalid, who did not conceal his disgust at being thus scored off.[29] So too in England the poacher is sometimes a better field-archaeologist than the squire.

In Bruce's time the Shukria seem to have frequented the district east and south-east of Gerri ; and they had not then acquired the hegemony of the whole Butana which they achieved after the battle of Mandara in 1779. They still occupied a humble position compared with their kinsmen, the Bawadira and Umm Badiriya and with their hereditary enemies, the Rikabiyin.[30] There is no hint, in Bruce's account of Gedaref, of the presence of any Shukria there. Gedaref consists of a group of settlements and is called by many different names by travellers. Bruce calls it Teawa and the same name (spelt Tewawa) appears on Munzinger's map of 1864 as that of the hill now called Tawawi and of the village at its foot. Another village close by called Sofi (after the place or camp of the same name on the Atbara) is called New Sofi by Munzinger and Heuglin (1867) ; the former gives it the alternative name of Hellet Woad Fadl and the latter of Hellet el Faqi el Adra. Munzinger also

[24] ' Reise durch Sennaar nach Mandera,' quoted in *SNR*, II, 71.

[25] *SNR*, II, 154–6.

[26] *ZfAE*, Vol. XIV, 153, 158. Hartmann is a first-hand authority for the Blue Nile region, which he had visited ; but did he explore the Butana ? And is it not possible that he is merely copying from Werne ?

[27] D3, No. 74.

[28] MacMichael, I, 208.

[29] *Island of Meroe*, 25–6.

[30] See Hillelson in *SNR*, III, 342.

marks in the same group the names Suq Abu Sin (so called from the famous Shukria Sheikh), Seraf el Bauadra, Kanara,[31] Gharigana (Bruce's Garigana, now Ghureiqana), Asar and Djebel om Siterah (now Umm Sudeira).

Bruce was the first to give any account of this group of settlements. The chief Sheikh at Teawa was Fidele, as he calls him (more correctly Fadl), and he also calls him 'Shekh of Atbara'—a name that he uses often and very loosely. Fidele disposed of 'about 25 horse, of which about ten were armed with coats of mail.'[32] They also had 'about a dozen firelocks' which were not of much use to them. 'The rest of the inhabitants might amount to 1200 men, naked, miserable, and despicable Arabs, like the rest of those that live in villages, who are much inferior in courage to the Arabs that dwell in tents: weak as its state was it [Teawa] was the seat of government, and as such a certain degree of reverence attended it.' There were cornfields all around, awaiting the ravages of the Daveina, who, as Bruce was told later by the Abdullab Sheikh,[33] did eventually burn Teawa, in company with the 'Moorish troops' of Ras el Fil and the 'Ganjar horse of Kuara.'

Heuglin, usually most informative, tells us nothing much about Gedaref except that he met there 'Schech Aud el Kerim.'[34] His visit was in June, 1862, so that it would appear that Kerim's father Ahmed Abu Sin whom Baker met the year before,[35] had died in the interval. (He was said to be over 80, and had certainly been Sheikh of the Shukria since the death of his father in 1802–4[36]). How much history could both travellers have recovered by merely talking to the old man! But Baker could speak little or no Arabic[37] and was more interested in hunting than in history; and Heuglin was homeward bound after an arduous journey in Abyssinia.

Baker, who calls it 'Katariff' has given[38] an interesting account of the market there. There was a street of 'thatched open sheds, about 6 feet high' in front of which the merchants exposed their goods. Amongst these were Manchester calicoes supplied through Greek merchants and 'sword-blades, files, razors, and other hardware, all of German manufacture, and of the most rubbishing [*sic*] kind.' The most numerous stalls were those devoted to red pepper, beads and perfumery. Beyond the main street of booths were merchants sitting under fan-shaped straw screens selling butter and fat, ropes, mats, leather bags, waterskins and other goods. Itinerant smiths were at work making knife-blades, repairing spears and so forth. There was also a professional storyteller holding forth from a camel and causing roars of laughter by his witticisms. Camels, cattle and donkeys were also exposed for sale. The people who frequented the market included Arabs of all kinds, Tekruri and Abyssinians.

Gedaref has a high annual rainfall (23 inches in 1904) and its appearance before and after the rains was very different. 'By May, the surface of the ground surrounding the houses and environs of the town has become clean and bare, and many of the grass tukls have been rebuilt and appear almost toy-like so spick and span are they. However, in October the whole place has the appearance of a wreck—houses are

[31] Now Kandawa (55 L). Is this Dimasqi's Kanawar? (Marquart, p. cccxxiii).

[32] VI, 279.

[33] VI, 417.

[34] *Reise nach Abessinien*, 1868, 432. See also Lejean, *Voyage aux deux Nils*, 20–1; he was there in 1860.

[35] *Nile tributaries*, 1867, III.

[36] MacMichael, II, 377 (D7, § 151).

[37] See for instance pp. 275–6.

[38] pp. 271–3.

tumbling down, the neat new tukls are discoloured and distorted, and every square foot of ground, right up to the houses, not already planted with dura (at this time fully 12 feet high) is overgrown with the rankest of tall Aada grass which is even higher, and through which the by-streets of the town are mere tunnels little more than 2 feet wide.'[39]

The following is a rough draft of the sheikhs of Gedaref or Atbara :—

1619	Haket (Pereira, *Chron. Sus.*, 159).
1766	Welled Hassan (Bruce, VI, 375).
1772	' Fidele '
1837	Ahmed Kashif (MacMichael, II, 397 : D7).
1841	' Ibrahim Wood Fottil.'[40]
c. 1885–9	Abu Anga.[41]
c. 1899	Ahmed Fedil.

Gallabat is on the Abyssinian frontier, 90 miles south-east of Gedaref, and, like it, is not a place but a region. It is peculiarly difficult to write any coherent account of it for several reasons. The names by which it appears in the travel-books vary—Ras el Fil, Metemmeh and Hor Kakamoot ; but Metemma was the chief centre. Gallabat is first mentioned under this name in the Annals of Iyasu II of Abyssinia[42] who is recorded to have advanced against the Balaw ' et précisément au Gallabat,' on 9th February, 1743 ; at this time the *bagrond* called Nail was there, in Sennar, *i.e.* Gallabat was then territorially in the kingdom of Sennar. (This Nail may have been the same man whom Bruce calls ' Mahomet, Sheikh of Nile,' and whom he met there in 1772[43]). Bruce calls the place Ras el Fil, which is still the name of the mountain. The exact site of the village where he stayed is uncertain, but it was 2¼ hours from Mariam Ohha,[44] and a situation on the Khor Yabis suggested by Lejean[45] fits this description. This or one of the adjacent Khors then bore, according to Bruce, the not uncommon name of Kakamut.[46] The village stood in a clearing and consisted of a few ' miserable huts ' round which were some patches of maize. There were formerly, says Bruce, thirty-nine villages in the region, and it was a market to which came butter, honey, horses, gold and many other commodities. The pastoral products were brought there by the Butana Arabs, the gold came doubtless from Fazughli and the gold region south of it,[47] and the rest from Abyssinia. Since the 2nd Abyssinian war with Sennar, however, trade had suffered and many of the people had migrated to Chirkin. Bruce calls the whole Gallabat region by the name of Ras el Fil, and states that its sheikh had an arrangement with the Sheikh of Atbara (Teawa-Gedaref) by which they divided equally between them the tribute paid by the Arabs and made an annual exchange of presents with each other. The

[39] Gleichen, I, 107.

[40] Werne, *Reise durch Sennaar nach Mandera*, Berlin, 1852, 115.

[41] Gleichen 1905, i, 106–7, 267–8.

[42] *Corpus Script. Christ.*, Series Altera, Tom. VI (French translation), 1912, 120–1.

[43] See p. 240.

[44] VI, 253. Heuglin (*Reise nach Abessinien*, 1868, 416) says that Chor Kakamut was 2½ hours from Metemeh (probably equivalent to Mariam Ohha and certainly very close to it) and the same distance from (SE of) the large Takruri village of Konina, now Kuncina (Sheet 56 I).

[45] *Voyage aux deux Nils* (1865), 127.

[46] According to Lejean the name connotes thick-foliaged trees, and Bruce's explanation—that Kakamout means ' shadow of death '—is an absurd libel on an agreeable tree (*Acacia camphylacantha*).

[47] See p. 283.

function of Ras el Fil was, with Chilga, to form a corridor through the Shangalla belt along which trade might pass between Abyssinia and the west. These routes converged at Ras el Fil ; but I do not altogether trust Bruce's statement that there were two roads to Sennar, one by Teawa and the other by Beyla. The road from Ras el Fil to Teawa is merely the southeastern part of the ' overland ' caravan-route to Abu Deleiq and Shendi ; and the normal route from Sennar to Gondar did not, at any rate in 1700, pass through Ras el Fil but followed the more direct course through Serke, 20 miles to the south.[48]

The political affiliations of Sankaho, Chirkin and Ras el Fil are complicated by changes in the Abyssinian frontier. At the beginning of the 17th century Sankaho belonged to Abyssinia but was governed by a Mohammedan who was killed by a vassal of Sennar in a raid at the outset of the 1st Abyssinian war. In 1701 Chirkin (called Turkhin) was the last place in the kingdom of the Fungs who had therefore advanced their frontier eastwards by some 30 miles at the expense of Abyssinia. Thus they held a salient on an important trade-route, and one wonders whether the raids we have called the 1st Abyssinian war, of which we have only the Abyssinian version, were really as successful as they were claimed to be. In the 18th century Ras el Fil was ' governed ' by a non-resident Abyssinian chieftain, who was no more really than an armed absentee landlord. Bruce claimed to have held the office himself, but Salt was told in 1810 that, although he often asked for it, neither the ' government ' of Ras el Fil nor that of any other district was ever given to him.[49]

Ras el Fil was inhabited, according to Bruce,[50] by people who were 'black, but not of the black kind '—a curious statement which probably means that they were not negroid. The majority were ' Tacarna, that is, natives of Darfoor,' obviously the people whom, two lines below, he calls ' Tucorori from Fowar.' These were the Mecca pilgrims of whom Burckhardt has left so full and sympathetic an account.[51] There were also at Ras el Fil the ' Ganjar or Kuara Arabs,' of whom I have written an account elsewhere[52] ; they had a large village called Noor about two miles SW of Khor Kakamut. He also mentions ' Gibbertis, or natives of this place, or Habesh, etc.,' by which he probably means Abyssinians who were also Mohammedans. Finally there were ' a mixture of Atbarans, as Gehaina, Daveina, Hamran, Welled Ali, or Nile, who are Daveina.' The nomads exchanged the produce of their herds and hunting for horses and corn ; the Abyssinian Mohammedans exchanged coffee, civet and cloths for cotton, the latter presumably from Sennar. If we add the gold of Fazughli it will be seen that Ras el Fil was quite a considerable market for the exchange of goods from all four quarters of the compass, though perhaps not on a large scale.

The Tekroury settlement is said[53] to have been founded in the 18th century by

[48] See Appendix 3.

[49] *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, by Henry Salt, 1814, 336.

[50] VII, 83.

[51] *Travels*, 406–14. Tekayrne is the plural of Tekroury, as Burckhardt says, but his explanation of the derivation is, for once, incorrect. The name is of geographical origin, derived from Tokrour, a large trading-centre in W. Africa, two days from Sala on the Niger : see ' Idrisi ' in *Recueil de voyages*, Vol. 5, 1836, 12. A full account of the West African region will be found in *The Negroland of the Arabs*, by W. D. Cooley, 1841, 97–103. Heuglin gives another plural form Takarir, p. 404. Is the district-name Lakatakura and others on De Chaurand's map connected with this word ? (see also p. 242).

[52] pp. 147 ff.

[53] *SNR*, VII, 95, quoting G. Lejean, *Voyage aux deux Nils*, 126–30 ; see also p. 121.

a returning Darfur pilgrim called Forinkwei. There is no mention of him in Bruce, and it has therefore been conjectured that he flourished at a later date. However this may be, there seem to have been Tekayrne in this part of the Sudan in the middle of the 18th century, for people called Tehrur are mentioned together with the Balaw in the account[54] of an Abyssinian raid in the Atbara region in March, 1746. Other places nearby were Guangue, Medema (=Metemma) and the river Gabo, all apparently near Ras el Fil. Forinkwei can hardly be later than the end of the 18th century if the list of Sheikhs compiled by Captain Smith is to be trusted,[55] and a date about the middle of that century would fit the facts best. Throughout its history Ras el Fil has been a bone of contention between Sennar (and later Khartoum) on the one side and Abyssinia on the other, each party trying to obtain control of the customs and taxation. It may be conjectured that, when both states were at a low ebb during the latter part of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, the Tekayrne, who were hard-working and industrious people, were left free to develop the resources of the district with less than the usual interference; but that later their control was weakened by a resumption of the previous struggle. Heuglin[56] says that the state of Gallabat was treated as a neutral area by both Turks and Abyssinians, paying a customs revenue of 3000 thäler to the Turks and 1000 to the Abyssinians. It extended, he says, for about 30 (geographical ?) miles from the Shimfa northwards along the Atbara; on his map he shows this state as covering a more or less circular area with a radius of about 25 English miles from the centre at Metemeh. This duality is reflected by the history of Gallabat during the 19th century.

Both Sir Samuel Baker and Heuglin visited Gallabat during 1862, the former in April, the latter in June; Lejean was also there in the second half of the same year, but he gives no dates. The ruler was then Sheikh Jemma or Djuma who had succeeded Hamed, the Turkish nominee.[57] Their descriptions of Metemeh, then the capital, do not add much to Bruce's account. Baker found there two German missionaries, one of whom was a bible-quoting blacksmith on his way to convert the Abyssinians, and in particular the Abyssinian Jews. The blacksmith justified his hopeless task by comparing himself to the apostle Paul, which was, in Baker's experience, the comparison made by every 'exceedingly ignorant missionary' he had met. The missionaries had a first-rate medicine-chest, but could not use it because the bottles were not labelled and some contained poison. Baker kindly put it in order for them and treated them for their illnesses, but could not refrain from commenting on their crazy mission. 'Provided with a medicine-chest that they did not comprehend, and with a number of bibles printed in the Tigré language which they did not understand, they were prepared to convert the Jews, who could not read.' At the end of his book[58] Baker makes some very sound remarks on how to raise the cultural level of barbarous peoples. That can only be done, he says, by improving those basic material conditions upon which the cultural superstructure is built. In conformity with the ideas of the time he identifies that superstructure

[54] *Corpus Script. Christ.*, Series Altera, Tom. VI (French translation), 1912, 133. See also p. 242 below.

[55] *SNR*, VII, 100.

[56] p. 407.

[57] Baker, *Nile Tributaries*, 508.

[58] *Ibid.* 573.

with ' the principles of Christianity.' But, apart from this, he was recommending those very principles which have been successfully applied by the British in the Sudan itself.

Gallabat is geographically a ' gebel ' type of settlement, differing from others (such as Gebel Moya, Gedaref or the Ingassana villages) in being close to the head-waters of a big river, the Atbara. Along the banks of this river further north are many places which at various times have been the camping-grounds of nomads. Such are Sofi and Tomat, Mogatta, Khashm el Girba,[59] Asobri, Goz Regeb, Baaluk and Adarama. Several of these owed their importance, and probably their existence, to their position on caravan-routes. Though semi-permanent, the habitations were mostly tents, nor is there any evidence or likelihood that in Fung times any more substantial communities existed. But they may have existed in earlier and more quiescent times, before the locust hordes of nomads overran the country, for the Atbara valley has a permanent water-supply and cultivable lands. There was certainly a permanent settlement at the foot of Gebel Erembat near Goz Regeb, where Werne observed brick-debris covering a large area.[60] In one place the bricks were fused into a vitreous mass. Monneret de Villard describes the site more exactly as a graveyard of burial-mounds built of baked bricks, one of which was decorated with geometrical designs—stars, fish and crosses. He also found one, now in the Khartoum museum, inscribed ' Petr(os) ' in Greek letters.[61] These finds indicate the existence of a village here during the Christian period, certainly well before 1500 and probably very much earlier. Somewhere near there must be the foundations of a Christian church and of brick houses awaiting discovery and excavation. There are probably similar ancient sites to be discovered elsewhere in the same valley, which (except for the authorities quoted) has never been explored by an archaeologist. The remarkable granite pillars on Goz Regeb Hill, which misled Burckhardt (*Travels*, 1822, 343), are due to weathering and of purely natural origin. Good photographs are published in Hayes, *op. cit.*, between pp. 208–10.

The inhabitants of Goz Regeb are called Gowaza and are of Gaali origin, the principal tribes represented being Fadlab, Inqeriab, Adarab, and some who claim to be Kumalab in origin. Six or seven houses of the ruling family claim to be Fung Diabab. Diab wad el Melik el Ahmar came ' from the Fung ' twelve generations ago—which would be about 1560—and settled at Goz Regeb, which was under the Fung; he had had some quarrel with the Fung. He and his descendants lived there as sheikhs and cultivated the islands in the Atbara.[62]

Forty miles east of the Atbara is the Gash river, once its tributary but now ending underground in its own delta—a mass of gravel and silt brought down from the mountains of Abyssinia and Eritrea by the Gash itself and the torrents to the north. At the head of this delta is Kassala. The name is ancient for it appears in a fragmentary inscription (dated 7th to 12th century A.D.) found at Aksum,[63] and set up by a certain Hasani Dan'el, son of Dabra Ferem (?), of whom there is no other record; and it states that certain people ' came to Kasala . . . and plundered

[59] Described in *The Source of the Blue Nile*, by A. J. Hayes, 1905, 26 ff.
[60] *African Wanderings*, 1852, 39.
[61] *La Nubia medioevale*, I, 1935, 275.
[62] Newbold's File II, 404; p. 220 below.
[63] *DAE*, No. 12.

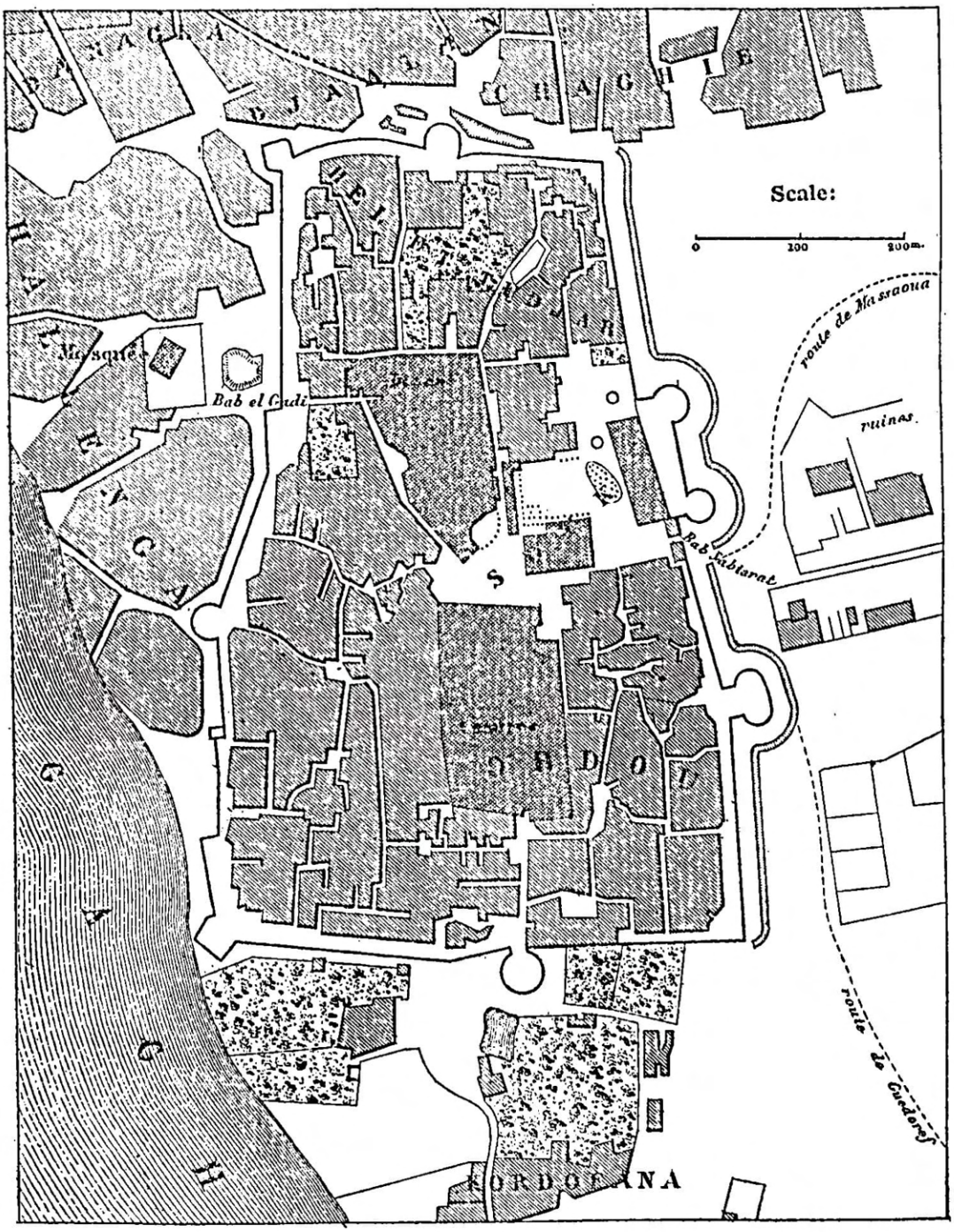


FIG. 15. Kassala in 1860-64, *after* Lejean

the Barya.' The modern town was founded in 1841[64] and its walls were designed by an 'Arab engineer' and regarded by Lejean 20 years later as a creditable piece of work. They are now (I am told) reduced to a barely visible earthen rampart. As originally built the rampart was pierced by three gateways, and had flanking-towers. In the middle of the town was a large market-place with a fountain (Fig. 15).[65] The old site seems to have been a little distance away to the south-east, at the foot of Gebel Kassala (Kassala el Lus[66] PLATE 25), and was called Fakenda.[67] There were fables of a great city here, and between Kadmin (presumably Khatmiya) and Mokran (Gebel Mokram) Werne saw the remains of mud-brick walls.[68] At a spot called Mahal Daglianus north-east of the present town potsherds have been found.[69]

The Gash delta, now under cotton, was once a rich corn-growing land, the granary of Suakin and even of Jeddah, where its corn sold for a higher price than that of Egypt. Not only was it of better quality, but the grain, stored in underground pits called *matmura*, kept longer than that grown elsewhere, sometimes lasting for five years without deterioration.[70] But in Burckhardt's time there were no regular fields, the seed being 'sown among the thorny trees, and Oshowi, by dibbling large holes in the ground, into each of which a handful of the seed is thrown.' The delta was as famous for its cattle as for its corn, but large numbers were destroyed by the lions and leopards which swarmed in the surrounding forest, and prowled at night round the zareebas.

The delta was called, according to Burckhardt,[71] El Gash or Bellad el Taka. According to Sapeto[72] the people of the Gash delta were called Makedaovi by the Abyssinians. The name Taka is an ancient one and has been identified with that of the Adulis inscription,[73] and with the Al Takeh of A.D. 1286.[74] Both identifications are, however, somewhat doubtful. The earliest certain mention is in the Arab histories of the Mohammedan conquest of Abyssinia (mid 16th century), where Taka, a thickly inhabited region, is said to have been given by the conqueror Ahmed ben Ibrahim, called Granhe, to his vizier Abbas. It is stated to have bordered on the land of the Homdjan (the Homran Arabs ?).[75] Taka is also mentioned by name in the Chronicle of Susenyos under the year 1619, where Arom, the residence of Fatima, is said to have been its market. Elsewhere[76] I have shown that the kingdom of Dequin is to be identified with the Gash delta. Here, too, may have dwelt the Mathitae of Pliny,[77] whose name may be perpetuated in that of the railway-station Mitatib, north of Aroma, and of the *meshra* (landing-place) spelt Temitatei[78] on the Italian 1 : M map, situated on the Atbara just north of Goz Regeb. This may be the

[64] Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale*, quoting Dehérain, *Le Soudan Egyptien*, 1898, 108–10.

[65] Lejean, *Voyage aux deux Nils* [1865], 10. Plan of Kassala in his *Atlas*, Plate VIII: here reproduced as Fig. 15.

[66] The name according to Lejean (pp. 11, 12) is to'Bedawi and means 'inaccessible,' and has nothing to do with apricots.

[67] Called 'Faki Endoa' in Lejean's map (*Atlas*, Plate VIII). The name appears to be a hybrid word meaning 'feki-people.'

[68] *African Wanderings*, 1852, 217: *Feldzug, etc.*, 220.

[69] Crowfoot, *JEA*, XIV, 1928, 112–16.

[70] *SNR*, V, 1922, 69: article on *Kassala*, by G. J. Fleming.

[71] p. 387.

[72] *Viaggio*, 162.

[73] *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, ed. Winstedt (Cambridge, 1909), 75; cf. *DAE*, I, 44.

[74] MacMichael, I, 183. See for this name pp. 25, 60.

[75] Basset, 1897, 461–2, with a long note by the translator on Taka; Pereira, *Susenyos*, 484.

[76] See pp. 114-16.

[77] Book VI, Chapter 35. An Arabian tribe called Mathataei is mentioned in Chapter 32 of the same Book.

[78] The Te- is the to'Bedawi definite article.

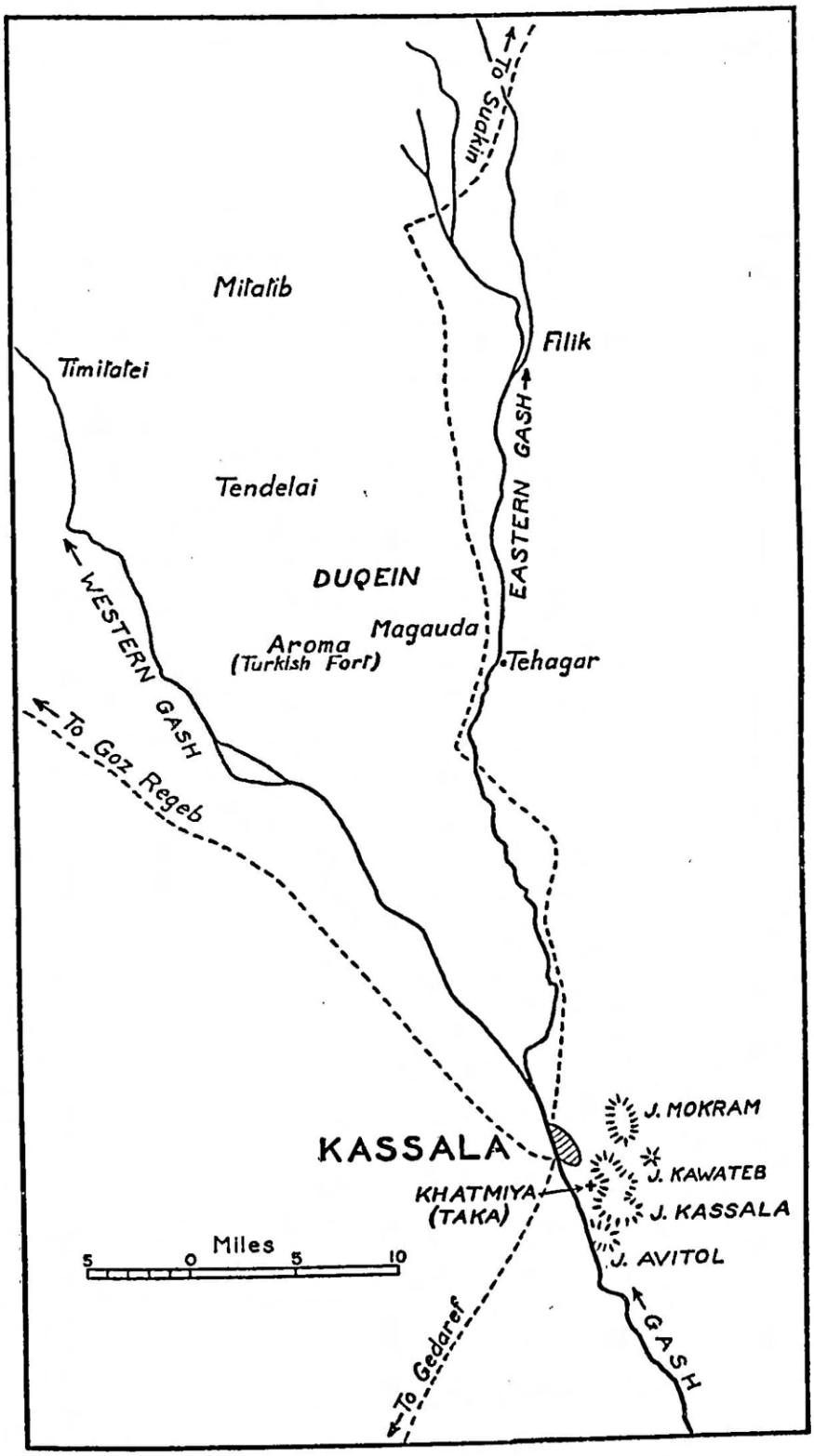


FIG. 16. The Gash Delta

same tribe as that called M-t-t on one of the Axum inscriptions[79] (4th century A.D.) and the M-tt-t of Harsiotef (4th century B.C.)[80]. But it should also be noted that according to Munzinger[81] there is a to'Bedawi word *to'mitat* (plural, *to'mitet*) meaning ' bones.' There can, on geographical grounds, be no question of the importance of the region which, under favourable political conditions, could support a large population. Such conditions may have obtained in the past, during the Meroitic and Christian periods.

Many of the place-names begin with *to*, *te*, the Beja definite article. That is natural, for Kassala is the chief centre of the Halenga, who speak a Beja dialect like that of the Hadendoa. The Nazir's family is of Gaali origin, and there is a tradition of Abdullab connections acquired by marriage.[82] In facial appearance the Halenga resemble the Tigre-speaking portion of the Beni Amer, and I suspect that it is from the latter tribe and its ancestor that the Gaali connection arose. In Burckhardt's time there were many Beja round Kassala—' the fiercest animals,' he says, ' that inhabited these woods.' If an earlier agricultural society existed here, it may have succumbed to the irruption of these nomads, encroaching as always from the desert upon the sown. Until some archaeologist has surveyed the Gash delta for ancient sites, even the existence of any such earlier agricultural communities must be doubtful. But I shall be very surprised if they do not come to light some day. The kingdom of Dequin may not have been wholly fabulous.

[79] *DAE*, Vol. IV, No. 8; see also Rossini, 134–5 and Kammerer, 89, note 2.
[80] Budge, *Nubian Annals*, 1912, II, 28–9.
[81] *Ost. Studien*, 368.
[82] *SNR*, VIII, 183: Newbold's File II, 366.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEJA LANDS

BEYOND the kingdom of Sennar, to the north east are the steppes and deserts where roamed the Blemmyes, later called the Beja.[1] The essential thing about Bejas is that they are Hamitic, not Semitic or negroid. Their faces are pleasant and have not the hard, cunning look of the Arab. The most distinctive thing about them (after their fuzzy hair) is their gait; they hold themselves erect and have the quick, eager walk of a European; they look as if they were going somewhere, not just walking aimlessly. I have spotted Bejas by this trait at a distance when any other identification was impossible. They are shy and evidently have not lost their self-respect, even in Port Sudan, for I found it impossible to photograph them. I can well believe that they may represent the oldest stratum of population, akin to the predynastic Egyptians from whom they may be descended.

The Fungs[2] were chiefly concerned with those nomads who occupied the hinterland of Suakin and controlled the life-line of their commerce between that port and Berber. But there was one tribe, the Beni Amer, which was definitely within the Fung confederacy and whose chief wore the horned cap. The others—Ababda (half Arab),[3] Bisharin, Amarar,[4] Hadendoa,[5] Halenga, Kawahla—come into the story occasionally and are dealt with in their proper place. To attempt even a summary description of them and their history here would be impossible. There are sufficient raw materials for another book; and it is a very great misfortune that Sir Douglas Newbold, who knew and loved the Bejas, died before he could write such a book (which he was preparing).[6] It is all the more regrettable because the Bejas were outside the scope of Sir Harold MacMichael's standard work on the Arabs of the Sudan. I propose therefore to discuss at some length the two earliest accounts of the people of these lands, and to deal very fully with the problem of the Balous and the Beni Amer; but to leave for some future writer the history and ethnology of the other tribes.

Soon after A.D. 872 Ahmed ibn el Wadhih el Yacubi wrote his Universal History.[7]

[1] Besides the works here referred to, much information will be found, under Blemmyes and Beja, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and in the *Dictionnaire d'Arch. Chrét. et de la Liturgie* (Blemmyes in Vol. 5, 1922, 623).

[2] Here I use this word—as did the older writers and the recorders of tribal lore—to cover also the Abdullab viceroys, who directly controlled the nomads.

[3] See G. W. Murray, *JAI*, LIII, 1923, 417-23.

[4] See G. E. R. Sanders in *SNR*, XVIII, 1935, 195–220.

[5] See T. R. H. Owen in *SNR*, XX, 1937, 183–208 and J. A. de C. Hamilton, *Central Asian Journal*, XIII, 1926, 375–81 (inserted in Newbold's file II). The name Had-Endoa means 'tribu dei signori' according to Rossini (*Storia d'Etiopa*, 271).

[6] Some of the mass of information which he collected in the Red Sea province will be found in his chapter on 'The Beja tribes of the Red Sea hinterland,' published in *The Sudan from within* [1935], 140–164; and in his two files in the Griffith Institute at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[7] The standard edition in Arabic is that of Th. Houtsma (Leyden, 1883), from a manuscript at Cambridge. The translation here given is a conflation of those of Rossini (*Storia d'Etiopia* 274–5), Marquart (*Benin*, pp. CCCXI–XII), and of that in Kemal's *Mon. Cart. Afr. et Ægypti* (Vol. III, fasc. I, 1930, 542v). A fourth is given by Palmer (*Sudanese Memoirs*, Vol. II [Lagos, 1928], 18). Alternative readings are given in brackets.

His account of the Bejas, probably obtained from the Arab merchants and prospectors who were then first beginning to penetrate the region, has some points in common with Ibn Hawqal's in the following century. I shall first of all give a condensed summary of both accounts, and then attempt to identify the places and regions.

Yacubi states that there were five Beja kingdoms :—

1. The kingdom of the people called Naqis extending from the frontier of Aswan, the limit of Muslim rule, to the frontier of Barakat (Barkat) ; their chief town is called Hagar (Hajar). There were gold and emerald mines. The people were divided into branches and tribes like the Arabs, amongst them being the Hadārib (Hedāreb, Hadarat ?), Higāb (Hajat ?), 'Amā'ir, Kadbin [?] (Kawbar ?), Manāsa, Rasifa, 'Arbaba'ah [?] (Gharirigha ?) and Zanāfig. They live in peace with Muslims who work in their country in the mines.

2. Baclin, a kingdom with many towns and much rain. The religion of the people is like that of the Magi and Dualists ; they call God Al Zabahir and Satan Sahag harāgah or hawagah,[8] and they pluck out the hair of their beards, pull out their front teeth and practise circumcision.

3. Bazen, a kingdom bordering on the Nuba kingdom of 'Alwa and on Baclin of the Beja, with whom they wage war. Their corn is called duhn (duchn), and they live on this and on milk.

4. Garin (Jarin). This kingdom has a powerful king, whose rule extends from a place called Badi on the sea coast to[9] the frontier of Barakat in the kingdom of Baclin (and) to a place called Hal ad Dagiag (Hall al Dujaj). The inhabitants pull out their two upper and lower front teeth, saying they do not like to look like donkeys, and pluck out their beards.

5. Cata'ah, the last Beja kingdom, extending from a place called Badi (or, the frontier of Badi) to a place called Faicun. The people are bold and warlike and have a settlement for warriors called Dar as Saua where young men practise arms.

In the Kitab al Buldan[10] it is stated by Yacubi that ' from El Allagi to the land of the Beja called El Zanāfija is 25 days' journey ; the town where the king of the Zanāfija lives is called Baclin ; Muslims resort there for trade.' Rossini[11] regards this as a reference to the second region above, and the mention of Baclin is certainly in favour of this ; but a passage in Ibn Solaim shows that in his time (A.D. 975–96) there was another region inhabited by the Zanāfija. In the section described the region of Schenkir (which, as we have seen[12], was in the bend of the Nile NW of Berber) he says : ' Here too live the Zenafij, a Beja tribe who emigrated long ago into Nubia, and have kept there their language and nomad life, not mixing with the Nubians or living in their villages. They have a chief who is subject to the king of Nubia,'[13]

[8] For the explanation of these names see Rossini 274. They prove that the Tigre language, which is still spoken by a part of the Beni Amer tribe in the same region, was also spoken there in the 9th century A.D.

[9] Or, *and* the frontier, etc.

[10] The most recent edition is that of Gaston Wiet; the translation, in French, was published at Cairo in 1937 by the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology.

[11] p. 275.

[12] p. 26.

[13] Quatremère, *Mém.* II, 16; p. 51 above.

Ibn Hawqual's account[14] of the Beja lands is much fuller. I shall give first a condensed summary of the French translation[15] printed in Youssouf Kemal's corpus, and then attempt to identify the places and regions named by him and Yacubi.

Between Sawākin and 'Aidab is Sunjula, an island between the headland of Jebel Dawāy and Jebel ibn Jarcham . . . Going down the coast one comes next to the island of Badi which is at a distance of two days' sail. Then continuing the journey one anchors at Dahlak after four days. From Dahlak to Zaila is six days. Badi is an island rich in produce and in cattle (bétail) ; it is opposite Hali. The island of Dahlak is opposite 'Athr, and the island of Zaila is approximately between Ghalāfiqa and 'Adan. The islands of Taranja (?) and Barbara are opposite the 'Adan region.

The southern part of the Beja[16] territory is formed by the regions of Qal'ib, places with water near a mountain called Malāhib ; the largest valley is called Barka ; between Barka and Qal'ib are forests with large trees. At the east end of Malāhib is a valley called Sighiwat with water, trees, rivers and wild beasts. In the region (parages) of Barka live the tribes of Kadbam called 'Ajat, belonging to the Beja. They touch the Jasa in the direction of the sea. The mountain seems to extend as far as Dukun, a land of cultivated and watered fields, towards which flows the Nile and where the Nuba and Beja who are settled amongst them cultivated dhurra and millet. In the Barka hills live the tribes called Baza and Bariya, peoples who fight with bows, poisoned arrows and spears, but no shields. The Bariya remove their front teeth and pierce their ears . . . They raise cattle and sheep and cultivate the land.

The region between the Barka and the mountain belonging to it called Malāhib, in the direction of Islam, is occupied by Qal'ib, Anburit, the mountains of Darurit, and springs and cultivated land belonging to a Beja tribe called Biwatika, who are very numerous. Barka is near the island of Badi which is distant a day's journey. There is a region of about three days' journey occupied by the tribes of Qa'sa who are the most important of the inland Bejas, and the richest. Beyond the Qa'sa live the Mātin who adjoin the Duhra, then the Sitrab, then the Gharkay, then the Duhunt as far as the mountain called Mismar. On the latitude of Sawākin live tribes called Raqabat (?) and Handiba ; they are subject to the Hadrabiya and especially to 'Abdak . . . As for the tribes of the Hadārib, to them belong the Aritika, the Sutbaru, the Hutama, the Akanbira, the Najriru and the Janitika. The Wakhika and the Haribab form a single tribe and have about a hundred sub-divisions . . . they speak the Beja language.

The land of 'Alwa is a region of villages and cultivation. The king's dominion

[14] *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Ægypti*, Vol. III, fasc.2. Ibn Hawqal's work was written before A.D. 977–8. The best edition is that edited by S. H. Kramers, Leiden, 1938. I wish to thank Dr D. S. Rice for calling my attention to this and for the following note kindly supplied by him :—' There is nothing new of any importance in this new edition (so far as your interests are concerned) except the general statement that the gold-mines are on the Egyptian-Beja border. ' It is said that 'Aydhab belongs to the Beja country. It is a town of Habasha. The area of the mines is flat. There are no mountains, and it is covered by sand and small pebbles . . . The Beja have no villages and no fertile lands : they are nomads and breeders. Their animals are most amenable. Their animals and slaves and anything else from their country reaches Egypt through Egyptian traders ' (p. 162).

[15] I have substituted ' u ' for the French ' ou,' ' j ' for ' dj,' ' sh ' for ' ch.'

[16] Buja here and elsewhere in the original.

extends from Al Muqirra, the extreme part of the kingdom of Dunqula, obeying the lord of 'Alwa, to the land of Kursi along the Nile.[17] This territory is a month in length, and in width from the Nile to Taflin—eight day's journey in an easterly direction. In this space is the river called Sansābi which flows into the Nile and rises in the region of the Habasha ; and the river called Al Dujn which, rising in the region of the Habasha, ends in the neighbourhood and fields of Dujn, which consists of villages set closely together . . . About the middle of this valley is Taflin consisting of rural villages . . . Near Taflin live the Bazin in villages of reed huts . . . From Taflin to the Barka is three days (journey). We have already said that the Barka flows from the land of the Habasha, passing the Bazin and going in the direction of the Beja ; it falls into the sea between Sawākin and Badi.

Before trying to identify the regions mentioned in these accounts one should ask one self what precisely Yacubi meant by a kingdom ? The reply is that its connotation varied ; it is used both of groups of nomads and of cultivators living in permanent villages. Arab scholars writing in countries whose political organisation was highly developed described primitive communities in the terms of their own polity. European medieval writers and painters did exactly the same. Prester John was decked out in all the trappings of a medieval prince. So powerful was the influence of this preconception that even firsthand observations were influenced by it—witness the narrative of Alvarez. The unfamiliar is described in terms of the familiar and assimilated to it. We must also make allowance for the fact that, although the broad distinction between nomad and cultivator, between the desert and the sown, was realized, the interaction between environment and culture was imperfectly comprehended. Most of these five ' kingdoms ' may well have been little more than geographical regions over which certain groups of peoples claimed rights. The territorial claims of nomads are as exactly defined as those of birds, and have much resemblance to them. (Burckhardt[18] has recorded the tribal limits on the coastland north of Suakin of the Hadendoa, Amarer, Bisharin and Ababde.)

The area covered by the accounts of Yacubi and Ibn Hawqal is that triangle of diminishing rainfall whose apex is near Ras Benas and the bay of Berenice and whose base is the margin of the Abyssinian highlands between Massawa and Kassala. This is undoubtedly the homeland of the Beja tribes—a region predominantly pastoral, but capable of cultivation in places, bounded on the west by the desert and on the east by the Red Sea. Though geographically homogeneous, inasmuch as rain falls everywhere over it, its habitability is strictly determined by the amount of that rainfall, which decreases from south to north. Rainfall ceases north of Ras Benas. It falls during the ' winter ' months, being picked up from the Red Sea by the north wind revolving round a ' low ' centred over Arabia. The rainfall increases in proportion to the distance across, or along, the sea traversed by the wind.

The first of Yacubi's regions (as I shall call them) is that of the Naqis. Their stated (northwestern) limit, the frontier of Aswan and of Muslim rule, is a vague one ; but as gold and emerald mines are said to have occurred in their country, it must have been somewhere north of the Wadi Allagi. A northern location is also

[17] See above, p. 25 (Kersa).

[18] *Travels*, 448, 470.

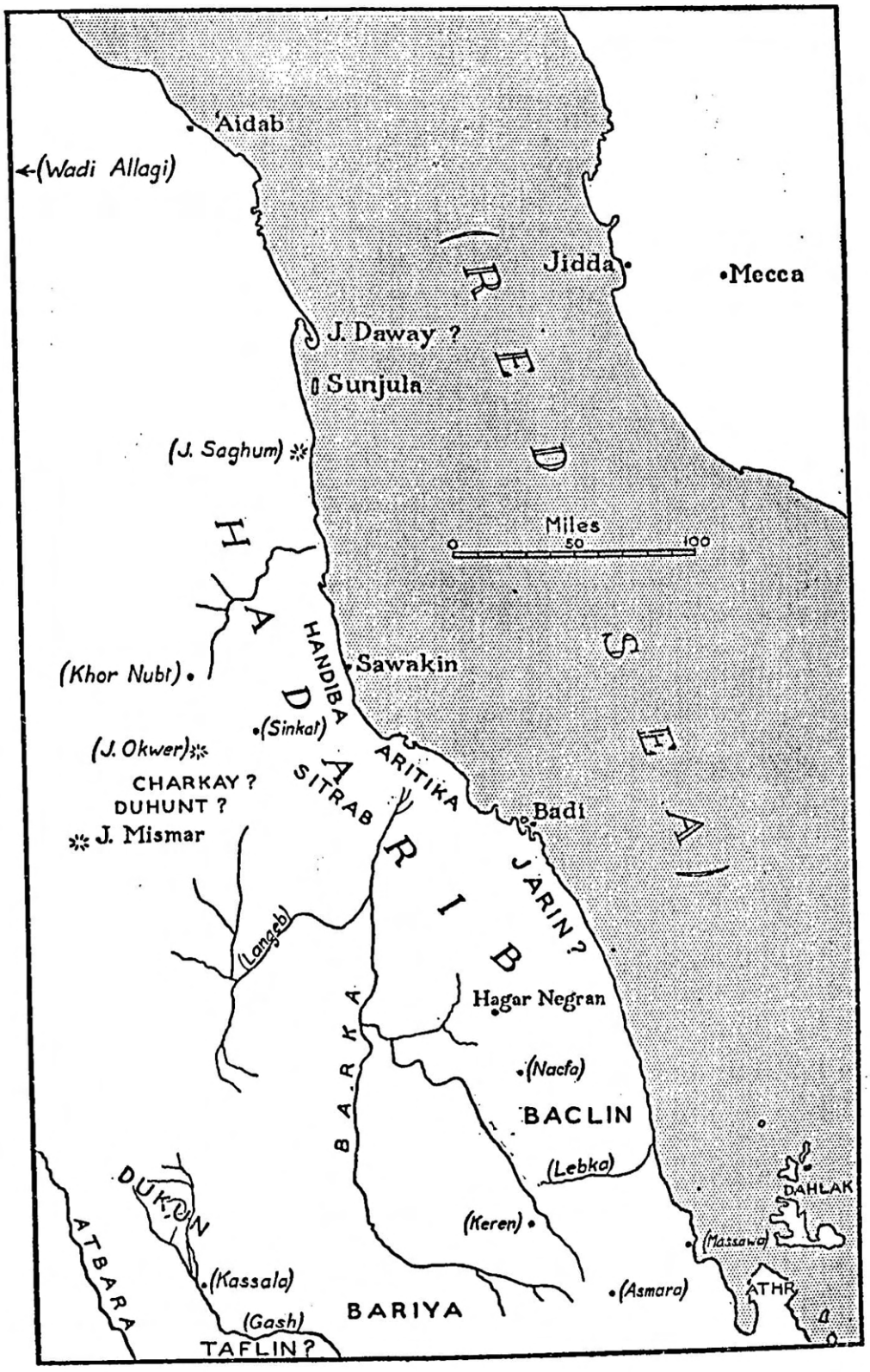


FIG. 17. Beja Tribes

suggested by the name Naqi which, in spite of other traditional explanations, must surely be the same as that of the Bisharin umm Nagi whose name appears on the map east of Berber and north of the Atbara ; and the Bisharin are the northernmost of the Bejas, if we except the mixed Ababde. Of the sub-tribes of the Naqis mentioned,[19] the Kadbin may be the same as the ' tribes of Kadbam called 'Ajat ' of Ibn Hawqal, who lived near the Barka ; and if we adopt the alternative reading of Hajat for Higāb, we may equate this tribe with the 'Ajat. The Zanāfig have been mentioned already.[20] Of the Hadarab, Makrizi[21] states that in his time they lived as a ruling caste with the Zenāfij, who were more numerous and once more powerful than they. According to their own tradition, as recorded by Burckhardt,[22] the Hadareb, who then shared with the Turks the control of Suakin, came from the Hadhramaut, whence they derived their name. Burckhardt at first accepted this tradition, but later, after reading Makrizi, abandoned it, regarding them as Bejas ' or at least very ancient settlers in that country.' There is no reason to suppose that they were Arabs at all or had any connection with the Hadhramaut. Makrizi located them between Egypt and Aidhab and called them Bejas of Moslem faith, ' but their faith was weak.'

Ibn Hawqal's description locates the Hadārib or Hadrabiya[23] on the latitude of Suakin and gives as their sub-tribes the Aritika (certainly the Arteiga) and others who cannot be identified. He states that the Hadārib and their sub-tribes speak the Beja language.

The Manāsa have been conjectionally identified with the Mensa of Eritrea.

The chief town of the Naqis, according to Yacubi, was called Hagar (Hajar). The name recalls the Arabic word for a stone or rock which is a very common element in place-names ; but it is explained by Marquart[24] as of Ethiopian or Sabaean origin meaning town or region. A place of the same name is mentioned in the treaty made in A.D. 831 between the Muslims and the Bejas, where it is stated to have had a mosque. The northeastern limit of the Bejas is there given as the sea coast between Dahlak and Badi, that is, the Samhar. Makrizi himself, who gives the text of the treaty, states that Hedjer was on the extremity of the island of Beja, and that it was once the seat of a chief to whom the minor Beja chiefs were subject. He also quotes a passage from Ibn Solaim describing the Beja as extending to the country of Habesh. Taking all these descriptions together one may conclude that the island of Beja was of the same kind as those of Meroe and Sennar, that is, an interfluvial peninsula. The only possible example in this part of the world is that between the Baraka or Anseba and the sea. (Red Sea islands may be ruled out for many reasons). In this ' island ' is a place spelt in various ways on the older maps but omitted from the modern ones.[25] Rossini[26] calls it Hagar 'Abbai Nagran, deriving the name from the famous martyrs of Nagran in Arabia. Munzinger marks it on his map (Lat. 16°37′) where it is called Hager and described as an ' old monastery

[19] The readings of the names are doubtful.
[20] p. 100.
[21] Burckhardt, 506.
[22] pp. 433 ff ; see also his note 50, p. 526.
[23] I assume that these names both refer to the same tribe.
[24] p. CCCXIII.
[25] Unless a place called Haggai Abba (Lat. 17°13′ : Long. 37°59′) represents it, as seems quite possible ; for the earlier maps of this region (then hardly explored) are very inaccurate.
[26] *Rendiconti della R. Accad. Lincei*, XXXI, 1922, 265.

(named) Agere Nageran, destroyed, the seat (Sitz) of the Beit Auet.' In his book[27] he gives no description of it, saying merely that it was on the pilgrim route from Abyssinia to Jerusalem via Suakin, and that at the irruption of Islam, the monastery was destroyed and the route fell into disuse. He himself does not seem to have visited the place, and it was inserted on his map on the evidence of Th. Heughlin from the description of a journey made about 1860 by Lieut. Saleh Effendi. Roden[28] mentions the place but no more.

There are at least two serious difficulties in identifying Hagar 'Abbai Nagran with the place mentioned by Yacubi and Makrizi. It is not ' at the extremity of the island of Beja,' if that island is where I should locate it ; rather it is near the middle of it. We might get over this by saying that Makrizi's knowledge of the region was vague and that all he knew was that it was at some distance from the more accessible northern end of the island near Tokar. A more cogent objection is that it is on the wrong (east) side of the Barka, which Yacubi gives as the (southern or southeastern) limit of the kingdom of the Naqis. But elsewhere[29] Yacubi himself states that Hajar is the capital of the Hadāriba Beja, whose territory (with that of the Kadbiyin) was 25 days' journey from El Allagi and was frequented by Moslem traders. Given the inconsistency and vagueness of existing geographical knowledge in the 9th and 15th centuries, neither objection is perhaps fatal to the identification. But one would have expected any place that could have been regarded (rightly or wrongly) as the seat of a Beja paramount chief to have been situated much further to the north ; and it should be noted that, in the treaty, the other place mentioned with Hedjer as also having a mosque was Singah, identified by Monneret de Villard[30] with Singat, that is, the well-known place on the Berber railway spelt Sinkat on the modern maps. Not far to the west of Sinkat is Khor Nubt where dated Mahommedan tombstones of the 8th and 10th centuries A.D. have been found [31] ; there must surely have been a mosque there.

Two other identifications have been proposed. Rossini[32] tentatively suggested the place called on the modern maps Tehagar on one of the eastern distributaries of the Gash delta, 24 miles N by W of Kassala ; but, as he himself says, the evidence of a place-name that is so common is not enough by itself to establish an identification. Heuglin[33] placed it (with a query) in a small district in Eritrea 80 miles east of Kassala, called Hagr or Higr on Munzinger's map, lying immediately south of Bishia. This is in the Baria region, and for that reason impossible. It is inconceivable that an important Beja centre with a mosque should have existed in the heart of this primitive Nilotic enclave, which is also much too far to the south to suit the contexts.

It has been stated that according to one of Yacubi's statements Hajar was the capital of the Hadārib Bejas, who have always been closely associated with Suakin. Now Lobo (about 1624) reported that the legitimate ruler of that town was a poor prince whose kingdom was formerly called Nekran and then Balou. Does

[27] p. 286.

[28] *Le Tribu dei Mensa* (Stockholm, 1913,) 5. He seems to be merely quoting Munzinger without acknowledgment.

[29] *Mon. Cart. Afr. et Ægypt*, Vol. III, fasc. 1 (1930), 540v : Wiet's edition (translation), p. 192.

[30] *Storia* 102, giving authorities. See also his article in *RSO*, XVII, 323.

[31] See p. 121.

[32] *Storia d'Etiopia*, 271.

[33] Petermann's *Erganzungsheft*, No. 13, 1864, 23.

not this suggest that the Balou had acquired by conquest the ancient capital of the Hadārib and also their control over Suakin, only to be ousted from the latter by the Turks? I conclude that Hajar was probably Munzinger's Agere Nageran and that it was the place called Nekran by Lobo.

The second of Yacubi's kingdoms, that of Baclin, is easily identifiable for the name still survives as Bacla. It is marked on the Almeida map of 1662, spelt Baqhela and put inland a short distance due W of Massawa.[34] In the Zorzi itineraries of the early 16th century Bachela is put between Devarva (Debaroa) and Amasen (Hamasen) in the south and Suakin in the north; it was 9 days' journey from Debaroa and 15 from Suakin.[35] In 1618 Baqla and Hamasen are mentioned together as constituting the northern limits of the kingdom of Abyssinia.[36] The name Rora Baqla appears on the map 60 miles N of Keren; this is called Azgede Baqla on Munzinger's map and was in the country of Beit Azgede or Az Hibdes, a subdivision of the Habab.[37] Bruce mentions 'Bagla' as equivalent to Habab, but he was never there himself.[38] Baqla Keddoch is the name of a plateau west of Keren.[39] The name as that of a region was obviously, therefore, used to describe the high plateaus east of the Anseba.

The third of El Yacubi's kingdoms was that of Bazen which, he says, was bounded on one side by Baclin and on the other by the Nubian kingdom of 'Alwa. The name still survives as Baza, between the Gash and the Setit-Takkaze, bounded on the west by the Sudan and on the east by the Ethiopian frontier. Politically it forms the SW corner of the colony of Eritrea. Makrizi,[40] quoting Ibn Solaim, puts the people of Bazah on the frontier of Abyssinia and next to the people of Deyhyun (Dequin). The existing inhabitants, together with the Baria on the north, speak a Nilotic language, and it seems that, under the name Bazen, Yacubi included also the Baria who reach to the Baraka and so might be described as being adjacent to Baclin. Neither people has any racial, cultural or linguistic affinity with the Bejas, although the Baria claim some vague descent from the reputed ancestor of the Maria and Mensa tribes[41]. Munzinger,[42] whose book is still in many matters the best authority for the whole region, emphasized the contrast between the inhabitants of this Nilotic island and the Bejas and Semitic peoples, whose social organisation is aristocratic. Amongst the matriarchal Bazen the family has no political importance; they are essentially sedentary cultivators of African rather than Semitic character. Yacubi's inclusion of them amongst the Beja shows that for him the word 'Beja' had no precise connotation, and was used indiscriminately of all the 'infidels' in this part of the world.

On a priori grounds so northerly an extension of a Nilotic language is likely to be very ancient, being separated from the main Nilotic area in the southwest by about 500 miles. In a masterly survey of the Nilotic languages[43] Rossini regards

[34] On the Brit. Mus. copy of the map the first letter looks like a D; but on the much clearer Marsden copy in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies the first letter is plainly a B.

[35] Published by Rossini in *RSE*, Anno III, Numero II (May-Aug., 1943).

[36] Pereira, *Susenyos*, 78.

[37] See also Lejean, *Voyage aux deux Nils*, 142.

[38] III, 475.

[39] Petermann's *Erganzungsheft*, No. 13, 1864, map 1.

[40] Quatremère, *Mémoires*, II, 18: Burckhardt, 498.

[41] *I Baria e i Cunama*, by Alberto Pollera (Rome, 1913), p. 21.

[42] *Öst. Studien*, 75–6.

[43] *RSO*, XI, 167; see also *Storia d'Etiopia*, 72–3.

the date at which the language of this region became separated from the main stem as being at least as remote as 1500 B.C. ' if the Mennut of the royal list of Thothmes is to be identified with the Memnones of Pliny.' According to him the Baria once extended much further westwards.[44]

The fourth kingdom was that of Garin or Jarin, ruled by a powerful king. The name has not survived (unless Jebel Abgari, 34 miles SW of Ras Kasar, contains a relic of it[45]) and there is some doubt about the reading ; but the description of its situation shows that it must have connoted at least the northern part of the ' island of the Beja.' Rossini regards Hal ad Dagiag as a translation of Amba Derho, a place north of Asmara ; that would mean that Jarin was the whole of the coastal plain called the Samhar between Badi and Massawa.

The fifth region of Cata'ah extended from Badi, or from the frontier of Badi, to a place called Faicun, which cannot be identified. The description of the inhabitants as warlike recalls the Balu, who had a great reputation in later times for military prowess. The only part of the ' island of the Beja ' not already covered by Yacubi's account is that between the Anseba and the Baraka, but it is difficult to suppose that even the frontier of Badi reached so far south as this.

Ibn Hawqal's description is much more detailed, but many of the names cannot now be identified. The island of Sunjula can only be that now called Mukawwar (the Quarries) which is not only the only island (other than mere reefs) between Suakin and Aidab but is also aptly described as lying between two headlands. Jebel Daway may well be that now called Jebel Tetaweb at the north end of the peninsula north of Mukawwar ; if so, Jebel ibn Jarcham must be one of the mountains on the coast south of it, perhaps Jebel Saghum. Badi, once thought to be Massawa, has been shown by Crowfoot[46] to have been on the island of Airi. His identification is confirmed by this passage of Ibn Hawqal which puts Badi between Sunjula and Dahlak, 4 days' sail from the latter island—an impossibly long time for the short distance of 30 miles separating Dahlak and Massawa. Ibn Hawqal says that Dahlak is opposite 'Athr, which from this description must be the Buri[47] peninsula called Hurtoo on Salt's map and probably to be identified with the Arotēres of Pliny.

The regions of Qal'ib and Malāhib were in the southern part of the Beja territory. One would like to connect the latter with the Beit Malé, the name of a mountain on Munzinger's map just north of Agere Nageran. It is evidently a tribal name, and is so indicated on Lejean's map. Kadbam may be Yacubi's Kadbin. Dukun is certainly Dequin, the Gash delta, where the mountains end. Baza and Bariya have already been described above. Crowfoot's identification of Badi is again confirmed by the statement that it was a day's journey from Barka, by which presumably is meant from the place where that river is lost in the delta of Tokar. The tribes of Qa'sa are the Khasa people who are dealt with elsewhere in this book.[48] The Sitrab are the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the jebel and khor called Sitarab on the

[44] *Storia d'Etiopia*, 72.

[45] And possibly also To-kar and Karora (=Kar-rora, the plateau of Kar ?).

[46] *Geogr. Journ.*, May, 1911, 523 ff.

[47] For this name, which formerly denoted also the whole of the region of Acchele Guzai (where it survives in the name Zeban Bur), see Rossini, *Muséon*, LIX, 1946, 176).

[48] See pp. 120 ff.

modern maps, between 20 and 30 miles WNW of Tokar. The ' mountain called Mismar ' is Jebel Musmar south of Musmar station on the Berber railway and a prominent landmark ; so that Gharkay and Duhunt may be placed in the region south of Sinkat. Gharkay may possibly be connected with a region called[49] Garric north of Haiya Junction. Handiba on the latitude of Sawākin survives in the name of the Khor Handuba west of Suakin. The Aritika are the Arteiga. The other names are not identifiable on any map, but might well be resurrected by careful enquiry on the spot ; and that applies to many of the other names here mentioned.

Ibn Hawqal's description of the kingdom of 'Alwa only concerns us here in so far as it borders on the Beja region. (It has been overlooked by all those who have written about that kingdom). Taflin was 8 days east of the Nile near the Bazin and about the middle of a river which is probably the Gash. If so, it would have been near Kassala and may indeed be intended for that place. The name Sansābi is probably the Mareb-Gash whose name in the Bazen region is given by Munzinger as Sona or Soba, so that Sansābi would be a form of Son(a)soba. There would seem to be a duplication of this and the next river called Al Dujn, for the statement that it ' ends in the fields of Dujn which consists of villages set closely together ' can only refer to the Gash delta, Dujn being yet another variant of Dequin which a little before he called Dukun.

In the 8th and 10th centuries, therefore, it would appear that the Bejas occupied that tongue of pastoral country which extends from the tropic line near Ras Benas to the upper Baraka ; and that most of them were to be found in the region south of Suakin and in that lying immediately to the SW of it. This corresponds with the geographical conditions, for north of Suakin the land becomes increasingly arid. There seems also to have been a Beja colony at the top of the Nile bend near Abu Hamed, whose people, the Zenafeg, may possibly be represented by the modern Genafeb.[50]

[49] By De Chaurand, *Carta Dimostrativa dell' Etiopia*, Massaua Sheet.

[50] See p. 51.

CHAPTER VII

BALOU AND BENI AMER

OF all the Bega lands the most difficult in every sense is that which lies between the Baraka and the Red Sea, the ancient regions of Bacla and Djarin. This is now the Beni Amer country, and the complications of its races and their history present a challenge to the writer who wishes to write a clear and intelligible account thereof. The chief sources of information are the Arab geographers, the Portuguese missionaries, the Abyssinian annals, the early travellers' descriptions and tribal tradition.[1]

At the outset it must be stated that, linguistically at any rate, the region is not homogeneous ; the Beni Amer speak Tigre (chiefly in the south), and to'Bedawi, a Hamitic language (chiefly in the north). But the Beni Amer themselves were, like their predecessors the Balous, merely a ruling caste, and it seems probable, if head-form may be trusted,[2] that the people of the region is mainly Hamitic with Semitic (Abyssinian-Arabian) infiltrations in the south. As we have seen from Yacubi's account, the mixture is at least as old as the 9th century. Physically the inhabitants of the Beni Amer region closely resemble the predynastic Egyptians.

The earliest known rulers of the region were the Balous. This name has been derived[3] from that of the Blemmyes, of which the Demotic forms, according to Kirwan, Blhn or Blh.w, and the Coptic forms Belehmu or Balehmu. A connecting link between these forms and Balou is found by Kirwan in Idrisi's Belin or Belioun, black horsemen who raided the Aswan district in the 12th century, and said to be Greeks[4] (Rumi ?) who had been Christians and who wandered over the country of the Bodja and Habesh. They were bold and truculent and had subdued all their neighbours.[5] So far as the name is concerned it would seem better to connect Idrisi's Belin with the Bilen, which is the name applied to themselves by the Bogos of the Keren district ; as they are said to have come from Lasta and to be Agaus,[6] an identification with the Belin seems to be quite possible. There is, however, another serious objection to Kirwan's derivation ; native tradition is unambiguous in regarding the Balous as Arabs. Kirwan also cites in evidence the ' Bellonos ' of Alvarez ; but the word spelt thus in the Hakluyt translation is written ' Bellõos '

[1] To deal faithfully with all these sources a student should be able to read Arabic, Abyssinian, Portuguese, Italian, Latin, Greek, French and German ; and it would be useful, in connection with the place-names, to have some knowledge of to'Bedawi. The fact that neither I nor, probably, any living person has these qualifications may excuse the shortcomings of this section.

[2] See Seligman, *J.R.A.I.*, XLIII, 593–704 ; G. W. Murray, ib. id. LVII, 1927, 39–52.

[3] See L. P., Kirwan in *AAA*, XXIV, 74–5, and Macadam in *Kawa*, i, 47, 49.

[4] Usually so translated ; but surely ' Levantines ' would be better ?

[5] Quatremère, *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, V, 1836, 35, 42.

[6] Lejean, *Voyage*, etc., 153. Rossini (276, 287) puts their arrival in the 10th or 11th century, and points out that the presence of Bilen in the north of Abyssinia is certain from the beginning of the 14th century, and hints at an identification with the earlier Belin (of Idrisi).

in the original. A few lines before, Alvarez speaks of the ' Agaos,' who are certainly the Agaus, and the translator has expanded this as ' Aganos.'[7] But the mark of contraction above the ' o ' may just as well indicate the omission of a ' u ' as an ' n '—' Bellouos ' is much more probable than ' Bellonos ' and nearer to Balou and Bello.

In the Abyssinian Annals the people who lived on the northwest and west frontiers of that country are called Balaw, used in a generic sense. In 1578 the Suakin region was described by an Italian as in the kingdom of the Bello, where the dominions of the Emperor of Abyssinia began (dalla terra di Suachen nel regno di Bello).[8] The word occurs in the title Jan Balaw[9] in a passage that was used by Paez[10] who transcribes it Jan Beleu and translates ' estribeiro de Jan,' master-of-horse of Jan (the King).[11] A horse called Balaw Ambalay is mentioned in the Annals under the year 1678.[12] The word is thus closely associated with horses and may have been used primarily of those frontier tribes who, like the Ganjar, were famous as mounted warriors. The question then arises whether the word is Abyssinian in origin ? I am not able to discuss this philologically ; but from the fact that it also occurs outside Abyssinia one would conclude that it was not. Belu is given as the son of Turfa and ancestor of the Belu in BA, a good early Sudanese authority[13] ; and the Bilawia or Balawiyin or Balwa (certainly to be equated with the Balous) are mentioned in the traditional histories of the Beja.[14] The Hadendoa used the word Belawi to describe an Arab, and Belawye (*sic*, for Balawiya ?) for Arabic.[15] We thus have evidence of the existence of the word from two independent sources outside Abyssinia, one Fung-Arab and the others Beja ; and it may be therefore concluded that the word ' Balou ' (however spelt) had an independent existence. This is confirmed by the use of the word by Portuguese and later travellers. It seems therefore that it was a genuine tribal name used by the people so called to describe themselves.

This conclusion is supported by the Beja tradition just mentioned. Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim, of the Amarar tribe, in the history of the Bega which he wrote down for Newbold, said : ' Bilawia is the Arabic language and Bigawia is the Bega's, so that if you questioned a Begawi by saying ' Do you know Arabic ? ' he will reply " Balawit kakan " (I do not know Arabic).' Of their origin the Sheikh said that the Bilawia was the first tribe to enter the Beja country ; the Bilawiyin were Arabs living between Mecca and Medina,[16] and they came to the Sudan before it was

[7] Although thus expanded by the translator there is, in the original, no mark of contraction in the word Agaos. (The passage is quoted in full on p. 113 below, in another context).

[8] *Boll. Soc. Geogr. Italiana* XLVII, 1910, 620.

[9] *Les Chroniques de Zar'a Ya'eqob et de Ba'eda Maryam, rois d'Ethiopie de* 1434 *à* 1478 *:* edited by Jules Perruchon, Paris, 1893 : *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, Vol. 93, p. 110.

[10] Beccari, II, 72.

[11] ' Estribeiro ' is absurdly translated in the dictionary as ' stirruper,' and I am indebted to Miss Elaine Sanceau for kindly supplying the correct meaning.

[12] *Scriptores Æthiopici*, Ser. Alt., Vol. 5, 1903, 26.

[13] MacMichael, II, 25.

[14] Newbold's File, I, 90 : II, 319, 330, 353.

[15] Seligman in *SNR*, XIII, 88, quoting Reinisch, *Wort. der Bed. Sprache*, 49.

[16] There are people called Beli, also pronounced Billi or Bali, in the Hejaz north of Medina, mentioned by Doughty (*Travels, passim*) and Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (*Die Beduinen*, Band II, Leipzig 1943, 352–7) ; see also Wallin, *J.R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1851, 323 ff.; Musil, *Northern Hegaz*, 211. Oppenheim states that there were Beli in Upper Egypt, and that in Lower Egypt there are about 12,000 Fellahin claiming descent from them. I wish to thank Father J. Henninger, of the Anthropos Institut (now at Posieux-Froideville near Fribourg, Switzerland) for kindly supplying the foregoing information.

conquered by the Moslems. This is in agreement with the authoritative opinion of Munzinger who considered that the Belou came from the north in the 15th century, became lords of Zaga,[17] and joined with the Turks in the conquest of Massawa in 1557[18]. Elsewhere[19] he put their arrival in the 14th century, on the strength of their own tradition ; and the earlier date is confirmed by an incidental reference in Arab Faqih's history of the Mohammedan conquest of Abyssinia (*c.* 1540).[20] The author mentions a certain Mussulman called Ourai Abu Bekr, one of the Mahawerah, of the tribe of the Balaw ; and he explains that this man was a descendant of the ancestral Balaw who had migrated from Tigré, his native land, to Adel in the time of the Emir (of Adel) Sa'ad ed Din (1386–1415). His name was Balaw Abdallah, and he had married Sa'ad ed Din's daughter by whom he had children, the sons all being called Ourai and the daughters Batiah. The Balaw were therefore Mohammedans and were already established somewhere in the Tigré region in the 14th century ; they are known to have been settled south of the Mareb in the first half of the 16th century.[21]

Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim's account is in agreement with that of most others in regarding the Bilawiyin as ' of great importance and famous.' The description or title Bilawi was given only to ' noble men.' Munzinger says that the Belou had been rulers for so long that the same had become synonymous with ' lord ' (Herr). They were the soldiers of the Naibs of Massawa who had a high opinion of their military prowess.[22] Offices in the army were hereditary. It was their duty to accompany the Naib in his journeys, and to protect the Abyssinian caravans.[23] Mansfield Parkyns, when he visited the hot springs of Ailat in 1843, a day's journey inland from Massawa, found it inhabited by ' Bedouins of the Bellaw Tribe, which occupies all that tract of country lying about Arkeeko and thence to the neighbourhood of Ailat. Those of the latter district are by caste mostly soldiers,' distinguished from the herdsmen by wearing their hair closely shaved.[24] Lobo too describes the Balous as good soldiers.[25] According to Sheikh Mohammed the Bilawiyin are now scattered, and some are to be found at Suakin (where they are called Eilaidowab) and some at Tokar (called Sugud). They now adhere to the Kumeilab. Another branch (called Derubab) is with the Beni Amer at Akik and Bahadur ; and a large section at Massawa (called Naibab, *i.e.* descendants of the Naibs).

To sum up :—The Bilawiyin (Belou, etc.) were a ruling caste of Arabian origin

[17] The eastern place of this name, near Massawa, not the one near Dunguaz.

[18] *Öst. Studien*, 142.

[19] *Ibid.* 286.

[20] ' Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssine (XVIe siècle) par Chibab ed Din Ahmed ben 'Abd el Qader, surnommé Arab Faqih '; translated by René Basset, pp. 10, 255. [*Publications de l'Ecole des Lettres d'Alger*, Vols. 19 and 20 ; 1897]. See also Basset, *Etudes*, pp. 48, 156–7. : Enrico Cerulli, Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, Anno III, No. III (1943), 272–94, table opp. p. 283 ; Anno I, No. I (1941), 2–40 ; R. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Ser. VI, Vol. IV, fasc. II (1931) 39–101.

[21] Rossini, 1928, 278 : he there states (without quoting his authority) that most of Serać was occupied by the Balau who were driven out of it towards the end of the 13th century, when the Adcheme Melga arrived ; and that according to a mid-15th century document the Decchi Itaes in the Maraguz were ' di stirpe Balau,' also the people (stirpe) of northern Serać, part of those of Saganeiti, of Asmara, Bet Maca, Wochidba and of several Eritrean villages. Serać is the region round Adi Ugri in the great bend of the Upper Mareb.

[22] Another word would be ' aggressiveness,' and this characteristic, which all observers of the Balous have remarked, favours an Arab rather than a Beja origin, for by all accounts the Beja are not aggressive but friendly (though shy) and tolerant and anxious only to be left alone.

[23] *Öst. Studien*, 173.

[24] *Life in Abyssinia*, I, 1853, 86 ff.

[25] Tellez, 217.

who entered the Sudan probably in the 14th century and imposed their rule on the indigenous people, presumably of mixed Beja and Tigre tribes.

The Balou have now long lost their supremacy and even their tribal identity, and no genealogies have survived. For they were superseded as a ruling caste (probably somewhere about the turn of the 16th–17th centuries) by Amer, founder of the Beni Amer and son of Ali Abu el Kasim, a Shaadinab[26] Gaali. That story is remembered by both the Beni Amer and the Habab. The Beni Amer version was told by the then Nazir, Idris Saleh, in January, 1932, to the District Commissioner of Tokar, and is as follows[27] :—Ali abu el Kasim left Metemmah on the Nile and came to the Belu hills east of the Baraka. He was a holy man, and when asked about his origin by the Belu king, Idris Adarah, he replied that he was ' nabtab,' which was interpreted as meaning ' sprung from the soil.' In this way tradition explained the meaning of the term Nabtab given today to his descendants. Later, Ali married the Belu king's daughter,[28] but thereby aroused the hostility of the tribe, and the king, yielding to popular opinion, killed Ali at a popular assembly at Gebel Malhab. Ali's tomb is still there and is called Aish Igneib, the ' place where things are hung.'[29] The Gamod Sheikh was killed later at Amboreib. Amer was a baby at this time, but when he grew up and was told about the killing of his father and maternal grandfather he determined to return and visit his father's people. So his mother gave him his father's sword and pedigree,[30] and he set out calling *en route* at his mother's house at Amboreib. Arriving at Metemmah and being hard up he offered his father's sword for sale in the market, but it was recognized by the sheikhs of the Gaaliyin. Brought before them Amer narrated his story ; they decided to revenge his father's death and raised an army of Gaaliyin and Fung, and led by Amer and uniting with the Gamod they defeated and killed the king of the Belu at Asarama Derheib near Akik, and Amer reigned in his stead.

The story seems to be generally known, for it was narrated in briefest outline by Kantibai Mahmud in his history of the Habab and was, I suspect, learnt by him from that tribe.[31] There is no reason to doubt that it preserves the memory of a historical event ; the marriage of the Gaali adventurer to the king's daughter is quite normal, except that both of the parties here were Arab, so that Amer, by his marriage, superseded an earlier Arab ruling caste and not, as usually happened, an indigenous non-Arab one. The date of the events can be roughly estimated ; Amer was four generations before the Beni Amer Sheikh Musa who died in 1730[32]. This

[26] The ancestor of this subtribe must not be confused with Sha'a ed Din, the Shukria ancestor, for he lived two generations before the compilation of BA, which puts him in the second half of the 15th century (MacMichael, II, 16 : BA, Tree 2).

[27] Newbold's File, II, 358–9.

[28] The annexed table explains these relationships :

Kasim abu Ali (Gamod Sheikh) — Adarah

daughter = Idris Adarah (Belu King)

daughter = Ali abu el Kasim

Amer

[29] See also Newbold's File, II, 352.

[30] For a similar ' sword ' story in the southern Fung province, see Jackson, 1912, 38–9.

[31] Newbold's File, II, 319 : January, 1932.

[32] *SNR*, XXVI, 64, 94 : he may be the Musa, son of Omar Qunu who was Naib of Massawa in 1693 : see Rossini, *Storia*, 277. Rossini calls him Amir Cunnu and compares Amir with Amer, but, however this may be, Amer and Omar (if that be the correct form of transcription from the Annals) cannot be the same name. Rossini's statement that the Balau were ' indiscutibilmente Begia ' is at variance with the traditional accounts of the Beja themselves.

would put him about 1600 ; and this is consistent with the Abdullab tradition which attributes to Agib I the appointment of Nabit (*i.e.* Amer's father Ali, the Nabtab) as ruler of the Nabtab (*i.e.* the Beni Amer). A date slightly before 1600 would be consistent with the identification of Adarah, presumably father of Idris Adarah with a certain Ras Adaraã whom Alvarez met and conversed with. Adaraã was tributary to the Barnagais, who ruled over the hinterland of Massawa. Amer was born and grew up during the reign of Idris (Adarah's son), whose reign would fall a generation after Alvarez (1520–27), say *c.* 1550–80 ; this would give Amer an overlap of about 10 years with the reign of Agib I (*c.* 1570–1611). In view of the nature of the dating (dead reckoning by generations) this consistency is remarkable and suggests that Amer lived towards the end of the 16th century.

Henceforth the people of the region in question, roughly that between the Baraka and the Red Sea, are called Beni Amer ; but later accounts prove that both the name and the stock of the Balous long survived there—and no doubt also the pre-Balou aborigines, themselves a mixed lot we may be sure. The headquarters of the Beni Amer is at Dunguaz in the district called Zaga, on the bend of the Baraka, 90 miles ENE of Kassala. Zaga is also spelt Daqa and Dagga, and is explained by Nadel[33] as meaning a camp of any kind ; the name was given to the Dunguaz region because there was situated the ' royal ' camp of the head sheikhs (diglals) of the Beni Amer—it was *the* camp, par excellence. There resided all those concerned with administration, with their attendants[34]. In 1864 it was the residence of Sheikh Hamed.[35] When Lejean was there in 1864[36] he learnt that the bulk of the ' Belau ' people, after their dispersion, remained near the confluence of the Baraka and the Khor-el-Ardeb, that is to say, in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunkuas (as he spells it) ; the Khor is marked on Munzinger's map, and seems to be that named Adefungiai on the modern 1 : 250,000 map (Sheet 56A). Though reduced to a few families the Balau were proud of their origin.

They certainly left a great name in the land. The earliest European reference to them that I regard as certain[37] is the before-mentioned passage in Alvarez, which I shall quote in full, because the translator has departed from the original version in his expansion of the names :—

> ' En fim do reino de Baga medri ha mouros que se chaman Bellõos, e sam trebutarios a ho preste Joã em grande copia de cauallos. E contra norte confinã estes belloos com una gente que se chamam Nobiis : e estes dizem que foram Xr[ist]aos e regidos por Roma.'[38]
>
> ' At the end of the kingdom of Baga medri [Abyssinia] has [on its frontier] Moors who are called Bellõo, and are vassals of Prester John, paying as tribute a large quantity of horses. And to the north these Belloo border on a people called Nobii : and these say that they were Christians [formerly] and ruled by Rome.'

[33] *SNR*, XXVI, 1945, 64 (probably quoting Munzinger).
[34] Munzinger, *Öst. Studien*, 280, 328–9 : Heuglin, *Reise nach Abessinien*, 1861–2 (Jena, 1868), 97. See also below p. 152
[35] Heuglin, *Pet. Erg.*, No. 13, p. 23.
[36] *Voyage aux deux Nils*, 142.
[37] If we except certain passages in Abyssinian texts mentioned by Rossini (pp. 277–8) but without exact references.
[38] *Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam* [1540], 117 (Ch. 137).

In another place[39] the Nobii are described as ' hauendo entre meio hos bellõos mouros '—the Bellõo were thus regarded as being between Abyssinia and the Nobii. The mention of Baga medri is puzzling ; it is usually identified with Begemeder, a district lying in the interior, between Lake Tana and Gondar on the west and the sources of the Takaze on the south-east ; ' Begameder ' is marked there the Almeida map of 1662. (The second part of the word is the Abyssinian *midr*, a country, and Bega-midr is said to mean the Beja country).[40] Alvarez, however, thought it extended northwards as far as the territory of the Barnagais,[41] that is, to the Mareb ; that being so, his description might permit us to place the Bellõos on or near the Baraka, but a more westerly location would suit better, to bring them nearer the Nobii.

Paez, just a century after Alvarez, after describing Tigre, says that next beyond it begins the great kingdom called Deguin, inhabited by very black Moors called Balõus—obviously the Bellõos of Alvarez—who are not subject to Abyssinia, but friendly ; they supply him with many fine horses, but these do not last long on account of a certain sickness in that land.[42] In Deguin is a river which goes below ground and whose waters are divided into many parts by the Moors, for which reason it is called Taca, ' scilicet, agoa espalhada ' (scattered water). Certain Christians say that, after watering these lands it joins a great river called Tacace which later flows into the Nile ; but he was told by the Moors of that land that it did not pass beyond Deguin, its water being all consumed there. He had a discussion about the Tacace with some grandees in the presence of the Emperor, who assured him that the Tacace certainly did join the Nile ; and later some inhabitants of a land (terra) called Berber told him that it joined the Nile near that place.

Paez refers again to the horses, which are important to us here as a link connecting the Balõus with the Bellõos of Alvarez who, as was said, also supplied Abyssinia with horses.[43] They were, says Paez, better than those of Tigre, and they came from the kingdom of Dequin, which is of the Moors called Balõus in front of (diante de) Suakin.[44] On one occasion the Emperor had discussed some business (contrato) about horses with a young Moor of royal blood ; those from Dequin were the best that the Emperor had received. Paez also says that the land which Luis Urreta called Borno could be only Dequin, whose natives are Balous.[45]

Clearly for Paez, Dequin, the kingdom of the Balõus, was Takha (Kassala) and the Gash delta. The name still survives there applied on the maps to a small settlement called Duqein. It is tempting to see the same word in the Digiun or

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[40] By V. de St. Martin, *Journ. Asiatique*, VI (2), 369 ff., quoted with approval by Littmann in *DAE*, Bd. IV, Inscription No. 7. Basset (1897, 80, note) also gives the same derivation, contradicting the statement of Lobo that it means the land of sheep. But there is no evidence of the presence of Bejas so far south as the region of Lake Tana.

[41] *Narrative*, p. 351.

[42] Beccari, II, 270–1 : Paez was not copying Alvarez, for he states that he got his information from the Portuguese captain, Gabriel, who went into the country with the viceroy of Tigre.

[43] The horses of the kingdom of Napata (*i.e.* the region from which those of Dequin probably came) were famous even in the 7th century B.C. (Budge, *Nubian Texts*, 1912, II, 29). Piankhi's unique horse-cemetery was excavated by Reisner (*Antiquity*, XVII, 1943, 127 : *SNR*, 1919, 254). For further remarks on the horses of Dongola and Abyssinia, see W. Munzinger, *Öst. Studien*, 576–7 : R. Hartmann, *Reise des Freiherrn Adalbert*, etc., 1863, *Anhange*, p. 52 (§XLIV). See also p. 269 below.

[44] Beccari, II, 229.

[45] Beccari, II, 177–8, 593.

Deyhyoun of Selim el Aswani, a people he describes as living somewhere in the region of the Atbara, between the Bega on the one side and the kingdom of Alwa on the other.[46] I would also suggest that we may identify with Dequin the region called Dachu (Δαχυ) which is given on a coin as that to which Endubis, an otherwise unknown king of Axum, belonged. What is thought to be the same word occurs also, in the form transcribed as Dachen, in Axum inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10.[47] According to Munzinger[48] ' dekeni ' means ' elephant ' in the language of the Saho region and Heuglin[49] states that it means the same in the language of ' Denkeli ' (Dancali). In the Axum inscriptions Dachen clearly has a topographical connotation, as have the other names (Mahaza, Metin, Hara, Laken) describing units in the army.[50] The Gash delta is a region where, in its primeval state, one would expect elephants to have abounded.

The evidence of Almeida (1628–43) is less consistent, but agrees in part with that of Paez, whose History he certainly used as a quarry. We are chiefly indebted to him or one of his associates for the admirable map,[51] now in the British Museum, which bears the date 1662 ; and to Almeida himself for another of the region round Lake Tana and the sources of the Blue Nile. On the latter, to the west of Faxcalo (Fazughli) he writes the name ' Ballous ' and ' Balous ' on both sides of the Nile ; and on the south side above ' Balous ' is written ' Nubia.' On the other map immediately above (on the map, *i.e.* north of) the junction of the Mareb and the Tacase is written Reino deQhim. The Tacase then flows northwards parallel with the Red Sea, leaving the map before its end, and across it above ' DeQhim ' is written ' Ballous,' and above this again ' Funchos.' The word ' Ballous ' is on the same latitude as Suaqem.[52]

Almeida's references[53] to the horses of Dequin were probably taken from Paez. But he makes a vague remark about the gold of the country which may be his own or derived from some other source, such as, for instance, Alvarez. The reference is not necessarily to the mines of the Wadi Allagi, for there were others further south at Um Nabardi and between this place and Suakin ; there are also old gold-workings near Asmara in Eritrea.[54] Describing[55] the course of the Tacazce he says that it passes from the province of Holcait (now Walkait) to the hot lowlands of the Cafres and the kingdom of Deqhim, inhabited by Moors called Ballous (and on the coast of Suakin, Funchos). In the middle of this kingdom it joins the Nile. He

[46] Burckhardt, 498 ; MacMichael, I, 171.
[47] Kammerer, 85, 90–1 (*DAE*, pp. 24, 28).
[48] *Öst. Studien*, 242.
[49] *Reise*, 246.
[50] For that reason alone Dillmann's translation ' elefanten truppen ' seems less probable: *ABAW*, 1878, 213, note 2. See also Pereira, *O elephante in Ethiopia*, 1898.
[51] Reproduced from a careful tracing in Beccari, Vol. I. There are some patches of obscurity, due to constant handling, especially round Lake Tana ; but no details of importance are wholly illegible. Another copy of the map, apparently in the same hand and certainly contemporary, is in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. It is in a much better state of preservation, and has no parts which are illegible : see my article in the *Geographical Journal*, CXIV (July–Sept., 1949), 19, 20, 25. This was the first approximately accurate map of Abyssinia and its environs, and represents a great advance on all its predecessors. Owing, however, to the fact that it was not published until Beccari's volumes appeared, it failed to influence the cartography of Africa. The second map is more of a diagram and very roughly drawn, but quite informative.
[52] This word seems to have been written at first ' Suqqem,' and the down-stroke of the first ' q ' deleted so as to turn it into an ' a.'
[53] Beccari, V, 35.
[54] See MacMichael's map ; also Madigan and Crowfoot in *SNR*, V, 81, 87 ; Rossini, 278.
[55] Beccari, V, 25 ; see also 42, 329.

distinguishes[56] Ballous and Cafres: ' To the north and north west [of Tigre] are the Ballous and further to the west the province of Magaza[57] [now Mazaga], whose inhabitants are between the Ballous and the Cafres, and these live also on those lands which are low and well watered.' The word ' Cafre ' was used to describe pagans (Muslims being called ' Moors ') and may here have referred to the inhabitants of the western frontier-zone of the Tacazze.

The Funchos are of course the Fungs of the kingdom of Sennar whom Almeida evidently equated with the Balous, though on his map he marks them separately. His use of the word ' Balou ' on the second map in the vicinity of Fazughli may well represent correctly the current usage of Abyssinia; for the Annals use the word ' Balaw ' to describe the soldiers of the king of Sennar's army which was defeated at Sarki in 1618.[58] Similarly in a letter written from Goa in India in 1627 and based on information from Portuguese missionaries in Abyssinia, there is made mention of the conversion of seven provinces of the ' Agaos ' (Agows) which border on the Juncia or Balous. ' Juncia ' is obviously an error, probably scribal, for ' Funcia ' (= Fungs).[59] A more northerly application is, however, usual; in 1748 the Annals mention a raid on the Balaw of the Atbara and the Dabayna. Barradas[60] (1633) describes the ' mouros Balaos ' vaguely as neighbours of the people of Hamassen (the Asmara region), and says they have bigger and better horses than those of Hamassen. Ludolfus[61] (1682) stated that the king of Sennar ' possesst a part of the ancient Nubia, near to which adjoined the kingdom of Balou, whose inhabitants are by the Portuguese called Balous. Their king was formerly Lord of Suaqem and in friendship with the Abessines; now he only receives the half of the maritime tribute from the Turks.' This remark may have been taken by Ludolfus (who is not himself a first hand authority) from Barradas who recorded[62] a remark of the Emperor's, that the king of the *Fungs* shared the customs of Suakin with the Turks. Lobo[63] states that the Turkish governor of Suakin was called the Pasha of Sennar, and that he controlled also the customs of Massawa and Moka, but preferred to live at Suakin because of the great commerce between the kingdom of the Balous and Abyssinia (which, one infers, passed through Suakin) from which he derived much profit. The Balous were good soldiers, and had had long and bloody wars with the Turks, whom they had forced to give them a share of the customs. The king of the Balous kept officers and receivers at Suakin for this purpose. He was rich, had much gold and silver, and did a considerable trade in cloth (toiles) which is manufactured in this country [sc. of the Balous], and which the Blacks buy at a high price. His kingdom lacks none of the necessities of life; it seemed to Lobo [who never went there, but may have met them at Suakin] that both men and horses there were larger than elsewhere. Almeida also states that the king of the ' Moors called Funchos ' had ' a share in the profits of the custom-house [at Suakin] which the Turks allow him that he may let the caravans pass.'[64]

[56] Beccari, v, 12.
[57] Is this the Mahaza of Axum inscription No. 10, mentioned with Dachen? See *DAE*, p. 28 (Kammerer, p. 91).
[58] See p. 183.
[59] Beccari, *Relationes* I, III, 228.
[60] Beccari, IV, 104–5.
[61] p. 87.
[62] Beccari, I, 297.
[63] Legrand, 38.
[64] Tellez, 217. Confirmed independently by a letter from a Franciscan missionary (Giuseppe d'Atina) who had set out for Suakin in 1646, but had not got beyond Girge. His journey to

Continued on next page

From these accounts it is, I think, safe to conclude that both the Portuguese and Abyssinians equated the kingdom of the Balous (or Balaw) with the kingdom of the Funchos (or Fungs) of Sennar. The word which, as Bellõo, had had, in the time of Alvarez, a purely northern connotation, had later come to be used in the extreme south as well. We know that the word strictly applied only to a tribe in the north, inhabiting what is now the Beni Amer country, where real Balous, so to speak, were seen by travellers in the mid 19th century and are still to be seen in out-of-the-way spots.[65] How did the name of a single tribe, and a nomad one at that, come to be used of so large and powerful a kingdom as that of the Fungs of Sennar? To my mind it suggests that this tribe of Balous must have played some important part in the formation of that kingdom. We thus reach a conclusion which, while admittedly speculative and as some may think unduly hazardous, is consistent with the conclusion independently reached (in Chapter 10) in discussing the Origin of the Fungs. Amara Dunkas, whose second name may have come indirectly from the royal camp at Dunguaz on the Baraka, may have left his homeland and by his conquests spread the name and fame of the Balous southwards along the Abyssinian borderlands towards Fazughli and then westwards to Sennar itself. To the Abyssinians, who were doubtless well aware of the course of events, these conquerors were merely raiding Balaw, whom they too raided; and such they remained to the end. Thus in the second year of his reign Minas (1559–63), Emperor of Abyssinia, was threatened with attempted assassination by a person called Balav Ra'ad by the chronicler and Balegarad by Almeida; the name may mean 'Balau chief.' The places mentioned are Hebnat, a village of Belessen, and Zam'a, a district in Tigre, east of the Mareb.[66] Later contacts were few and mostly hostile; and it is unlikely that the Emperor of Abyssinia realized (at any rate before 1744) that the descendants of the Balaw had gone up in the world.

Amara Dunkas was not (according to my hypothesis) himself a Balaw, but a Fung, a member of one of the tribes subordinate to the Balaw. But such nice distinctions would not be made by the Abyssinians, to whom anyone coming from the northern frontier-tribes near the Baraka might well be given the generic name of Balaw.

Continued from previous page

Suakin had encountered difficulties, because the country was occupied by the Arabs who had rebelled against the Pasha of Abyssinia (Habessa). Suakin was besieged and the caravan of the Blacks, which was wont to pass by Suakin (solito a passare dalle parti di Suachen), had come to Girge by another route and returned likewise. Somigli, *Etiopia Francescana*, 1, part 2, 1928, 253.

It seems therefore that the ruler of Suakin was called the Pasha of Abyssinia by the Fungs and the Pasha of Sennar by the Abyssinians—a perfectly natural procedure. It seems also that in 1646 the Fung king was putting pressure on the Pasha, whose contribution from the customs may have been in arrears.

[65] See further p. 131 below.

[66] 'Historia de Minas,' ed. Pereira, *Bol. Soc. Geogr.* Lisbon, 1888, 46–7, 70.

CHAPTER VIII

SUAKIN AND MASSAWA

THE Red Sea is now one of the world's highways, but before the Suez Canal made it such, it was a cul-de-sac. Suakin was in fact as far from Portugal as Canton, for it could only be reached by sea from Goa in India, after rounding the Cape. The Portuguese could enter it and conduct piratical raids, but it was too far from Europe to hold.

The African ports of the Red Sea were not as other ports. In Europe a port belongs to the hinterland it serves ; but the Red Sea ports north of Massawa served the people of the Nile valley, who were separated from the sea by a belt of desert 200 miles and more in breadth. This desert was infested with nomads who had no use for the ports and could not themselves develop them. Though their simple economy could dispense with imports they had no objection to acquiring luxury-goods from the ships and caravans, and did so. Thus it is that we find the Red Sea ports manned, so to speak, by ' foreigners.' But these foreigners depended for food and drink upon the nomads, and had to make a bargain with them. The usual arrangement was a sort of dual control whereby the foreigners shared half the proceeds of the customs with the nomads. Such an arrangement was actually in force at Aidhab, Suakin and Massawa-Arkiko where the Egyptians and later the Turks shared the customs with the Bejas, the Fungs, the Balous and the Abyssinians. The history of the ports is that of a squalid struggle between the two parties. It was rather like the battle arranged, but never fought, between the lion and the whale. The Turks could always take the islands and the nomads could always starve them into submission ; neither side could obtain a decision, but whereas the Turks could not live without the nomads, the nomads could live without the Turks, though not quite so well. Actually, things were not quite so simple as that ; there grew up in the ports communities of traders—many of them detribalized nomads—whose commercial activities created a group of semi-urban vested interests, which, reinforced by intermarriage, became a conservative core. There was thus, in spite of constant bickerings, a continuity of a sort in the life and trade of the ports. But the inhabitants were a fearsome set of scoundrels. There is no exact modern parallel, but elderly travellers may recall the conditions on the quaysides of some ports of call in the east.

Suakin[1] is described by Selim el Aswani (A.D. 975-96) as one of the ports connected by a caravan-route with the province of Shankir, which as we have seen was

[1] The only attempt at writing the history of Suakin is that by J. F. E. Bloss in *SNR*, XIX, 1936 (part 2), 271–300 : XX, 1937 (part 2), 247–80. I have used it in this chapter. It contains most of the known facts about Suakin. For Suakin in the 19th century, see Burckhardt, 431–58 ; Heuglin, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1860, 336–8 ; Lejean, *Voyage*, etc., 3–5 ; Munzinger, *Öst. Studien*, 1883, 110–12. I have not found any contemporary mentions of Suakin before that of Selim el Aswani, but no doubt such are to be found.

in the neighbourhood of Berber. It was (and its successor, Port Sudan, still is) the natural port of this region; and I suspect that this fact may have helped it to replace Badi, which looked to the south rather than to the west. Crowfoot[2] attributes the rise of Suakin to the fact that it was slightly nearer Mecca than Badi, and I should add the fact that it was also slightly nearer to Berber and easier of access from it.

It is safe to presume that, if during the Fung period, trade between the Nile valley and Abyssinia could pass through Suakin,[3] much more would it have done so before, when the two regions were both Christian. Whether such trade ever had much volume or importance is doubtful, however. Yakut (A.D. 1224) says that there were Christians in Suakin in his time; they may have been no more than commercial agents of Nubia or Abyssinia. We must remember that these Red Sea ports were not urban communities in the sense in which medieval European towns could be so described, but merely a congeries of cut-throats competing for custom. When trade was chiefly with people who called themselves Christians, the agents at the ports would do likewise. When it was with the lands of Islam they would probably undergo conversion to that religion. To say that a place like Suakin was Christian or Muslim would therefore be meaningless.

The chief Beja tribe concerned with Suakin was that of the Hadareb.[4] When Burckhardt was at Suakin the Hadherebe (as he saw the name spelt there) all agreed in affirming that they were a colony from Hadhramaut. When he returned to Cairo in 1816–17 and read Makrizi's *El Khetat*, where the Hadareb are described as Bejas, he felt obliged to insert a caveat.[5] There can in fact be no doubt that Makrizi was correct. According to Rossini the word is now used, to describe the Beja in general, in the southernmost part of the Bèja territory. He derives it from a word 'hedari,' meaning inhabitant.[6] Dimasqi (A.D. 1256–1327) describes the Hedari, one of the two tribes of the Beja, as having a king who resided at Hadjar[7]; the other tribe was that of the Zenafikhat (Zènafeg) whose king lived in the town[8] (*sic*) of Baclin. Amongst their towns were Outit, Adel, the islands of Dahlak and Sawakin and the town of Aydab. Sawakin was the residence of a king.[9] Makrizi (1441) says that the Hadharebe lived in the neighbourhood of the Wadi Allagi (Ollaky) and Aidab, associating with Muslims at the mines. They had become Muslims, but their faith was weak. With them lived the Zenafeg, who though more numerous were subordinate to them, though formerly more powerful than the Hadharebe. It appears that he is referring back to a period several centuries before his own time, possibly the 9th century.[10] In Burckhardt's time the government of Suakin was 'in the hands of the Emir el Hadherebe, who is chosen from among the first families of the tribe; these are five in number, and are distinguished from the others by the Bisharye word Orteyga, which means Patricians.' It is often spelt Arteiga. 'He resides in the Geyf, and is altogether different from the

[2] *Geogr. Journ.*, May, 1911, p. 548.

[3] See p. 120.

[4] Also spelt Hedareb, Hadarba, Hadarma, Hadherebe, Hadariba, Hedari.

[5] Burckhardt, 433, 493 (heading), 526 (note 50).

[6] p. 271.

[7] See pp. 104-6.

[8] Probably 'beled' in the original; it may also mean a country.

[9] 'Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age, traduit de l'Arabe . . . de Shems ed Din Abou Abdullah Mohammed de Damas . . .' par A. F. Mehren: Copenhagen, 1874, 389–90. Rossini, 329.

[10] Burckhardt, 506.

Sheikh of the Hadherebe, who has nothing whatever to do with the Turkish Government, being chosen merely for the administration of their internal affairs.'[11] Thus we see an example of the detribalization already mentioned. The Turkish Government was represented by an Aga who lived in the island but whose influence was 'greatly circumscribed by the power of the Hadherebe,' whose Emir he had to appease. Though the Aga nominally farmed the customs and paid a high price for the privilege, he could only exact them by keeping on good terms with the Emir, who had his pickings. There was naturally little respect for Turkish authority. When Burckhardt was at Suakin, the Fungs can have had no control over Suakin; they had little power even at home in 1814. But the picture he draws of dual control may well represent a state of affairs that had existed for several decades. It is not known when the Fung lost control of a part of the Suakin customs, but I think it may have been in the 18th century. Possibly they lost it when the Hadendoa (who claim never to have been subject to the Fungs) pushed southwards and cut the Berber route.

It will be observed that, although the Hadareb were certainly the rulers of Suakin in modern times, and although they were a powerful Beja tribe occupying the Allagi mining region in A.D. 942–3,[12] there is no evidence that they ruled at Suakin in this early period.[13] Masudi, indeed, states definitely that the inhabitants of Suakin were a tribe of Beja called Khasa, who were Muslims and had a king. Ibn Said[14] (1208–86) locates the people of Al Khasa to the north of the Sahartah,[15] and to the west of the Samhar; this would be in the Habab region somewhere near Keren. At the present time the Khasa is a sub-tribe of the Beni Amer which in summer is found at Aitara and Kassala and in winter between Tokar and Aideb.[16] A sub-tribe of the Halenga at Kassala is also called Khasa.[17] A location in the same region is indicated by an inscription[18] of Aizanas (mid 4th century) which states that the Noba attacked the peoples of Mangurto and Khasa and Barya and the Blacks. (Note that Khasa is not to be confused with the Kasu mentioned in the same inscription as living near the junction of the Atbara and Nile.) According to Heuglin[19] and Munzinger[20] the Beni Amer call the Tigre language Hasa or Hasi, and about half the tribe spoke it in his time.

It is rather strange to find a people who, presumably, came from the region of Abyssinia and spoke Tigré, described as Muslims, but it fits into the picture of the times. During the 9th and 10th centuries there was a great expansion of Islamic influence, consequent perhaps on the wealth and material prosperity of the Caliphate which reached its culmination at Baghdad under Harun al Rashid (786–809). In Africa the 9th century was the time of the opening up of the Allagi mines which followed the crushing of the 'revolt' of the Bejas under Ali Baba in 854.[21] There

[11] Burckhardt, 434–5.

[12] Burckhardt 510 (Makrizi, quoting Masudi).

[13] Qalqashandi (d. 1418) says it was ruled by Arabs called Hadariba (Newbold's File, I, 142), but they were probably at Suakin in Ibn Batuta's time a century earlier.

[14] Rossini, 327; Reinaud, *Geographie d'Aboulfêda*, Vol. II, part 1, 1848, 210, 227–8 (A. quotes Ibn Said).

[15] Munzinger's Saher, a district of Hamasen east of the upper Mareb, and south of Asmara; Lejean (*Atlas*, Plate XII) calls it Sahart.

[16] Newbold's File, II, 351.

[17] Newbold's File, II, 364.

[18] *SNR*, XX, 50–1.; Rossini, 137–8; Kammerer, 95; and the authorities there quoted.

[19] Reise, 1868, 96; Petermann's *Erganzungsheft*, No. 13, p. 23.

[20] *Öst. Studien*, 77.

[21] Ibn Khaldun, *History*, Part 3, p. 277 (translation in Newbold's File, I, 141).

was a gold-rush ; ' the news spread, and people of all countries repaired thither.'[22] It was doubtless this opening up of the Beja lands that caused the first recorded wave of Arab immigration into the Sudan. This invasion is securely based on archaeological evidence and covers the period *c.* 760–1060. At the port of Badi inscribed and dated tombstones range from 997 to 1037. (This agrees with their range at Aswan from 863 to 1054). At Dahlak they cover the period *c.* 850–1200. At Khor Nubt, 70 miles west of Suakin and not far from Singat, they range from 764 to 988. To the 10th century, according to Crowfoot, belong most of the Greek and Coptic inscriptions of the Christian kingdom of Dongola.[23] Commerce flourished, and in its train followed an interest in foreign lands, even in those which, being ' infidel,' should not be of interest to orthodox Mohammedans. As in our own Elizabethan period, a crop of geographers arose to collate and publish the information brought back by merchants. Christians and Mohammedans lived peacefully together at Zeila, trading with the Yemen, and Abyssinia was pronounced to be exempt from the ' holy war.'[24]

During the early part of this period Suakin was probably overshadowed by its neighbours Aidhab and Badi ; but it seems to have shared in the strange lamb-and-lion life of the times. There were Christians there in 1224.[25] In 1264 the Egyptian sultan Beybars, learning that the king of Suakin had appropriated the goods of foreign merchants, sent an embassy to protest ; but when this produced no effect he sent the governor of Kus with an army in 1265–6. The king fled, and Suakin was occupied by an Egyptian garrison.[26] It will be recalled that eight years before (in 1258) Baghdad, the capital of Islam, had been destroyed by the Mongols, an event of world-shaking importance, equivalent to the sack of Rome. Both catastrophes heralded the approach of a Dark Age, and ' a gradual weakening of the powers that made for civilization . . . and a consequent revival of the less advanced races.'[27] The bright moment of culture had passed. Some ten years after the Egyptian occupation of Suakin, Daoud, King of Nubia, who was doubtless annoyed at this interference in a Sudanese port, refused to pay his *bakt*, and raided Aswan and Aidhab. In 1276 Beybars sent an army against him, which defeated him and penetrated as far as the 2nd cataract.[28] Peace was made, but the struggle broke out again later and went on intermittently until the kingdom of Nubia collapsed and its northern province was absorbed by Islam. The southern portion lingered on in a state of anarchy until the Fungs came. The turn of the ' less advanced races ' had come.

Suakin was marked on Carignano's map of *c.* 1320 where it was spelt ' seueci(n).'

The immediate cause of the rise of Suakin was the destruction of Aidhab in

[22] Burckhardt, 509 (Makrizi).

[23] For Badi see Crowfoot, *Georgr. Journ.*, May, 1911, 545, and *SNR*, XIII, 1930, 288–91 : Aswan and Dongola, Crowfoot, *ibid*, 546 ; Dahlac, Rossini, 301 ; Khor Nubt, *SNR*, XIX, 279; XX, 185–7 ; *RSO*, XVII, 1938, 324 (Monneret de Villard), and Newbold's File, II, papers at end giving full account and rough plan of the site, which has yielded the oldest dated Arabic remains in the Sudan.

[24] Rossini 281, on the authority of Ibn Hawqal (977–8).

[25] Rossini, 290, on the authority of Yakut.

[26] Quatremère, *Mémoires*, II, 171 ; Rossini, 302 (Ibn. Said).

[27] Crowfoot, *Geogr. Journ.*, May, 1911, 546.

[28] Burckhardt, 515 (on the authority of Beladiry.)

1422.[29] It seems that in the early 14th century the chief Bega town was Aidhab, for when Ibn Batuta was there in 1326 he found that one third of it[30] belonged to the Sultan of Egypt and two thirds to the king of the Bejas called Al Hadraby, who were then at war with each other.[31] Now ' Al Hadraby ' is obviously the Hadareb Sheikh, whom about a century later Qalqashandi (died 1418) describes as at Suakin. It is interesting to note in passing that Suakin was then in communication with ' the Doors of the Egyptian Sultanate,' which is obviously the principality of El Abwab, last heard of in 1286.[32]

In the same year (1422) that Aidhab fell, a ship from Calicut in India unloaded its wares in Suakin.[33] It was not the first ship from the outer world to penetrate this cul-de-sac of the Red Sea, for Chinese junks had been delivering celadon ware at Aidhab and doubtless elsewhere before then. But it was the forerunner of the flourishing trade which later brought in beads and other goods, paid for in Abyssinian gold which the Suakin merchants obtained in Shendi,[34] the successor of El Abwab.

It is stated that Venetian merchants frequented the ports of Suakin and Massawa during the 15th century and that evidence of their presence there survives in certain words for weights and money and in some technical seafaring terms.[35] They must have come either overland through Egypt or by the circuitous route of Trebizond, Ormuz and the Red Sea.

In 1439 a certain Kashef Mahomet made an expedition against Suakin.[36]

In 1451 it is stated [37] that the Ashraf came to Suakin from Mecca. If this date is independent and trustworthy it is very important because it enables us to check the date of the formation of the Hadendowa. A genealogy amongst the loose papers with Newbold's Files puts at the head Sherif Mohamed, who married the daughter of the Arteiga Sinaief and was presumably the first Sherif to arrive and settle in Suakin. His great-granddaughter was Sherifa Alawia. We can connect this Ashraf genealogy and tradition with those of the Hadendowa, according to which Sherif Mohamed el Alawi (of Mecca and Suakin) had a daughter—meaning doubtless descendant—Hadat (also called Sherifa Alawia) who after abduction was rescued and married by Mohammed Mubarak (Barakwin) and became the ancestress of the Hadendowa.[38] Another version[39] gives her the name Fatma and associates the incident with Agib I, agreeing in essentials however with the first story.

The approximate date of Barakwin, and so of the foundation of the Hadendowa

[29] Newbold's, File, I, 8. Bloss (*SNR*, XIX, 285) puts it ' about 1428–9.' I do not know the authority for the date and cannot therefore check it. Bloss's appears to be by dead reckoning back a century from Leo Africanus.

[30] Probably he means ' of the customs.'

[31] Ibn Batuta : abridged translation by Gibb, Broadway Travellers Series, 1929, 53–4 ; translation by Defremery & Sanguinetti (Paris, 1852) I, 108. (Newbold's File, I, 21, 29).

[32] Newbold's File, I, 142, quoting Qalqashandi's *Sobh el Aasha*, Part 5, pp. 273–4. For El Abwab, see p. 24 of this book.

[33] Lane Poole, *History of Egypt*, 339.

[34] See p. 64.

[35] Somigli, *Etiopia Francescana* I, part 1, 1928, p. XXX, quoting Giovanni Marinelli, *Venezia nella storia della geografia, cartografia ed esploratrice* : Venezia, 1889, p. 42, and other sources, none of which I have been able to consult, and for whose validity I cannot therefore vouch.

[36] Quatremère, *Mémoires*, II, 170.

[37] *SNR*, XIX, 280, without giving authority. (Dr Bloss kindly informs me by letter that he cannot remember where this date is given, but is sure that it is authentic).

[38] *SNR*, XX, 184. The name probably means ' lioness,' and from it would appear to be derived the name of the tribe : ' endoa ' means ' people ' in to-Bedaui.

[39] Newbold's File, II, 323.

tribe, can be ascertained in two ways by dead reckoning, either downwards from Sherif Mohammed or upwards from Mohammed Din, the 9th Hadendowa nazir, whose floruit was *c.* 1814–41. By the first method (assuming the correctness of the date 1451) Hadat (and Barakwin) would be dated a little before 1600, by the second, a little after.[40] Either date is consistent with the traditional association of Barakwin with Agib I (*c.* 1570–1611). The arrival of Barakwin's father in Africa from the Hedjaz would then have been about the middle or second half of the 16th century, when the Arab immigration was in full swing; and although his father married his cousin, Barakwin's own matrimonial affairs ran true to type. It was a time of ferment and rebirth after a Dark Age; in the Nilotic hinterland of Suakin Islam was replacing Christianity, or rather the chaos left by the collapse of Nubia. With the restoration of some semblance of control, however imperfect, the caravans could pass again, and that meant business for Suakin. In the early 16th century and for some time before, Suakin had been the point of departure for Abyssinian pilgrims going to Jerusalem[41]; which suggests that Egyptian influence there was weak or non-existent, as one would expect, given the then state of Egypt. (There would be little inducement to go there if trade was languishing). Two routes overland from Suakin into Abyssinia were actually described and travelled by Europeans in the 15th century.[42] Perhaps it was this traffic which caused Suakin to be regarded as situated on the confines of Abyssinia, ' et autres fois des appurtenances du mesme empire '[43]—a statement not borne out by history.

In 1517 Selim, the Turkish conqueror of Egypt, seized Suakin, partly perhaps to prevent the Portuguese, who had been near it in the two preceding years, from establishing themselves there, partly perhaps to secure a share in the customs which, now that the Fungs were in power, might again become valuable. The earlier Egyptian control had been based on land power; Selim decided to use sea-power, with one eye no doubt on the Portuguese. He therefore formed a naval base at Suez. The wood for building the ships was obtained from the Gulf of Scandaloro ' auprès du Rhodes,' now called the Gulf of Adalia, from Eski (Old) Adalia, 40 miles east of the modern town of that name.[44] It was unloaded at Alexandria and conveyed thence to Cairo, where it was worked up, the parts being then carried on camels to Suez and put together there. Each ship was armed with cannon, of those of the large sort called bazilisques, four culverins, etc.[45] It will be remembered that Renaud had built his Red Sea fleet in much the same way in 1182.

It is unfortunate that we know little more about events at Suakin during the

[40] By generations, allowing 30 years for each, Barakwin's death would fall at about 1634, but we may assign it to a slightly earlier date because the next two nazirs belonged to the same generation.

[41] This is stated twice by André Corsal, first in a letter dated from Cochin, 6th January, 1515, to Julian de Medici, again in a letter dated 17th September, 1517 [an error for 1516 as Miss Elaine Sanceau pointed out to me in a letter] to Lorenzo de Medici; they are printed on pp. 8–30 of the French edition of *Alvarez* which is entitled ' Historiale Description,' Antwerp, 1558. This edition of *Alvarez* is said to have been made from a better manuscript than the Portuguese edition of 1540. It contains plans of the Ethiopian churches of Golgota, St. Saviour, Emanuel and St. George.

[42] See *Geographical Journal* CXIV, 8.

[43] Letter dated 25th March, 1628, written by Gabriel Fernoulx, French consul at Cairo (Beccari, XII, 245): *Alvarez*, 343, 352–3.

[44] According to Beaufort (Karamania, 1818) Eski Adalia was the ancient Side. Its theatre may still be seen by one who flies along the south coast of Asia Minor on a journey from Cyprus to Rhodes. I have to thank my friend Mr K. J. Ritchie, F.S.A., for identifying the Gulf of Scandaloro for me.

[45] Second letter of André Corsal.

Fung period than during the preceding centuries. In 1540 a Portuguese fleet under Stephano de Gama ventured up the Red Sea to attack the Turks. On their way they stopped at Suakin, and De Castro has left a drawing (PLATE 27) and description of it.[46] It equalled or surpassed the most eminent places in the goodness and security of its port, in the facilities for lading and unlading ships, in its traffic with remote countries, and in the strength and advantageous position of the town. The harbour could contain 200 ships and galleys without number. The ships came close up to the shore round the town, and could be laden by laying a plank from them to the merchants' warehouses, to whose doors the galleys were fastened, with their beaks stretching over the streets and serving as bridges.

The Portuguese ships, the first from Europe that ever burst into that sea, however romantically interesting, had little historical importance; the Portuguese secured no foothold there (expect for a year or two at Arkiko[47] about 1555) and the Turks were left in peace to ruin the trade and impoverish the inhabitants of the ports, a process which they could not complete until after they had conquered and also ruined the hinterland in the early 19th century. That they did not do so before may well have been only because the inhabitants of the mainland could never be ignored. Even water had to be taken there. There were no provisions except those that came from Sennar and the kingdom of the Fungi, and when the Pasha of Suakin incurred the displeasure of the king of the Fungi, the latter cut off the supply and starved him out.[48] Lobo and Almeida said the same thing in much the same words.

Suakin in the middle of the 17th century was a town of well built houses, that of the Pasha being however indistinguishable from the rest. There was no fort or artillery on the island itself, but there were two small forts on the adjacent mainland, where also were gardens with pine-apples, 'cedras' (?), sugarcanes, and melons 'd'un goût merveilleux.'[49] The mainland was otherwise completely barren, supporting only ostriches which devoured wood and stone and anything else they could pick up. It was the barrenness that enabled the king of Sennar to excerise his influence, which he did on at least one occasion.[50] Rice was sometimes brought there from Dio in India. When it rained the houses collapsed. The inhabitants were very poor and virtually enslaved to the Pasha. The Turks, however, did not lack money, nor did the resident Baneanes, a race of Indian traders.[51]

In 1646 an English ship visited Suakin, but no more than the bare fact is re-recorded, by Father Antonius a Petrapagana, an Italian missionary, who was held there. He was endeavouring to return home and wrote[52] that he had decided to try and come by way of Sennar, 'quae est janua Aethiopiae,' but had abandoned the project. He was subsequently beheaded by the Pasha at the request of Facilidas, the king of Abyssinia, which was most unfortunate, for otherwise he might

[46] Quoted in *SNR*, XIX, 289–90, which I have used here. A French translation of De Castro's description will be found in *Le Routier de Dom Joam de Castro*, ed. by A. Kammerer (Geuthner, Paris, 1936) pp. 93–7; it is almost exclusively nautical.

[47] Beccari, X, 51.

[48] Father Torquatus Parisianus (Beccari, *Relationes I*, IV, 341; A.D. 1649).

[49] That is true today. The melons I ate at Suakin in February, 1950, were by far the best I tasted in the Sudan.

[50] Beccari, XIII, 48 (*c.* 1635).

[51] *Ibid*, 341 (*c.* 1649).

[52] *Ibid*, 271 (A.D. 1646).

have tried the Sennar route and told us something about the kingdom of the Fungs when they were at the height of their power.

Except for one or two missionaries, few of whom returned alive, no European seems to have visited Suakin between the mid 17th century and 1814 when Burckhardt went there on his way back from the Sudan. Half a century later the port

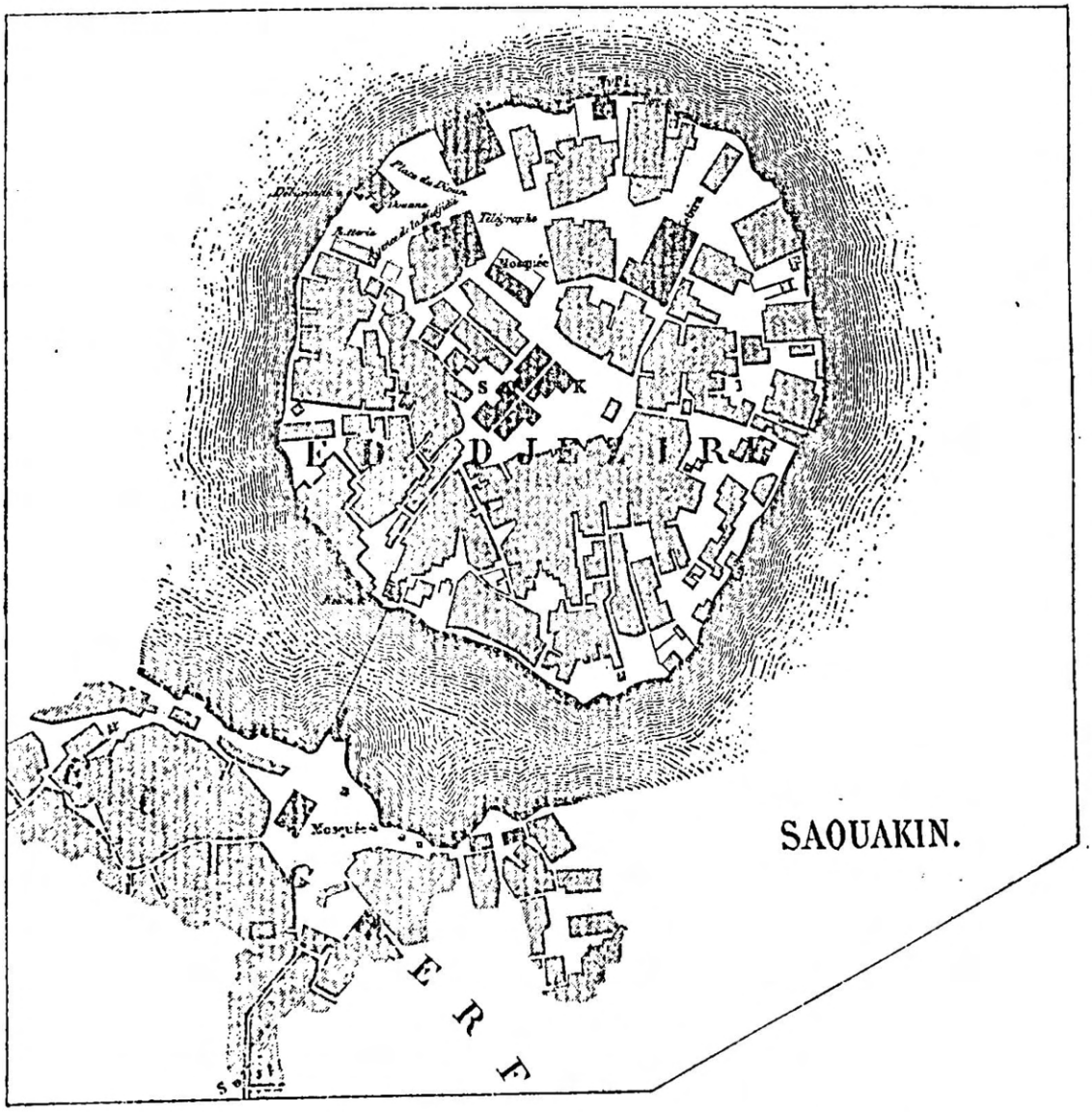


FIG. 18. Suakin in 1862, *after* Lejean. Scale : about 1 : 6000

began to revive ; the British came with their ships, but unlike the Turks brought trade and prosperity in ther wake. As so often in history that prosperity is reflected in architecture. The rich merchants built themselves stately houses in a style that survives across the Red Sea. During the Mahdia the adjacent mainland became a

beach-head and was held, though precariously, against that redoubtable condottiere, Osman Digna. Within a few years of the reconquest, however, Suakin received its death-sentence. It was decided to build a new port at a harbour more suitable for large ships called Sheikh el Barguth and renamed Port Sudan. This was the starting-point of the new railway to the Nile at Atbara, opened in 1906, which still forms the life-line of the Sudan. Trade left Suakin, and it is now a dead city, inhabited only by a few squatters who have emerged like maggots from its corpse and use the wood of its fine balconies to build their wretched shacks. Prowling through the deserted streets one hears the bleating of goats, but rarely meets a human being. At night the cats take charge and hold concerts. It is an eerie but fascinating place, resembling (one imagines) the cities of Roman Britain in the 5th century.

The houses are all built of the coral on which they stand. There is plenty of carved decoration round the doorways and the general effect is pleasing. The wooden balconies with their grills are the chief embellishment, and although the carpentry is crude, they have the charm that always emanates from genuine craftsmanship. Surveying the town one gets a misleading impression of antiquity. That is because they are built in a style which was ancient but still alive, and in Europe such buildings have almost ceased to be made. None of the Suakin houses is likely to have been built before the 19th century. Here and there an older wall may have been incorporated, and some of the stones may have been taken from older buildings and re-used. But as a whole they are quite modern. They are now falling down, or being pulled down and the stones used for other purposes. Soon Suakin will be merely a heap of rubble, and will look even more like a bombed city. Efforts are being made to save a few of the better bits, and Mr Greenlaw is carrying out a heroic campaign to draw and photograph the rest before it goes. That is all to the good, and it is difficult to see what more can be done.

Massawa

Massawa was, and still is, the port of Abyssinia, and some apology is needed for dealing with it in a book about the Sudan, with which it had few if any commercial or political relations. The chief reason is that Massawa was connected throughout with the people of the Beni Amer region, which was certainly part of the dominions of Sennar, and that it was the last home of our old friends the Balous, who became its Naibs. It has other claims to consideration ; it was the port of entry of many of the Abyssinian missionaries, from Alvarez onwards, and the student of Fung history is bound to become so familiar with their writings that he comes perforce, if somewhat incorrectly, to regard them as involved in that history. My last excuse is that it seemed a pity not to publish a résumé of my gleanings about Massawa, the more so as the place is, at the time of writing, more closely connected politically with the Sudan that at any previous time in its history ; and I do not know of any account of it that is available in English.

Like Suakin, the town of Massawa was situated on a small island in a bay off the coast. It was the successor of Adulis (now Zula), the Axumite port in the gulf

of the same name 30 miles to the south. Adulis [53] ceased to exist somewhere about the middle of the 1st millennium of this era. It was a place on the extreme confines of Hellenistic culture, as revealed by the Greek inscription copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes and by the Greek writing on the many coins found there. But it was also strongly Axumite, as shown by the architecture of the temple or church uncovered there and the bases of statues like those at Axum itself.

The name of Massawa is said to be properly Medsaua, connected by Munzinger[54] with the Ethiopian verb ' dsaua,' to shout, because it is within hail of the mainland. (This sounds rather like mere folk-etymology). He states that the local name is Bazé.[55] The island had no water, which had to be fetched from wells on the mainland near Arkiko where was a small town or village. Throughout history Arkiko is closely associated with Massawa ; but whereas Arkiko could be, and generally was, controlled by the Christian powers in its hinterland—the Barnagash[56] and his Abyssinian liege lord—Massawa was, by virtue of its insular position, sometimes beyond their reach. For under the primitive conditions of ancient times a narrow stretch of water—even a river like the Blue Nile—afforded protection against attack by the land forces which could not then cross it in the face of opposition. (It was just such a feature which saved Sennar in the 2nd Abyssinian war). Arkiko (also spelt Arquiquo, Archico and Ercoco) was also called Achanon,[57] Adecono or Docono ; the name is derived by Munzinger[58] from a Saho word ' dekoni ' meaning ' elephant,' because there was in the neighbourhood a region inhabited by elephants. De Castro's illustration (1541) shows elephants on or near the site of the place. The name, however, probably originated from one of Ptolemy's elephant-stations mentioned by Strabo and near Σαβα (Artemidorus) or Σαβατ πολις (Ptolemy), the modern Gherar opposite Massawa.[59]

It may seem strange that the sea-port of Abyssinia should be situated so far to the north ; a glance at a physical map will explain the reason. Abyssinia proper is bounded by the great precipitous wall of the Red Sea rift-valley which runs southwards from near Massawa to the gap of the Hawash valley near Addis Ababa. At the northern end there extends, east of the mountain wall, a triangular plain bounded on the north-east by the Red Sea. This plain falls under the rain-shadow of the mountains and is a desert, below sea level in places, while along the coast runs a belt of high ground. This was the kingdom of Dankali (now called Danakil on the maps) which in 1618 was subject to Abyssinia,[60] though ruled by a Mohammedan. Its so-called port, Bailur (now Beilul), was merely a roadstead and of little value,

[53] For Adulis see Kammerer, *Essai*, 1926, Chapter 5, and the authorities there quoted.

[54] *Öst. Studien*, 114, note. See also Crowfoot, *Geogr. Journ.*, May, 1911, 545, referring to D. H. Müller's edition of *Hamdani* (Leyden, 1884, II, 24, quoting Kremer).

[55] Marquart (p. CCLX) identifies the port on the Abyssinian coast called Made on Dalorto's map of 1339 with Massawa, and quotes another passage from Rossini where he states that the local name for Massawa in the adjacent highlands is Basē', pronounced Badē' in Barya. Both identify this with Badi, but Crowfoot has proved that Badi was further north on Airi island.

[56] Za-Wangel, Barnagash (died 1528) is described as lord of Dokhono in Arab-Faqih's *History of the Conquest of Abyssinia*, ed. René Basset, 1897, 128–9. The editor there gives a long and learned note on Dokhono.

[57] So spelt in the Itinerary of Suriano, A.D. 1482 (*Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, ed. N. Jorga, Milan, 1900) ; the Itinerary is also printed in full in *Etiopia Francescana*, ed. Somigli, Vol. I, part I, pp. LXXX-LXXXVIII.

[58] *Öst. Studien*, 142, note 1.

[59] Rossini : ' Comenti a notizie di geographi classici sovra il Sudan Egiziano e l'Etiopia,' *Aegyptus* VI (April, 1925), 17.

[60] Pereira, *Susenyos*, 156.

because ships had to anchor so far out that lighter-boats could not reach them. It had no rivers or harbours and no merchandise or provisions, and it is still a very wild country. In 1625 the Jesuits Alfonso Mendez and Jerome Lobo landed there, but

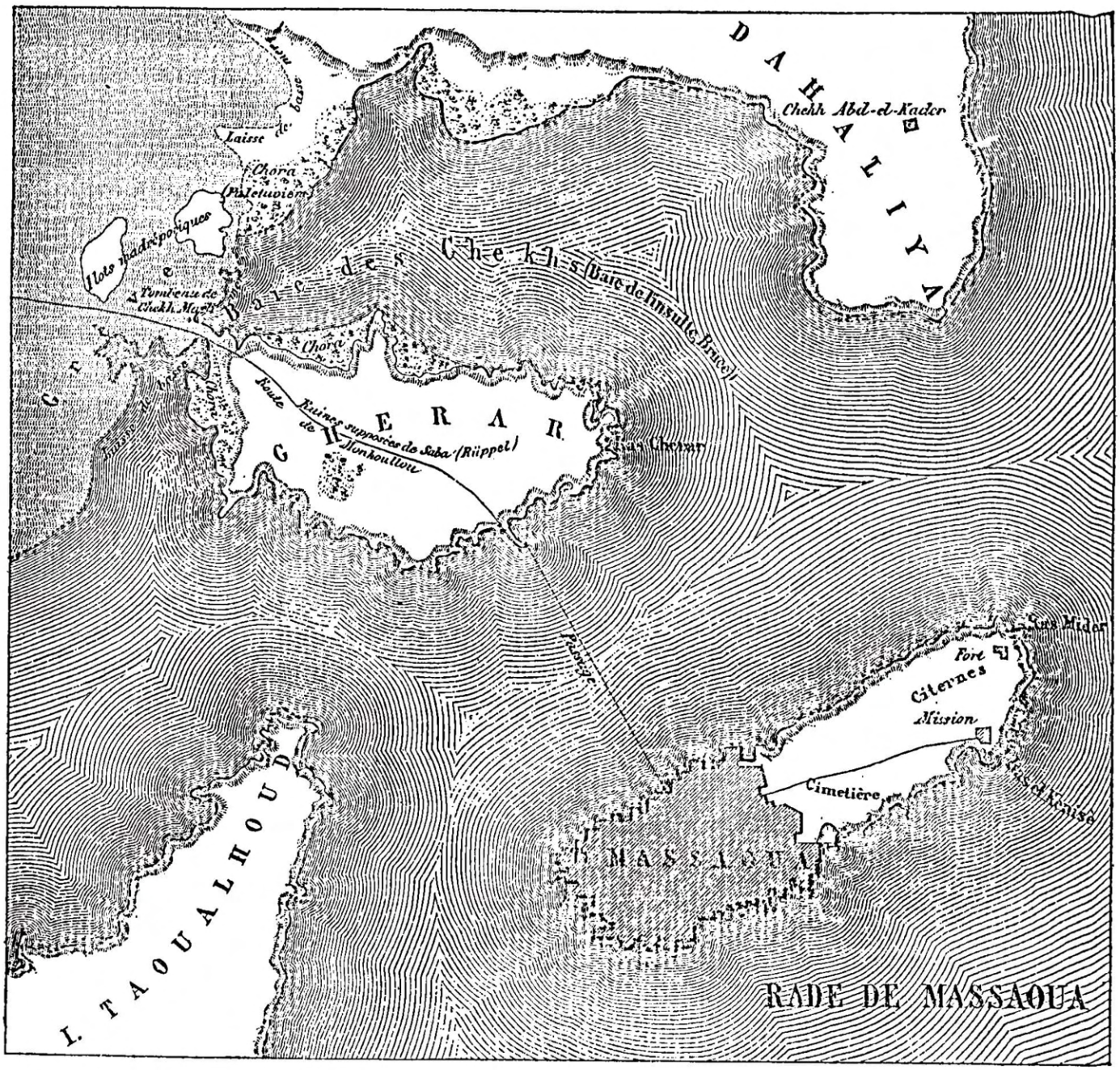


FIG. 19. Environs of Massawa in 1863-4, *after* Lejean. Scale: about 1:15,000

were stripped clean by the king and had a most unpleasant journey thence into Abyssinia.

Beyond Dankale to the south lay the Mohammedan kingdom of Adel (also called after its port, the kingdom of Zeila). In the 12th century Zeila (then called

Zalegh) belonged to Abyssinia and provided an outlet for trade with the Yemen[61]; but later Adel became independent and Mohammedan, and engaged in fierce wars with Abyssinia, which was finally conquered and overrun in the destructive campaigns of Mahomet Granhé about 1540. Two Jesuits who landed at Zeila in 1624, misled it seems by the similarity of its name to that of Bailur, were martyred.[62] Though no doubt a useful outlet when under their control, it was less useful to the people of Abyssinia than Massawa because it was further away—Barradas[63] says it was 16 days journey from the Court—and the great mountain wall had to be climbed.

Between Bailur and Massawa was a small port or anchorage called Dafalo (map of 1662) or Defalo, now Arafali, at the head of the gulf of Zula. There, about 1630, the Turks had a small fortified building, equipped with some small cannon, and manned by eight men drawn from Arkiko. Mendez calls the place Adefali, and says it was 30 miles from Massawa along the coast and the northern limit of Danakil (Dancalinum regnum).[64] There was also the port of Zula, between Arafali and Arkiko; but the Jesuits, who were looking for a port of entry into Abyssinia, considered it too near Arkiko, where the Turks were, to be safe for them to use. The Turks had indeed closed the Red Sea as effectively against the western world as that world has now closed the Mediterranean against the other half, for similar reasons.

Massawa was therefore the only outlet left for Abyssinia, and the only port of entry. Unlike Suakin, its approach was very different, for it lies behind a maze of coral reefs and half submerged islands. One of these, Dahlak, played a part in its maritime trade.[65] It was on an island close off Dahlak that the first Europeans landed on May 1st, 1516. They were a party of Portuguese who were escorting Matthew, ambassador-designate to the king of Abyssinia. A graphic account of the visit is given in the two letters of Corsal,[66] the Florentine. His ship disembarked 400 men, and there were friendly exchanges with the ruler of Dahlak. They remained on the island for a month, fearing to move to Massawa on account of the dangers of passage that would be involved in keeping up communications with their island base. Some of the party visited it, however, and mention is made of Arkiko—'a port of the Christians called Ercoco.'

When Alvarez[67] landed at Massawa on April 7th, 1520, he found that the 'Moors' had fled to the mainland, having had warning of the approach of the Portuguese fleet. At this time Arkiko was controlled by the Barnagash, a vassal of Abyssinia, and 'whenever Turks or Roumys who do them injury come to this port all fled to the mountains,' taking their possessions with them. Clearly the dark shadow of the Turk was beginning to fall over the islands, but, thanks to the intervening narrow sea, had not yet effectively reached the mainland; for the Barnagash was in control of the customs of Arkiko, and forwarded an annual tribute of Indian cloths to his liege lord.[68] We may note in passing that he also sent a tribute of 150 horses received from certain marcher lords 'on the side of Egypt and Arabia,' no doubt Canfila and Dafilla.

[61] Rossini, 324, on the authority of Idrisi (A.D. 1154).
[62] Beccari, XII, 68, note 1.
[63] Beccari, I, 298.
[64] Beccari, 325. The letters 'r' and 'd' are frequently interchanged in the speech of this region.
[65] For Dahlak's relations with Yemen and Abyssinia, and its history generally, see Rossini, *Storia*, Chapter 14.
[66] For reference, see p. 123, note 41.
[67] Narrative 3–4.
[68] Alvarez, *Narrative*, 54.

When Rodriguez landed there in 1555 the inhabitants had again fled, and he went on to Arkiko where he found Turks and Moors. But an arrangement was made, for Arkiko was then controlled by the Portuguese—the only instance recorded of Portuguese tenure on this coast.[69] Had this post been maintained, the whole subsequent history of the Red Sea might have been different. But it was soon abandoned. In April, 1557, the Turks under Zemur Pasha took and held Massawa and Arkiko; the following June Zemur marched inland with 100 horse and 400 men to Debaroa where he built a stone fort, which eventually they were obliged to abandon.[70] Two years later both Arkiko and Baroa (Debaroa) were held by them as bases from which they hoped to conquer Abyssinia.[71] These astute people were determined at all costs to prevent the Portuguese, who had already diverted much of their Indian trade, from obtaining any foothold in that part of Africa or on the Red Sea coast. A Pasha was sent to Dahlak where there was a customs house (which Paez, *c.* 1620, says had then been in existence for a long time—antiguamente[72]); and ships coming from India had to discharge their cargoes there. This was, of course, extremely inconvenient; merchants were forced to take their goods to Arkiko in boats (gelbas); and the Pasha eventually removed to Massawa, from where he could also exert pressure more easily upon Abyssinia. The Indian ships could then discharge there. After a time the Pasha, attracted by better profits, left Massawa in charge of a deputy and took up his residence at Suakin, where he was called the Pasha of Sennar.[73]

All this happened before 1634 when Barradas wrote the second of his three Tracts, giving there a full historical account of Massawa.[74] He says there was then at Massawa a warehouse built of stone and mud-mortar (pedra e burro) on the quay; on the ground floor was kept the merchandise while it was being inspected by the customs; on the upper floor lived the Amir and his superintendent; and in another part of the building was the office of the Turkish captain. But the building was then falling into disrepair, as the Captain had gone to live with the garrison at Arkiko.

For more than a century the Portuguese missionaries tried hard to persuade some power to capture Massawa from the Turks, and if possible other Red Sea ports as well.[75] They wrote in this sense to the Viceroy of India, the king of Portugal and even the king of Spain; but none of them were willing to go to war in order to provide the missionaries with a way back into a country whence they had been expelled, largely through their own misdeeds and folly, in 1632. The Turks had forthwith complied with the request of the king of Abyssinia, and closed Massawa to all 'Franks,'[76] The capture of the ports would have been easy; to hold them would have been almost impossible. Portugal was virtually on the other side of the world, at the end of a long journey round the Cape and to India, which would have to be the base. Even if Massawa were held, Abyssinia was still a long way

[69] Beccari, x, 51.

[70] Letter of P. Manuel Fernandez, dated 29th July, 1562, in *Cartas annuas dos Jesuitas*, R. Acad. Sc., Lisbon; quoted by Pereira, 'Historia de Minas' (*Bol. Soc. Geogr.*, Lisbon, No. 12, 7 S., 1887, 75).

[71] Beccari, x, 98: letter from Melchior Carneiro from Goa, dated November, 1559: see also p. 261 (1575). Remains of the Turkish fort at Arkiko (which he calls Dohona) were seen by W. C. Plowden in 1848 (*Travels in Abyssinia*, p. 355.)

[72] *Ibid*, II, 593.

[73] Legrand, 38 (Lobo).

[74] Beccari, I, 295–302.

[75] See for instance Alvarez, *Narrative*, 311 (1524): Beccari, x, 183–7 (Oviedo, 1564): *ibid*, 199–201 (da Costa, 1566): *id.* I, 155 (Barradas, 1633): and Beccari's own footnote, I, 89.

[76] Beccari, XIV, 219.

off, and between them lay the lands of the Barnagash who was none too trustworthy a vassal. (Isaac had compromised himself with Zemur Pasha in the 16th century). To secure their communications with Abyssinia the Portuguese would have had to maintain an impossibly large force at Massawa and Arkiko—a small army, in fact, to overawe the Barnagash and resist attack by the Turks. Any such army would have to live on the land, and that would certainly involve continued hostilities with inhabitants, who always had the last word, here as at Suakin. Barradas had been persuaded—without difficulty, we may be sure—to sound the king of Abyssinia on the matter of intervention. The king replied that he himself could take Arkiko whenever he wished, but how could he hold it ? The task could only be entrusted to the Barnagash who, thus advanced to power, would certainly throw off his vassalage and rebel.[77] Were it not so he could, says Barradas, enforce a division of the customs like that in force at Suakin, where they were shared with the Fungos, by the simple expedient of stopping the caravans. (This was actually done in 1693[78]). The trouble was that he was ill obeyed at home and elsewhere not at all.

The Sacred Congregation foresaw precisely the same difficulties as did the king of Abyssinia. In 1637 the patriarch Mendez, who had been expelled from his see in 1632, wrote to this body in favour of an appeal to the king of Spain to occupy Massawa, the only port through which missionaries might re-enter Abyssinia. But the Sacred Congregation refused to make the appeal, on the grounds that Massawa, even if captured, could not be held because it was surrounded by Mohammedans. They were absolutely right ; the garrison, thousands of miles from home and with no hope of receiving reinforcements, would certainly have been wiped out.

Eventually the Turkish power declined, the local people came back into power, and so we meet the Balous again, thinly disguised by the name Belowee which Bruce gives them.[79] They were, according to him, ' shepherds inhabiting the coast of the Red Sea under the mountains of the Habab,' between Tokar and Massawa. They were Mohammedans who, in return for helping the Turks to take Massawa, had been granted the rule over that place and the adjacent mainland, under the title of Naybe's. When the Turkish Pasha was withdrawn, the power of the Naybe was greatly augmented. The Turkish garrison soldiers, called Janizaries, remained behind, and continued to draw their pay from Constantinople. ' These marrying the women of the country their children succeeded them in their place and pay as Janizaries ; but they, being now, by their inter-marriages, Moors and natives of Masuah, became of course relations to each other, and always subject to the influence of the Naybe. Gradually the Naybe threw off all allegiance to Turkey, and made a treaty with Abyssinia, by which he divided the customs with that country. Such a division is unlikely to have been agreed to voluntarily, and was probably the result of economic pressure by the king of Abyssinia in 1693.[80] Apart from the constant threat of such a blockade, the Naybe was at the mercy of the Barnagash on account of the seasonal migrations of the nomads which took them southwards during the rainy season.

The particular region which the Naybe was able to call his own was ' that small stripe of barren, dry country called Samhar, inhabited by black shepherds called

[77] Beccari, I, 297.
[78] See below. Probably also at Suakin in 1646 : see above p. 124.
[79] IV, 203 ff.
[80] Bruce III, 476–7.

Shiho,[81] reaching from Hamazen on the north to the foot of the mountain Taranta in the south.' He had, however, in Bruce's time, also acquired possession of the frontier-towns of Dixan and Dobarwa (Debaroa), paying Abyssinia a trifling rent for them.

Bruce arrived at Massawa on September 19th, 1769, heralded somewhat to his embarrassment as a prince and a near relation of the king of England. The political situation there was very complicated (probably it always was). The Naybe had

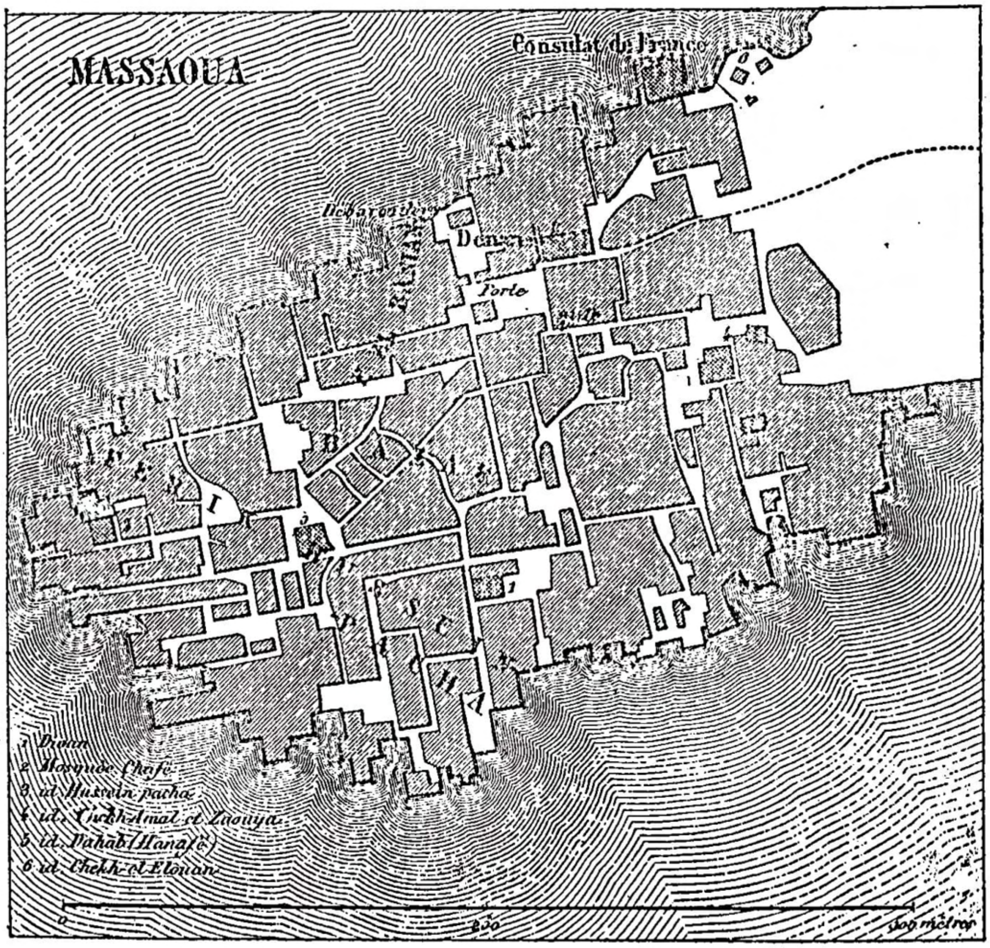


FIG. 20. Massawa in 1863-4, *after* Lejean

managed to ' withdraw himself by degrees from paying tribute at all to the Basha of Jidda, to whose government his had been annexed by the Porte ' ; he had also taken advantage of the civil disturbances in Abyssinia to withhold from that country the covenanted share of the customs. Bruce calls him Omar Aga, a title which he assumed as the representative of the Grand Signior.[82] He received Bruce seated

[81] Called on Munzinger's map Saho or Schoho and comprising the mountainous region between Massawa and Asmara. The Samhar is the coastal plain north of Massawa.

[82] Aga is of course the Turkish word for customs-officer, but Omar is a proper name. From Munzinger's genealogy (*Öst. Studien*, 162) it would appear that the uncle of Ahmed (as was also Bruce's Naybe) bore the name Othman.

in a large wooden arm-chair and wearing nothing but a very dirty shirt of coarse cotton which hardly reached to his knees. ' He was very tall and lean ; his colour black ; had a large mouth and nose ; in place of a beard, a very scanty tuft of grey hairs upon the point of his chin ; large dull and heavy eyes ; a kind of malicious, contemptuous smile on his countenance ; he was altogether of a most stupid brutal appearance. His character perfectly corresponded with his figure, for he was a man of mean abilities, cruel to excess, avaricious, and a great drunkard.' He spoke a dialect of Tigré which was the language of Massawa, but he also spoke good Arabic. His time was divided between Arkiko and the island. All his sons had recently been ' swept away by the small-pox,' and he himself ' had received a stroke of the palsy which deprived him of the use of one of his sides, and greatly impeded his activity, unless in schemes of doing ill.' Much of the power of his office had consequently devolved upon his nephew Achmet who was generally looked upon as his heir and was friendly to Bruce. Achmet is portrayed in glowing colours ; but one wonders whether Bruce's opinion of his character may not have been influenced by Achmet's attitude to him, which was doubtless dictated by policy rather than by good nature. Indeed Bruce seems throughout his travels to have acted like certain of the inhabitants whose philosophy may be summed up in the words ' You are my friend ; you are good man.' Bruce represents himself as in great danger during his stay in Massawa, and claims to have got away only by playing upon the Naybe's fears and through the help of Achmet and of the Sirdar of the Janizaries. One of the causes of the Naybe's hostility was a suspicion that Bruce was going to ' teach the Abyssinians to make cannon and gunpowder' with which to attack Massawa. Perhaps there was still some faint memory handed down by tradition from the times of Consul de Maillet, when a similar suspicion was by no means baseless.[83]

In the middle of the 19th century the power of the Naibs extended from the Buri peninsula in the south northwards, and included the Habab, Saho, Hasuerta, Teroa and all Samhar.[84] Munzinger has given a full account of the Belou in that region, which will be found summarized elsewhere in this book. He was at Massawa in 1853, and while he was there appeared the very readable book by Mansfield Parkyns who was there just 10 years before. Both of them mention the names of Naibs, and Munzinger even gives a genealogical tree ; but I have not succeeded in combining the two sources, chiefly from the fact that so many of the names are, as usual, the same. Munzinger was a Swiss and a resident ; Mansfield Parkyns a traveller whom Sir Francis Galton regarded as ' perhaps the most gifted with natural advantages for that career ' of any he had known.[85] One gets the same impression from his book. But Munzinger's was the more solid contribution to knowledge and it remains a classic and still useful.[86]

[83] See p. 234.

[84] Munzinger, *Öst. Studien*, 172.

[85] *SNR*, XIX, 192, quoting Galton's *Memories of my life*. Galton met him in Khartoum in 1845. He was born in 1823 and died in 1894.

[86] It is also still in print. When at Basel recently I called at the office of the publisher and had the unexpected good fortune to obtain a ' new ' copy from his stock.

For an account of Massawa in 1810 see H. Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, 1814, Appendix V, pp. LXIX–LXX.

For an account of Massawa in 1846–8 see *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla country*, edited from the MSS. of W. C. Plowden by his brother T. C. Plowden (London, 1868), pp. 354 ff.

CHAPTER IX

REUBENI'S JOURNEY

EUROPEAN travellers may have entered the Sudan during the Middle Ages, but if they did they left no record. The anonymous writer of the Book of Knowledge, composed in the middle of the 14th century, says that in the kingdom of Dongola he found Christians, Genoese merchants, and travelled thence with them to Egypt.[1] But he never went there; his travels were imaginary, adopted as a device to make more readable what was merely a description of itineraries based on maps. It is, however, by no means impossible that Genoese should have reached Dongola at this period. At the end of the 13th century they were trying to reach the Far East, and for this purpose had in 1290 negotiated a commercial treaty with Egypt.[2] It was precisely at this time that the Sultan of Egypt was invading the Sudan, and his armies had taken Dongola and penetrated even further southwards. Perhaps Genoese merchants accompanied the army. However this may be, it was probably from these campaigns that the knowledge of the existence of Dongola ultimately reached Europe. At the beginning of the 16th century John of Syria certainly passed through the Sudan on his way to Abyssinia where Alvarez met him. But the first traveller who visited the Sudan in modern times and also left a record of his travels was David Reubeni, an oriental Jew who claimed to be brother of a certain Joseph, king of a Jewish kingdom in Arabia.[3] Towards the end of the year 1521 Reubeni crossed from Jedda to Suakin where he met a certain Omar abu Kamil, 'a descendant of the prophet of the Ishmaelites'; from him he hired two camels and attached himself to a caravan of over 3000 camels making for 'Asha' in the land of Kush, the kingdom of Sheba.' (Reubeni's story is obscured by his habit of giving pseudo-biblical names to the places he visited). He does not say that he actually reached 'Asha, but that after two months they came to the beginning of the kingdom of Kush. 'Asha has not been identified; it must have been a place of some importance if it was the objective of so large a caravan, travelling so great a distance—hardly less than 600 miles at an average of 10 miles a day. On geographical grounds it is certain that the journey (if it really took two months) must have been in a southerly or southeasterly direction. Now there is a region called Aussa on the eastern frontier of Abyssinia, where the river

[1] *Book of the Knowledge*, Hakluyt Society, 1912 (2 Series, XXIX, 32).

[2] De la Roncière, *Découverte*, etc., I, 52.

[3] See 'David Reubeni, an early visitor to Sennar,' by S. Hillelson, *SNR*, XVI, 55–66. See also *Der Reisebericht des David Reubeni*, by Eduard Biberfeld; Berlin, 1892: *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Vol. I, § 6, 1895, where the Hebrew text is published with introductory remarks (pp. XII, XIII), but without notes or translation, by A. Neubauer. For most purposes Mr Hillelson's article and summarized, but full, translation will be found the best to consult. From the style Mr Hillelson thinks it may be 'the exact transcript of an oral narrative, perhaps given in another language and taken down in Hebrew by a German Jew.' The original (Hebrew) manuscript disappeared from the Bodleian some time after 1867.

Hawash loses itself in a chain of lakes. (The river-name is an old one and appears, in the form ' Fl. Auasi ' on Fra Mauro's map of 1460, and ' Rio Aoaxe ' on Almeida's of 1662). On this river Almeida's map marks Auçagurrele, which it calls capital (cabesa) of the kingdom of Adel, ' which we call Zeila.'[4] Such a place, capital of a Mohammedan state that was then just entering on a period of political power and commercial prosperity, was a most likely objective of a caravan from the also Mohammedan mart of Suakin. Abyssinia, which had to be crossed, was then weak and not at war with Adel, and unlikely therefore to obstruct the caravan. Zeila, the port of Adel, had been burnt in 1516 by the Portuguese, who were becoming increasingly active in those seas, so that a land route to the nearest Mohammedan mart may well have been opened up just then. The route indicated is, in the south, the historic ridgeway along the great eastern escarpment. Along part of this highway Reubeni may have gone with his caravan—if his 'Asha was, as I think, Auçagurrele.

It may be objected that this was a strange place to find the king of Sennar! The answer is that Reubeni does not say that he found him there, nor even that he reached 'Asha himself. There seems to be a distinct break in the narrative ; after stating that he reached the beginning of the Kingdom of Kush,[5] he goes on at once to say that the name of the king of Sheba was Amara and that he lived by the Nile, ' the river of Egypt.' I think some part must have been omitted from the narrative or manuscript, unless 'Asha is to be found elsewhere.

Borchardt[6] identified 'Asha with El Hassa, the northernmost of the villages composing Berber. This identification would be possible only if we could reject Reubeni's description entirely ; the journey from Suakin to Berber could not possibly have taken two months, nor was it through a land of forests and rivers. Moreover such an identification makes nonsense of all Reubeni's subsequent movements.

The purpose of Reubeni's journey is obscure. He himself says that he had been instructed by the king, his brother, and the seventy elders, the king's counsellors, ' to proceed to Rome to stand before the Pope.' If so, he adopted a roundabout route. Probably the ostensible motive was invented afterwards when he did in fact visit Rome and see the Pope. His departure from home may have been compulsory, though he naturally would not have said so. His subsequent activities show him to have been one of those shady adventurers who have infested the Sudan in all periods down to the days of Neufeld. Had he heard of his fellow Jews, the Falasha of Dembea,[7] and was he hoping to start his life again amongst them ?

[4] Bruce marks a place which he calls ' The Fair of Adel ' in what seems intended to be the same spot ; but he never went near there.

[5] This statement is, however, meaningless, for he had already said that Suakin where he started was in the land of Kush.

[6] In some notes communicated to Hillelson and printed by him in *SNR*, XVIII, 153–4. Hillelson prudently dissociates himself from Borchardt's identifications.

[7] For an account of them see Bruce, II, 406–15 ; Basset, *Hist. de la Conquête d'Abyssinie* (par Arab-Faqih), Paris, 1897, 456–7 ; Pereira, *Sus.*, 435–7 ; Rossini, *Rendiconti della R. Accad. Lincei*, XXXI, 1923, 221–40, and *Aevum* (Milan) Anno I, fasc. 3 (Oct., 1927), 493–4, giving references. Denison Ross (*Journ. African Soc.*, XXI, July, 1922, 269), points out that the word *falas* means ' stranger,' and that the Falasha were not racially Jewish but natives of the region, and that they do not know Hebrew. The Jews, according to Littmann (*DAE*, I, 47) certainly occupied this region first during the heathen period ; and it may have been to convert them that the first Christian missionaries came.

They lived in that part of Abyssinia which was between Gallabat and Lake Tana; and if Lamul was at or near Gallabat, it may have been in this way that he came to hear of Amara and visit him. But of all this there is no hint, and further speculation is useless.

Amara was black, and ruled over black people and white. He 'used to travel about his domains, month by month, from station to station'; and during the ten months of 1522 that he was with him, Reubeni travelled about with him too, attended (so he says) by 'more than sixty men riding on horses, who treated me with great respect, and their chief was called Abu Kamil.' At every stage a 'wooden house' (doubtless a racouba) was erected for him next the king's, and his attendants were 'descendants of their prophet.' This implies that Amara and some of his courtiers were Mohammedans and Ashraf. The king had 'many horses and captains, who ride on them, and fine camels, and innumerable herds of cattle and sheep; he also has gold dust.' They were therefore nomads, and they also had connections, direct or indirect, with the gold region south of Fazughli, for the gold of the northern desert was not alluvial but from mines. The description of Amara's women, with their gold armlets and nose-rings, recalls that of Ismail's[8] wives at Sennar. Amongst the different kinds of food eaten he mentions elephant's flesh, which again may point to the country round and north of Gallabat, the home of the famous elephant hunters.

Amara was at Lamul,[9] his 'city' at the head of the Nile, when Reubeni left him. His departure seems to have been caused by a mysterious affair about a book brought 'from the house of the Prophet' by a Meccan sherif. There seems to have been a plot to exploit the credulity of Amara. The sherif denounced Reubeni as an imposter; and although he seems to have satisfied the king and cleared his character, he left soon afterwards. (Subsequent events strongly suggest that his departure was in fact a flight made without the king's knowledge). The king (he says) gave him two horses and a guide to conduct him to 'Obadiah, the officer in charge of the king's treasure.' After leaving Lamul in September or October, 1522, they 'crossed many rivers, and there were many grazing-grounds of elephants, and elephants in plenty. There is also a river of mud, where the horses sink up to their bellies[10] . . . But we crossed this river on horseback . . . We travelled a distance of eight days until we reached Sennar, the place of Obadiah.' Hillelson points out that Obadiah, a Hebrew name which is obviously out of place here, is another (Hebrew) form of the name Abdulla, borne by Abdulla Gema'a, the chief vassal of Amara Dunqas. But there are difficulties in accepting this equation. It is hard to put Abdulla's accession to the Gerri sheikhship before 1530 at the earliest,[11] and in 1522 he can hardly have been more than 20—surely too young for so responsible a post as king's treasurer? For the same reason it seems unlikely that he would then have been the sheikh of the Abdullabs, and as he was admittedly the first of them, one must conclude that the sheikhship had not then come into being. That conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Reubeni nowhere mentions Gerri nor any vassal seigneury of the Arabs, though he passed close to Gerri later on. Had it then existed,

[8] Bruce, VI, 362.
[9] For a discussion of where it was, see p. 147.
[10] Was this where Yasous II nearly lost his horse, somewhere in the Gallabat region, at the end of February, 1743? See p. 239.
[11] See p. 166 below.

its sheikh, a potential rival and later an enemy of Amara Dunqas, is the last man to whom he would have entrusted his treasure. A possible solution is that ' Obadiah ' was in fact Abdulla Gema's and that he was then a clever young Arab of no standing, who subsequently built up his own fortunes. That is just possible ; but perhaps it is easier to suppose that ' Obadiah ' was simply one of the many other Abdulla's. All that emerges as certain is that the king did not then reside permanently at Sennar, but moved about from place to place, with Lamul, not Sennar, as his chief residence.

On reaching Sennar Reubeni's chief anxiety seems to have been to get away again as quickly as possible ; and he left, apparently the next day, for Soba, where after a journey of five days he found Abu Kamil. The place was in ruins, and the people lived in ' wooden dwellings.' Abu Kamil was surprised that Reubeni had left King Amara without receiving any present from him—another hint suggesting flight ; and he wanted to send back for one. But Reubeni was warned in a dream that he would certainly die if he waited, and he left the following morning, travelling ten days to the ' kingdom of Al Ga'l, which belongs to the kingdom of Soba, and is under the rule of Amarah.' The king of Al Ga'l was called Abu Aqrab (' Old Scorpion ').[12] This says Hillelson, ' may well be the earliest reference to the well-known Ga'liyin tribe, whose traditional *dar* extends from the Shabluka cataract to the Atbara.' In ten days of actual travelling Bruce covered the 210 miles between Halfayun (roughly equivalent to Soba) and Berber ; this gives the high average of 21 miles a day, but he made long halts at Halfaya and at Shendi, and took over a month for the whole journey.[13] Shendi is 110 miles from Soba, and if it was the seat of Abu Aqrab, Reubeni's rate would have been 11 miles a day—suitable for a caravan, but rather low for a small party in a hurry.[14] He seems to have reached the Nile (after crossing the desert) at a point that was not far from Dongola ; if that is so (and the text is corrupt at that point) he is unlikely to have started from a point further north than Mutmir at or near which might be ' the mountain of Ataqqi ' (his next halt after Al Ga'l).[15] There he met ' a great chief called Abd el Wahhab, who advised him to travel by the short desert route to the city of Dongola. The name of this chief belonged in later times to the Abu Hamed district, where the Wahhabab,[16] a section of the Manasir, resided.[17] Now there seems to have been a section of the Manasir at Mutmir, between Meroe and Aliab, for at least a century and a quarter, for the name appears on both Linant's and the modern map. The mountain which extends eastwards from the east bank of the river at Umm 'Ali station is now called on the map (45 K) ' J. Daiyiqa (Edileg) ' ; Heuglin, who took

[12] A certain Hamad wad Abu Aqrab was a pupil of Sheikh Idris. Nothing more is known of him, but there would be no chronological difficulty in identifying his father with this person. A more likely derivation is from the Bisharin *aqrabo*, strong. Burckhardt, 161.

[13] 22nd September to 26th October, 1772. Reubeni's journey was about the same time of year, but probably a little later.

[14] See Appendix 10.

[15] The length of this stage is not given. Biberfeld transliterates Ataqqi as Tukaki, but the word printed in his own Hebrew text is certainly Ataqqi. The name Takaki occurs on Linant's map west of Abu Hamed and on the Atbara ; see p. 51. Hoskins marks Attaka as a tribal name on the Atbara 70 miles above the mouth.

[16] A certain Sherif Abd el Wahhab was one of the bitterest opponents of Sheikh Idris, but he could not have been Reubeni's Abd el Wahhab (*SNR*, VI, 202). A Sheikh Abd el Wahhab Ahmed Sughayr witnessed a pedigree current in Dongola in the 17th century (MacMichael, II, 107, 111). A man of the tribe of the Balau called Abdel Wahhab was at Aksum *circa* 1530 (Basset, 1897, 424).

[17] *SNR*, IX (part 2), 5 : MacMichael, II, 214 (D2, §7).

a lot of trouble to obtain the correct forms of the names in this region, spells it[18] Adéqah, and Hoskins Eddyiga. This would appear to represent Reubeni's Ataqqi. In this mountain is a village called by Heuglin Djebel Om Ali and by Linant Gebel Omalli ; here probably lived Reubeni's ' great chief Abdelwahhab.' It was a village exclusively inhabited by *fukara*[19] ; Burckhardt[20] saw several small mosques there, and good buildings, and he mentions the ' principal Faki.' It still has at least four well-preserved gubbas, which (together with the village) can be seen from the train between kilos 227 and 228 from Khartoum. (Mutmir station is at kilo. 239). He also states that it was governed by a relative of the mek of Shendi. A connecting link between the village of Gebel and Abdelwahhab may be found in the statement[21] that the Wahabib *fukara* were descended from Shaddu, son of El Malik Abd el Daim ibn Adlan, probably an early king of Shendi, for Shaddu was first cousin of that Sa'ad abu Dabus whom Cailliaud[22] gives as the first king of Shendi.

Reubeni stayed six days at Ataqqi with the great chief. Then there arrived messengers from Amara, ' one of whom called out to Abd el Wahhab from the river bank, while we were standing at another place on the bank, the river being the Nile '—a curious description ; were they on opposite banks, or were Reubeni and Abd el Wahhab on an island ? The messengers requested Reubeni to wait because Amara was sending him a present of slaves and camels, which were on their way. The message greatly alarmed Reubeni who asked to be put on his way that very night, backing his request with a present of 20 ducats and some clothes. So six waterskins were filled and loaded on three camels, and he departed in company with Abd el Wahhab and his own servant, and travelled for 10 days through the desert. This was longer than was usually taken for the journey and gives a daily average of 15 miles.

There then follows a passage which, in its present form does not make sense. Hillelson prints it as follows :—' So I reached the town of Dongola, situated at a distance of half a day from (text corrupt) the land at the beginning of deserts ; this is the end of Amarah's kingdom. We met a large party of horsemen . . .' I think it is certain that where the text is corrupt, a whole page or more of the narrative has been lost. Note that there is no further reference to Dongola, the most important place he passed in his whole journey ; and that the interview with the horsemen, mentioned next, took place, not at Dongola at all but on the journey. I would suggest some such emendation as this :—' . . . the town of Dongola, situated at a distance of half a day from [the last place mentioned—perhaps where he crossed the Nile. Then a description of Dongola and of his adventures there. Then, after leaving Dongola he arrived opposite Mushu, a place in] the land at the beginning of deserts '. The last expression is a curious one, and quite pointless and inaccurate in a description of the position of Dongola ; for in that context it could only mean the western terminus of the Bayuda crossing which is much more than half a day away. (Korti is over 50 miles from Dongola). But Mushu or some other place just above the 3rd cataract could not be more aptly described than as being in the land

[18] Petermann, *Erganzungsheft*, No. 15, 1865, 24 ; and on the map at the end of his book *Reise nach Abessenien*, 1868.

[19] Lepsius, *Letters*, 231.

[20] p. 274.

[21] MacMichael, II, 86 (ABC, § 16).

[22] III, 106.

at the beginning of deserts, for it was here that the caravans left the Nile valley in their tremendous desert journey to Egypt. Moreover the ' end of ' Amarah's kingdom ' was not at Dongola, itself the capital of a province, but near the 3rd cataract, and therefore in the ' land at the beginning of deserts '. The emendation proposed makes very good sense out of nonsense.

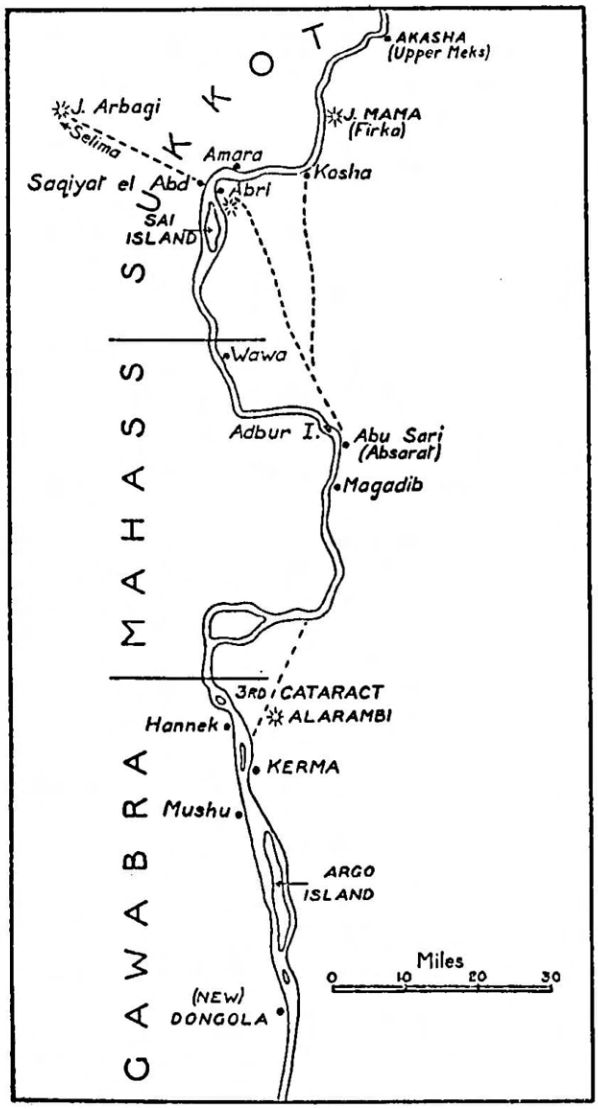


FIG. 21. The ' land at the beginning of deserts '

It was, therefore, probably somewhere near the 3rd cataract (perhaps on the east bank) that they met the horsemen, who reported that on the previous night certain sons of Amara with 200 men has come from king Amara to find a physician for his son, who was ill. Reubeni decided (I am sure correctly) that it was not good for him to stay in that land while the sons of the king were there. This suggests that he was then about to enter a place where he would have to stay for several days or more ; and that is just what he would have to do at Mushu (and did later at Al Khabir), waiting for a caravan and feeding up his camels. He therefore asked Abd el Wahhab to conduct him to Al Mamah, ' which is 5 days' journey from this place at the end of the kingdom of Soba on the river Nile, and there the people are enemies of the king.' Al Mamah is, I submit, quite certainly Jebel Firka, called Jebel Mama by Burckhardt and Waddington and Memé by Cailliaud whose map enables it to be identified with Jebel Firka. Waddington[23] adds that it was ' only known to the inhabitants of this [east] bank by the name of Jebel Gronga.' Mama, and on the west bank Dal, marked the northern frontier of Sukkot and probably also of Mukurra. Twenty miles to the southwest is Abri and its mountain, called ' Mount Abir or Qabir ' by Lepsius[24] which must I think be Al Khabir.[25] Before arriving there Reubeni had travelled ' on the edge of the desert, where there is much sand, so that we were travelling on the sand as upon mountains.' No doubt he took the

[23] p. 298.

[24] Letters, 1853, 266.

[25] Also spelt Ebar (Burckhardt), Abry (Cailliaud), Ebreh (Prudhoe), Abir (Hartmann, 1863, 144) : see p. 141, note 33, for remains of the Christian period on the west bank, and the castle on Sai.

shorter route which cuts across the Nile bend between Abu Sari (Cailliaud's Absarat) on the south and Abri on the north, a distance of 38 miles. The track is over hills; I have not found any modern description of it, but Waddington's[26] description of the mountains on the west bank here whose 'southern side is generally quite whitened with sand,' deposited there by the prevalent northerly wind, is an apt parallel to Reubeni's graphic description. During this part of the journey Reubeni 'fasted' for the three days before reaching the river at Al Khabir, which would give a daily average of 12·7 miles for the 38 miles of desert. (By 'fasting' he means that he travelled in a waterless region away from the river; he uses the same word in describing his later journey along the Darb al Arbain). Al Mamah was, he said above, 5 days from the 'place at the end of the kingdom of Soba'; Kosha is 90 miles from Mushu on the frontier. But this 5 days was merely an estimate that he was told, not the record of a journey. It gives an average of 18 miles a day, and was probably over-optimistic.

That the district round Abri was later regarded as the southern frontier of Egypt is proved by Justin's deposition (1706) where he calls the adjacent island of Say (Sai) the first place (going northwards) belonging to the Grand Seigneur.[27] In the 16th century the region seems to have been of some importance as a caravan-station, if we may identify the Amar of Bermudez with the modern Amara just below Abri. After referring to 'Çubia Nubia'—the first word may be a corruption of Soba—he says[28] that 'below this kingdom, but more to the west is a great kingdom of Moors which is called Amar, from which Cairo merchants set out for Ialofa[29] and Mandinga and other parts of Guiné to fetch (*buscar*) gold; and from Amar they carry away salt which is found there in mines, and it is much prized in Guiné where it does not occur and is greatly needed.' This is clearly a reference to the salt-workings of Selima oasis where rock-salt is dug out from below about a metre of rock. 'The usual camel-road to Selima is from Sagiet el Abd, opposite Abri, which takes only 3 days.'[30] Amar may well be the place called 'Mara' which is marked between Assuan and Dongola on Blaeu-Verbist's map of 1644, based on that of Ortelius of 1570.[31]

Reubeni mentions no place by name after Al Khabir till he reached the Rif at Girgeh. He took 45 days on the journey, which was through the desert, and there can be no doubt that he went from Al Khabir to Selima and thence along the Darb al Arbain. Selima is the point at which this caravan-route approaches nearest (55 miles) to the Nile in the whole of its thousand mile course. Sporadic visits were made to the oasis by salt-workers; it was visited by Cailliaud in 1822, and it has also been visited by various officials of the Sudan Government, all of them following a well-known route from Saqiat el Abd by Jebel Arbagi. The identification of Reubeni's Al Khabir with Abri seems to be quite satisfactory on both philological and geographical grounds.

One certain conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that, in 1522, the northern frontier of the Fung kingdom had already been established at or near the 3rd

[26] p. 13.
[27] See p. 228.
[28] *Breve Relaçao* (1565), Lisbon, 1875, 114.
[29] Now Jolof in Senegal; Ialofa on Livio Sanuto's 16th century map of Africa.
[30] *SNR*, IX, (2) 37, 43 (T. A. Leach).
[31] For Amara see also Burckhardt, 54; Finati, 1830, II, 329. Burckhardt states that Amara was the boundary between Sukkot and Say.

cataract, where it remained throughout the Fung period. The battle of Hannek was therefore before 1522. This conclusion follows from the identifications suggested for Al Mamah and Al Khabir, both of which seem certainly, from Reubeni's narrative, to have been outside the territory under Amara's control; he obviously felt safe at Al Khabir. If my theoretical restoration of the lacuna in the text be accepted, it follows that Mushu, or some place in its immediate vicinity, was the usual starting-point of the Egyptian caravans at this date. It was the place for which Reubeni was making, and he was only deterred from going there by fear of meeting Amara's sons. But the desert journey from Mushu to Selima is twice as long as that from opposite Abri, which is geographically the obvious point of departure. In pre-Fung times Abri was within the (southern) Christian kingdom of Mukurra, whose northern frontier was only a few miles lower down[32]; perhaps the frontier was deliberately placed there so as to include within Mukurra the terminus of the desert route from Egypt with its valuable customs. The conquering Fungs would naturally claim up to the then existing frontier; we know that, after the battle of Hannek (which they lost) the frontier was fixed further south near the 3rd cataract, and the Fungs thereby lost control of Mahass and Sukkot. Was it about these two districts that the war was fought? Did the Egyptians (or local ruler) seize them during the confusion following the break up of the Christian kingdoms? The Abri customs would be well worth a struggle; and besides the customs dues themselves, there was the trade with arriving and departing caravans, which must have been very considerable. I would suggest that this was really the cause of the war—that the Gawabra had captured and were trying to hold the terminus of the caravan route; and that when they failed and were ejected, Mushu, just within the Fung territory, was adopted instead of Abri. Some political cause seems demanded to explain the adoption of a much longer desert route than was geographically necessary, and the ultimate decay of the shorter one.

The effective control of the Abri customs must have been exercised by the ruler of Sai island, just as those of its successor (as I think), Mushu, were controlled by the king of Argo island. There are many remains of all periods on Sai including a brick castle and a church. Linant[33] gives a description of the castle, which he says was on an ancient Egyptian site; it was surrounded by a high brick wall with bastions and towers. The area within was full of houses, and there were also the remains of a temple with columns. It was, he says, built in the reign of Sultan Selim, on one of his expeditions to that region; 'and indeed I saw there cannons with the mark of Sultan Selim;' they were of small calibre, and there were said to have been more, taken by the Basha [Ismail] to Dongola. (But the villagers told

[32] At Mama if Mawa is an error for Mama; but it was close here in any case, since the southern frontier of Nobatia was at Upper Meks (Akasha): see pp. 23 ff.

[33] *Diary* (Griffith Institute), 5th June, 1822. Prudhoe also visited Sai (*Diary*, 30th January, 1829) and saw 'a few brass guns of 1 lb. calibre with Turkish inscriptions' which he too attributes to Selim. On the west bank near Ebreh (Abri west) were remains of a guard house of burnt red brick, with a gateway with a pointed arch, and 'some Arabic inscriptions of a square character resembling Cufic, and a few letters of mixed Greek and Coptic.' Are any of them still to be seen there? Sai was doubtless as important and prosperous in the Christian period as Argo island was in the Fung, and for the same reason. It follows that both islands, and their adjacent mainland outposts, are eminently suited for excavation; here if anywhere will be found those imported trinkets that are so helpful to the excavator; and perhaps a rich harvest of inscriptions.

Linant that this was untrue, as they themselves had melted them down to make agricultural implements of them). This evidence that Selim held the castle of Sai reinforces my previous argument.

Whether all these inferences prove to be justified or not, we have Reubeni to thank for the facts. We left him setting out on the great desert trek where we may say goodbye to him, not unwillingly. Of all the Sudan travellers he had the greatest opportunities and made least use of them. But one great service he has performed for the history of the Sudan ; he has confirmed beyond all doubt the date, the name, and even the existence, of the founder of the Fung Kingdom. He saw him and lived with him for months, so that Amara Dunqas becomes a real person of flesh and blood and not a mere hero of legend. Sometimes when writing this book I have caught myself in the act of asking—did Amara Dunqas ever exist at all ? Could he have been invented by (say) El Samarkandi ? And then I have remembered that Reubeni saw him and set down his actual name in writing. Reubeni's style reveals him as preposterously vain and probably half crazy ; but we can forgive him for the vanity without which he might have left no record of his adventures. He died in a Spanish prison after 1535.

CHAPTER X

THE ORIGIN OF THE FUNG

THE origin of the Fung is the most controversial problem of Sudanese history. Bruce,[1] followed at first by Arkell,[2] advocated a Shilluk invasion by canoes; Arkell now proposes a Darfur origin[3]; Chattaway[4] and Nalder[5] prefer the Abyssinian region. After discussing these theories I shall put forward one of my own which attempts to reconcile the different sources.

Bruce says: 'In the year 1504 a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahar el Abiad in about Latitude 13°, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces, and in a battle near Herbagi they defeated Wed Ageeb,[6] and forced him to a capitulation, by which the Arabs were to pay their conquerors, in the beginning, one half of their stock, and every subsequent year one half of their stock . . . Upon this condition the Arabs were to enjoy their former possessions unmolested, and Wed Ageeb his place and dignity, that he might always be ready to use coercion in favour of the conquerors, in case any of the distant Arabs refused payment; and he became as it were their lieutenant. This race of negroes is in their own country called Shillook.' Bruce does not tell us where he got this information, but we may be pretty sure that it was from 'Achmet Sid el Coom,' as indeed the heading of Chapter IX implies. I do not, however, think that he obtained the information in the form of a connected story. Fortunately his original notes made at Sennar have been printed,[7] and if one analyses them, one finds that they contain all the ingredients from which, I suspect, Bruce constructed the story quoted. The Sheikhs of the Upper Blue Nile, he says, are natives of that region, and are Fung who came from the same country as the Shangalla who drove out the Arabs under Wed Ageeb (that is to say, from the White Nile).[8] Fazuclo and Guba is the country of the Fung. The King of Sennar (on the other hand) is a Shangalla, 'the particular name Shilook.' These (Shilook) live in 'three principal large islands'[9] in the White Nile, and rob in barks up the White Nile. They are very numerous, coming chiefly from three islands, about a day's journey above El Ais, and others from higher up the river. Their 'towns' are on the west bank of the river and very numerous. Between the (Upper) Blue Nile and the White Nile 'is another sort of Nuba, and this is Nuba Proper, and the Gold Country.' These 'other blacks come from Guba, Nuba and Fazuclo,' and Guba and Nuba are 'towards the confines of Kuara, in the low and hot country in the south-east of that province.'[10]

[1] VI, 370.
[2] *SNR*, XV, 201–50.
[3] *SNR*, XXVII, 87–97.
[4] *SNR*, XIII, 247–58.
[5] *SNR*, XIV, 61–6.
[6] He means the Abdullab sheikh, but this title, derived presumably from Agib Mangilak, could not have been in use in 1504.
[7] VII, 89–98.
[8] I put my own comments in brackets.
[9] Doubtless Aba, Musran and Belli, as Arkell says, *SNR*, XV, 221.
[10] See also his narrative, IV, 442–3.

Now it is to be observed that Bruce states[11] that ' the common Shilook, or troops of the king, are mostly Pagans even yet, and have their priests. They worship a tree, etc., as God.' He calls them ' common ' to distinguish them no doubt from the king, whom he also calls a Shilook. Who were these ' common Shilook ' ? If we refer to the narrative[12] we find that they were none other than the troops stationed in the Nuba villages round Sennar who ' worship a tree, and likewise a stone . . . Their priests seemed to have great influence over them.' They were ' either purchased, or taken by force, from Fazuclo, and the provinces to the south, upon the mountains of Dyre and Tegla,' which last regions are of course west of the White Nile. But we know from the Fung Chronicle[13] that these troops were stationed round Sennar by Badi II (1644/5–80) who obtained them during his raid on the Shilluk of the White Nile. Bruce's information about the origin of the Nuba villages is quite consistent with that given in the Fung Chronicle, and each confirms the other ; but it is obvious from his own statements that he has confused two entirely distinct traditions—one relating the origin of the Nuban troops and the other that of the Fung rulers. He himself professed to detect a difference between them[14] ; and his own statements provide evidence that the Fung rulers came to Sennar not direct from the White Nile but from the Upper Blue Nile region. Some of these statements have been quoted already ; and Bruce also states[15] that Achmet Sid el Coom, who was of the family of the Fung king, was born in a village of Fazuclo, and was attended by sorcerers from the same region who, like Achmet, spoke Arabic as a second language and said they came ' anciently ' from Dyre and Tegla. Bruce himself thus flatly contradicts his own story of the Shilluk canoe-raid ; for if the Fung home was in the Upper Blue Nile region this raid could not have been possible. I do not mean to question the occurrence of Shilluk canoe-raids ; but merely to submit that Amara Dunkas, the first Fung king, did not arrive in a canoe. We shall return to the Shilluks later ; meanwhile the next subject to be considered is the native Sudanese opinion about the origin of the Fung.

One tradition[16] derives the Fung from the Beni Omaiya and the Hejaz. A certain Suleiman[17] settled first at a place called Arusa,[18] from which he went to Gara ' in the land of the Galla ' ; finding the people there hostile to Islam, he went to Tafa, under the Mek of Kirin,[19] and taught the Koran there. The Mek adopted him as his counsellor, in place of the Sheikh of the Abdullab, who had recently moved down into the Sudan[20] ; and eventually Suleiman married his daughter and had

[11] VII, 89.
[12] VI, 345–8.
[13] §29.
[14] The Nuban villagers near Sennar ' seem a much gentler sort of negro than . . . those of whom the Funge, or government of Sennar, are composed.' VI, 343.
[15] VI, 373.
[16] Summarised by Nalder, *SNR*, XIV, 63–4, but without stating the exact source from which he obtained it.
[17] Said to have been the son of Abdulla Abdelhakam who lived in the 8th century, but other versions give him other fathers.
[18] Almeida (quoted by Pereira, *Sus.* 414) mentions a district called Harise (now Arresa, 40 miles SW of Asmara). Bruce (IV, 441) mentions a district called Aroosi in what is now called Amara ; it is marked on the modern map between L. Tana and Dangila. Arusa is also the name of a district below the 3rd caratact and of an island in the White Nile near Kosti (*SNR*, XV, 223). The word means ' bride ' in Arabic, but it is probably a non-Arabic place-name and is too common to provide a clue to the present problem.
[19] There is a place called Taffa 100 miles north of Keren in Eritrea ; it is traditionally associated with the Fung ; see p. 150. But Kirin is on the Abyssinian frontier (Lat. 10°), 40 miles S. of Kurmak.
[20] This statement implies that the events narrated took place somewhere in the neighbourhood of Eritrea or further north.

sons, amongst whom was Amara Dunkas. The sons went into the Sudan and set themselves up as rulers in various places.

Another account describes them as passing south along the Abyssinian foothills and striking across to the White Nile.

' In another version Teifa, Fam, and Mitubara are given as names of places in Abyssinia along their route.'[21] The second name suggests Qoz Fami and Debbat Fami NE of Renk ; Mitubara might be Cailliaud's village of Matbar between Jebel Kilgu and the Ingassana hills,[22] on the route from them to the Nile at Roseires. There is another place, Jebel Matbara, so called on Heuglin's map, now Jebel Maqbara, 20 miles due south of Gallabat at a sharp angle in the frontier.[23] Another possible identification is with Medr Bahr, the ' sea region,' the name of the Eritrean district that was the province of the Barnagash.[23] But ' the meks of Abul Dugu and Maghaga [Mughaja on the map] have a tradition that they are really Dinkas, and that they came from the west from Teifa and Fam which, they say, are jebels in the west.'[24] These traditions seem to point strongly towards the White Nile as the original home of the *people* of the so-called Fung jebels ; but as the Fung themselves may not have come to these jebels until very late, possibly not till after the Turkish conquest,[25] the traditions, however well founded, may have no bearing on the problem of Fung origins. The evidence of the placenames is ambiguous. There is, however, a line of tradition which cannot be ignored pointing north-eastwards. It looks as if two quite distinct traditions had become confused and merged.

The version told to Chattaway[26] by Mek Nail of Keili, a hillfort on the Abyssinian frontier, calls Suleiman the son of Khalid and takes him to Dongola where he married the daughter of the king, who was called Teoghawal.[27] Amara, the son by this marriage, was chosen king by the Anag. The story then becomes confused, for the Anag are said to have been defeated by a Fung army, and to have taken refuge first in Sennar and then in Jebel Tornasi (near Keili). It ends as follows :— ' The Fung, when they arrived in the Sudan, were as white as Englishmen, but by intermarrying with the natives became black. The Fung kings of Keili married women from the Berta, Hameg, Ingassena, etc., so that the people should look upon their children as one [*sic*] of themselves.'

The Bega (Bisharin-Ibrahimab) version relates that the sons of Mirwan ibn el Hakkam, banished from Arabia, came to Abyssinia ' and then up and defeated the Abdullayab at Rufaa : this was probably in the time of Anaku[28] and Kadabob.' Later the Hameg rose and killed the sons of Mirwan, and divided the land with the Abdullayab. The Batahin and Shukria were under their suzerainty. Rufaa is opposite Arbagi, and this is the only other mention of the battle there, besides Bruce's, which I have come across.

[21] Nalder in *SNR*, XIV, 64.

[22] Cailliaud II, 379 : Lat. 11° 32′, Long. 34° 8′ (Sheet 66 C, not marked).

[23] Pereira, *Sus.* 396 ; Bruce IV, 286.

[24] Robertson in *SNR*, XVII, 263.

[25] Robertson, *loc. cit. supra.*

[26] *SNR*, XIII, 257.

[27] Can this name be connected with that of the Arraz (Er Ras) Tagale, a lord of large lands, whom Alvarez met ? (*Narrative, etc.*, 1881, 54). He seems to have commanded a principality somewhere north of Massawa. Tagale's date (1520–6) is too late for him to have been the grandfather of Amara ; but dynastic names tend to recur. Dongola might then be Dongonab, a harbour 150 miles N. of Suakin ; the name is sometimes misspelt Dongola. There is also a place called Dongollo near Debra Damo, between Adigrat and Senafe, just within Abyssinia.

[28] Spelt ' Anahw ' in the original transcript : Newbold's File II, 388.

There would appear to have been some sort of tradition at Werkat (near Qerebin) connecting the Fung with the White Nile.[29] The inhabitants of Werkat spoke a non-Arabic language, called themselves Hameg and distinguished themselves from the Fung whose ancestral home (Stammsitze) seems to have been between the mountains of Nyemati and Tefafan. At Qarawit (Gireiwa), north of Gebel Gule, most of the chieftains were Fung, who were the sole occupants of the Gebel. They were proud of their Fung ancestry and regarded the Hameg as a conquered people, though both spoke the same language. Although mixed with the Hameg and with negresses, the Fung of Qarawit showed a distinct type approximating somewhat to the finest of the Shilluk. There were also Fung at Gebels Gule and Silaq, the majority of the former being Fana fana,[30] and they knew their relationship to the former mek at Ronga. Possibly all these Fung were refugees fleeing southwards at the Turkish conquest. De Pruyssenaere gives a detailed description of what he regarded as the Fung physical type, which should be compared with Bruce's.[31]

Now these stories are admittedly confused and inconsistent, but the important point is—are they genuine oral tradition or merely the garbled version of some lost written account, or a mixture of both ? I think they are a mixture ; the introduction of characters of the 8th century to account for events in the 16th may well be due to Samarkandi or some other Arabising influence ; but from Suleiman onwards the stories ring true. The theme is the familiar one of the poor adventurer who marries the king's daughter and founds a dynasty. The details remembered are those of most interest to the respective narrators—the Ibrahimab of the Lower Atbara remember, or if it be preferred, select from a written history, the defeat of their neighbours, the Abdullabs ; the people of the south-eastern jebels select incidents in their own early history. The Arabising compilers of nisbas may be responsible for the introduction of Hakkam and Mirwan ; but they were not concerned with anything but the establishment, or fabrication, of an Arab pedigree, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that they would have invented the other incidents. We may, therefore, if we like, reject the one and retain the other.

Let us now see what the native manuscripts have to say about the matter—a task made possible by the great work of MacMichael.

One of the best, whose original composition is put in the middle of the 17th century by MacMichael,[32] states that the Amriyyun are the family of Sulayman, son of Abd el Malik, son of Marwan, the Ommawi. ' It is said that they ruled the blacks in the Sudan and the country of the Hamag, until finally they became assimilated to them in every respect and came to be known as " the Fung ".' Sulayman fled from Arabia to Abyssinia, and thence to the Sudan where he married the daughter of a king. He had two sons, Daud and Ans, whose names became changed after his death into Oudun and Ouns. From their stock are descended the kings of the Sudan, the first being the Sultan Omara in Sennar. D2, a second-hand but valuable compilation, based on manuscripts, gives much the same account,[33]

[29] ' Reisen und Aufnahmen im Gebiete des Blauen Nil,' by E. de Pruyssenaere, Petermann's *Erganzungsheft* No. 51, 1877, 6, 15.

[30] Cf. the Ptoemphani of Aristocreon who are to be located somewhere in this region ; see Rossini, *Aegyptus* VI, 21–2.

[31] VI, 379 ; VII, 93.

[32] II, 103. The passage summarized is in A2, §30 : cf. II, 36 (BA, later addition).

[33] II, 213.

but localises Sulayman's marriage in the ' mountains of the Fung,' and gives the name of the king, Sendal el Ag. His son Ans (Unsa) begat Amara Dunkas.

A manuscript of 1860 adds the information that the descendants of Amr ibn Sulayman intermarried with ' the people of Luluh, one of the Hamag districts,' and became indistinguishable from them. With this may be compared the statement of D7[34] equating the ' Fung in the south ' with ' the troops of Lulu,' who ' depose and appoint whatever king they choose without any slaying.' In one version of the Fung Chronicle it is stated that originally the Fung ' were a community residing at Lulu ; they remained there for a period, and then migrated to Jebel Moya.'[35] Is Lulu the same place as Reubeni's Lamul or Lemul,[36] which was eight days from Sennar ? Lul is mentioned on the Fung drum, in an inscription of the reign of Badi IV (1724–62) which states that it was ' the drum of the Sultan Amara ben Adlan their grandfather who came from Lul.'[37] Lamul at any rate must be looked for somewhere in the Shangalla belt between the Baraka and the Blue Nile. It belongs possibly to a group of place-names spelt in various ways, with the consonants l-m-l. Thus, a few miles east of the Gash is the hill-name Alamale (Sheet 56 A : Lat. 15°07′ Long. 37°27′) ; between that river and the Takkaze are hills called Amella and Ameli which, if preceded by the Arabic definite article, would give the required stem.[38] What is the meaning of the word l-m-l I do not know, and in a region where Semitic, Hamitic and Nilotic languages meet, anything is possible. The names occur in the Beni Amer country.

Further south, 14 miles north of Fazughli, near Abu Gedaf, is a place called Baitamaru, situated in a group of gebels. This should mean (in Arabic) the house of Amara.

It is plain from the instances given that a name l-m-l was common in this region, and it would be foolish, even if the equation of any of them with Reubeni's Lamul be acceptable, to attempt to say which of them was Amara's headquarters. There may have been other places so named whose name no longer survives. On purely geographical grounds I am tempted to reject an identification with any of the surviving names mentioned and to vote for Gallabat.

The evidence cited above points unmistakably to the east, to some region either within Abyssinia or on its western frontier. The stories preserved in manuscript, taken as a whole, resemble those obtained from oral sources ; and even if the one is not wholly independent of the other, the facts related seem to me unlikely to be pure inventions.

The western frontier of Abyssinia was ill-defined and fluctuating ; it was not a line, but rather a belt of country. At the place where the chief route entered Abyssinia, namely at Gallabat, troops were stationed to protect the friendly Arabs who supplied the king with war horses.[39] The inhabitants were, in Bruce's time, all Mohammedans : the governor was usually a stranger and often a Mohammedan,

[34] II, 364.

[35] *SNR*, XIV, 64 (Nalder, on the authority of Hillelson).

[36] *SNR*, XVI, 57 : Hillelson there tentatively suggests this identification, stating that Lul or Lulu twice occurs in the manuscripts in the form of La'ul.

[37] *SNR*, IV, 212.

[38] A jebel called on the 1 : 250,000 map (Wadi Halfa Sheet, Lat. 21° 14′) Alimula, 10 miles north of Akasha, is actually called Lamoule by Burckhardt and Al Lamoulih by Cailliaud. I quote this merely as an illustration ; this cannot of course be Amara's Lamul.

[39] For an instance at Ras el Fil see Bruce VI, 58.

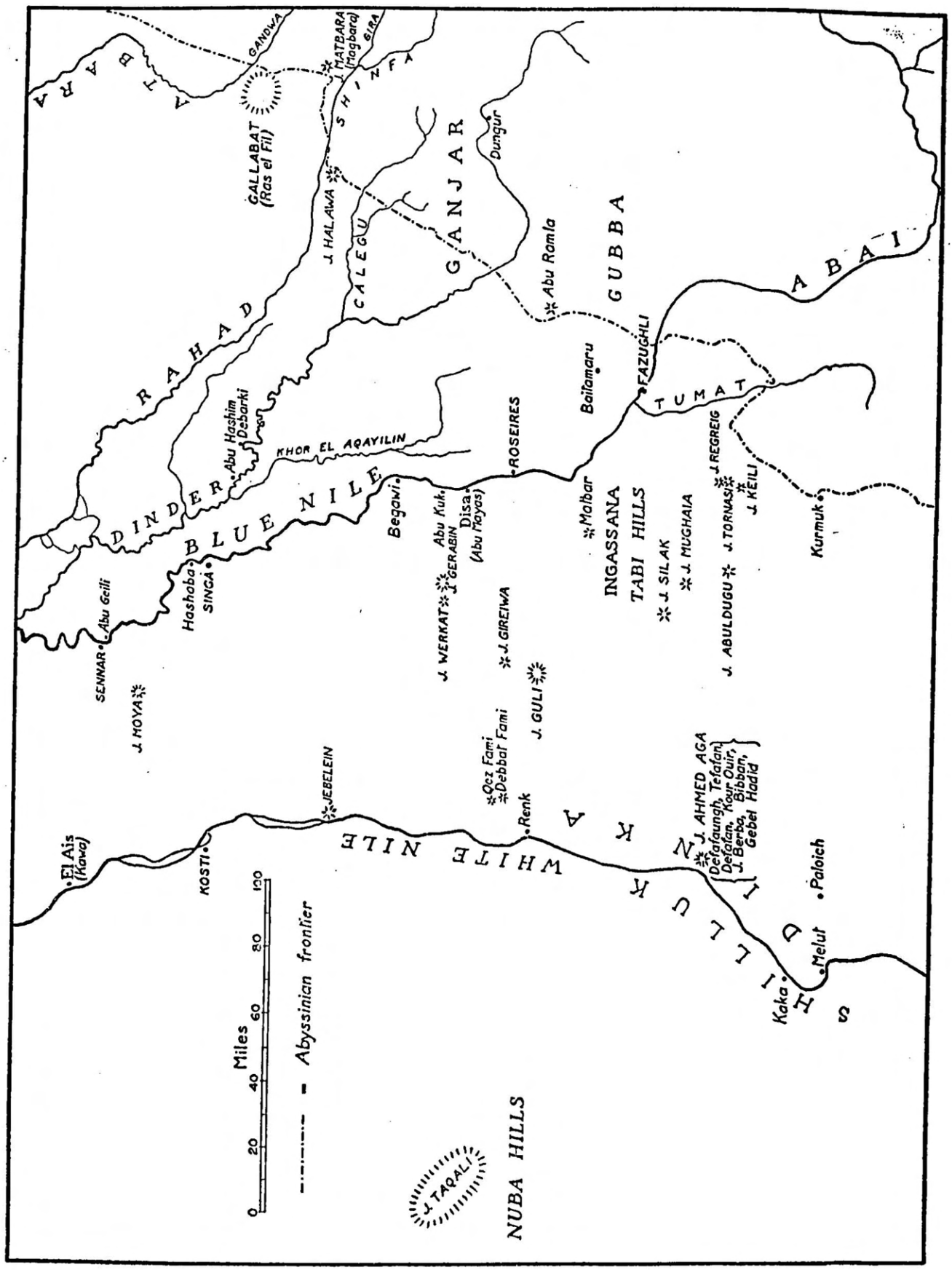


FIG. 22. The Abyssinian frontier

and the deputy-governor was always a Mohammedan. South of Gallabat in the province of Kuara was ' a settlement of Pagan blacks called Ganjar. They are mostly cavalry, and live entirely by hunting and plundering the Arabs of Atbara and Fazuclo. Their origin is this : Upon the invasion of the Arabs, after the coming of Mahomet, the black slaves deserted from their masters, the Shepherds, and took up their habitation ; where they have not considerably multiplied, and otherwise by the accession of vagrants and fugitives, whom they got from both kingdoms. They are generally under the command of the governor of Kuara, and were so when I was in Abyssinia ; though they refused to follow their governor Coque[40] Abou Barea, to fight against Michael.'[41] Elsewhere[42] Bruce describes Ganjar as consisting of a ' formidable nation of hunters, consisting of several thousand horse ' ; and attributes their origin to the defeat and expulsion of the Arabs by the Fung. The Ganjar were the black slaves of the Arabs, and fled from them to this region. Their chief was called Sheba which meant the Old Man, and his residence was at Cashumo, called Dendy Kolla by the Abyssinians of Kuara. Sheba's son came to see Bruce at Ras el Fil and they made a pact of mutual friendship. Cashumo was about 30 miles from Horcacamoot near Gallabat. The ' Ganjar, or Kuara Arabs ' had a large village about 2 miles SW of Horcacamoot called Noor. They were friends and allies of the Refaa (Rufaa Arabs).[43]

The position of Ganjar is quite clear from Bruce's description ; it lay between the upper waters of the Rahad and Dinder, and Cashumo must have been a village there.[44] Beke[45] describes Aburamla as in the ' country of Ginjar ' ; and Heuglin[46] marks the region of Qingara to the east of Gebel abu Ramleh.

What bearing has all this on the origin of the Fung ? It appears, I submit, in Bruce's references to the origin of the people of Ganjar, whom he describes as fugitives from the west, at a date which from the context must be assigned to the beginning of the 16th century. In one place he states that they fled at the invasion of the Arabs ; in another that it was at the time of the defeat of the Arabs by the Fung. We are reminded of the Mek of Keili's statement that the Anag fled eastwards before a Fung army, and took refuge in Jebel Tornasi, and of the Fung Chronicle's,[47] that ' after the victory of the Fung over the Nuba, the latter scattered and fled to Fazughli.'

To sum up the argument so far :—We have, as it seems, disposed of Bruce's Shilluk invasion, and may regard the traditions of a western (White Nile) origin as valid evidence of the original home of their narrators, but irrelevant to Fung origins. Other traditions, oral and written, point north-eastwards. In 1522 Amara Dunkas

[40] The name appears to be the same as that of a tribe Az Kukui in Eritrea (Munzinger, 284–5).

[41] Bruce IV, 443. See also Lejean, *Voyage aux deux Nils* (1865), 121.

[42] VI, 256–7.

[43] Bruce VII, 82–4 (diary).

[44] On his map, which is very inaccurate, Bruce marks Dendy Kolla near Debarke on the Rahad ; but the latter is actually on the Dinder. Allowing for the confusion of these two rivers his position would suit Abu Hashim (Cashumo ?) which is 10 miles west of Debarke and was, or is, the centre of the Abu Gin : see Gleichen I, 109. If this identification should be correct the ' Ganjar horse ' would be thus brought into association with the Abu Gin and the Hammada Arabs. Bruce does, in fact, mention the former, whom he calls ' Wed abd el Gin, *i.e.* sons of the slaves of the Devil,' and locates them south-west of the Daveina, between the Dinder and the Nile (VI, 338). Cashumo was also one of the ways of spelling Aksum (Ludolfus, chapter 4).

[45] *Journ. R.G.S.*, 1844, 9.

[46] Reise nach Abessinien 1861–2 (1868), map.

[47] §10.

certainly had his headquarters at Lamul, 8 days in an easterly direction from Sennar, and he may have drawn his forces from the inhabitants of that region. But native tradition implies that he came ultimately from further north. Now in Eritrea there are quite definite traditions of a *tribe* called Fung. Rossini[48] has recorded a local tradition that, when Asgede came amongst the Habab [about A.D. 1500],[49] the tribes in that region were the Balau and the Fung ; when he arrived, the Fung left, and at the present day there remained only one family. It is to be observed that the Fung are spoken of here simply as a tribe, and bracketed with another tribe, the Balau ; they appear therefore as ordinary people and not as the rulers of a kingdom. They lived in Tertera (Tzertzera), the next village on the south to Asgede's of Indilal (Enzelal), and were engaged in the usual nomad quarrels with Asgede's followers.

In the Life of Marqorewos it is stated that the Queen of Sheba (called the Queen of the South) returning from her visit to Solomon, followed a different route from that taken on the outward journey, for her slaves, the Fung, Takuerir and Balaw, were in rebellion. The implication is that these tribes occupied part of the usual route to Palestine when the passage in question was written : that would put all of them on or near the usual[54] pilgrim-route through Eritrea (from Suakin via Maria to Keren). The reference is of course absurdly anachronistic ; the saint in question (Marqorewos) died in 1419, and the manuscript of his life (now destroyed) was attributed by Rossini to the 18th century. The association of the Fung with two other tribes of Eritrea seems out of place in the 18th century, when the Fung must have been quite well known in Abyssinia as the ruling dynasty of Sennar ; but it might well have been quite proper and correct in the 15th century.[50]

Rossini[51] also records a tradition that there had been a Fung camp at Rebalaf near Raia in the plain of Agra, where near the tomb of Sheikh Iasu its traces could still be seen. The place was called Atatafi[52] and there the Fung had fought the Almada who occupied the region before the arrival of Asgade.

The name ' Fung '[53] also occurs in the same region. In a pedigree[54] of the Mensa tribe, that next on south to the Habab, the third name is Auali Fungiai,[55] third in descent from Mensaai. This name is 21 generations back from Egbamchel (early 20th century), and would fall therefore about the end of the 13th century, long before the foundation of the Fung dynasty. On the Baraka, 30 miles below Agordat, is a Khor called Adefungiai (Ide-fungei, Munzinger). Four miles higher up is Dunguaz, described by Munzinger[56] as the summer camp of the Beni Amer chiefs. For this

[48] *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, VI, 1914, 387–8.

[49] See my forth-coming article in *SNR*, for the evidence of date.

[50] The passage is to be found on pp. 3 and 4 of the ' Acta Marqorewos,' *CSCO*, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, Series Altera, Vol. XXII, Paris, 1904.

[51] *Giornale della Soc. Ital. Asiatica* XIV, 1901, 72.

[52] Perhaps to be equated with the modern Taffa and the Tafa and Teifa of the traditions quoted above.

[53] Jackson (1912, 15) suggests a verbal connection between Fung and Punt, an idea that also occurred to me independently. But any such connection seems impossible geographically as well as philologically. The Fung homeland which I have postulated was far from the sea, and there is no evidence that the Fung were ever on the coastal plain, except at Suakin. For Punt see Wainwright, 1947 (b). The Egyptian word was probably pronounced Pwêne. Wainwright identifies Punt with the Red Sea coast ' hardly further south than Suakin, or at the furthest perhaps Massawa (Adulé).' For the location of Punt see also Torgny Säve-Soderbergh, the Navy of the Eighteenth Dynasty, *Uppsala Univ. Arsskrift*, 1946 (6), 8–30.

[54] See Appendix 27. Roden (p. 15) also connects Fungiai with the Fung.

[55] According to Munzinger (p. 181) *aualid* means ' daughter.'

[56] p. 280.

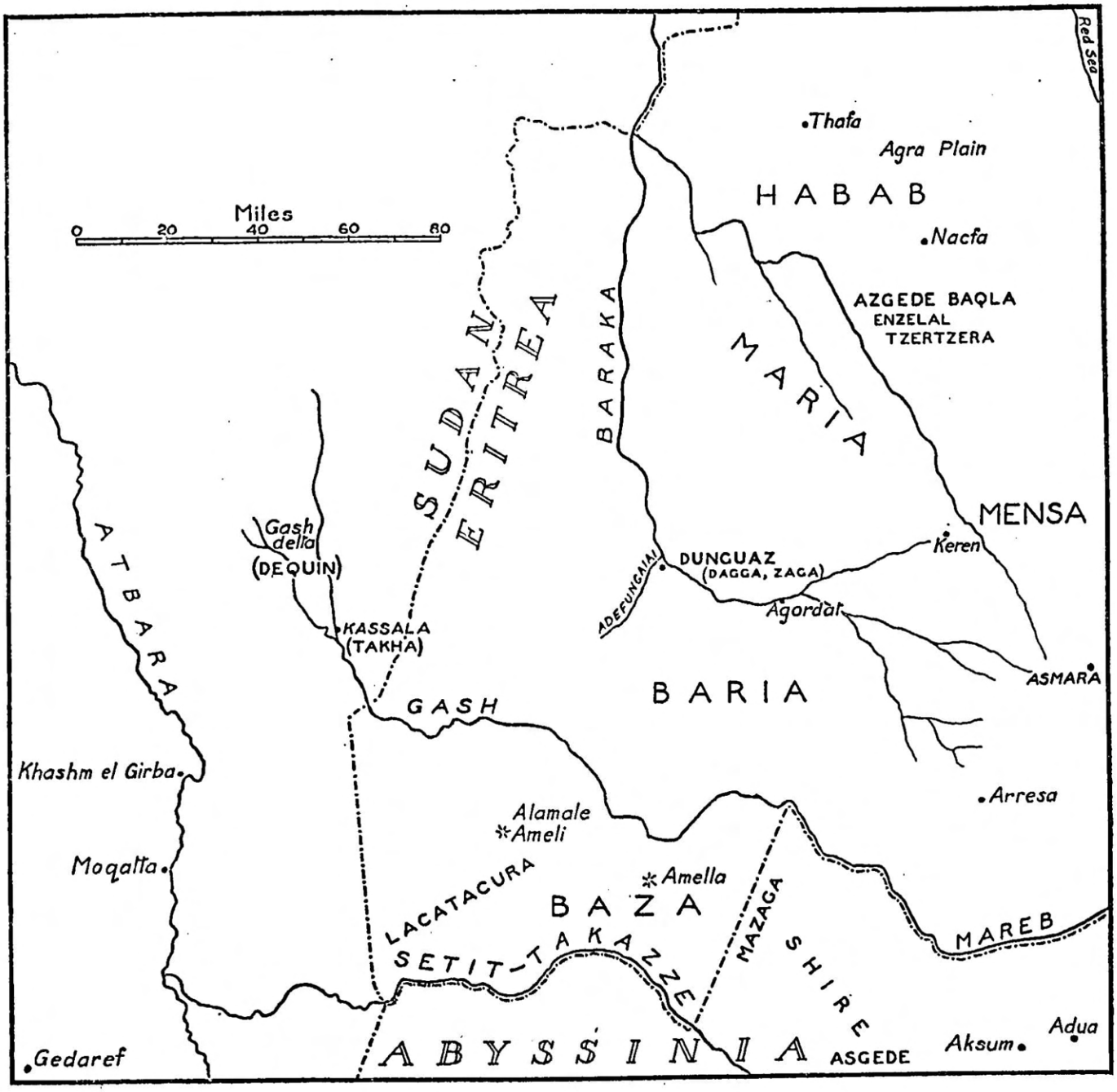


FIG. 23. North Western Eritrea.

reason it is also called Dagga (also spelt Daga and Zaga), the camp.[57] It is situated in a region where cultivation is possible, and there are two lakes near it. Surely the name Dunguaz must be the same as that given to the founder of the Fung dynasty, Amara Dunkas ?[58] The second name must be ethnic or topographical, and parallel instances occur in this region.[59]

Tradition does not say in so many words that Asgede drove out the Fung from the Anseba valley where he found them, but this is certainly implied by the statement that they left when he arrived. It would be possible to regard this event as the moving cause of the southward trek of Amara Dunkas, but it is not necessary for my hypothesis to account for his departure, and there are many other possible reasons for it. He lived at a time of great unrest and political confusion. The attention of his most powerful neighbour, Abyssinia, was diverted towards the southeast where lay the land of her future conquerors, the rulers of Adel (Zeila). The western frontier lay open to anyone who could collect a few hundred horsemen ; it was a corridor leading through barbarous tribes to a rich but derelict land. Amara may have set out with a troop of cavalry to carve out his future in the south and have established one of his residences at Lamul. Amongst his ' captains of war ' was a certain Abu Kamil[60] who may perhaps have been the ancestor of the Kemeilab, south of Tokar. Abu Kamil was a ' Meccan sherif,' and the Kamilat of Atbara, a branch of the same tribe, were Ashraf.[61] Again the dates agree, for Kumeil, the traditional ancestor of the Kemeilab, belonged to the same generation as Amara Dunkas ; Abdulla Gema'a's grandson Otman married Kumeil's granddaughter Fatma.[62]

Soon after his arrival in the south he may have encountered Anak (that is, Nubian) fugitives who had fled before the onslaught of the Arabs after the destruction of Soba. (It will be remembered that the Abdullab Sheikh is said to have recently moved down into the Sudan when Amara's father went to Tafa). This shattering event is still remembered by the descendants of the fugitives, whose most binding oath is ' by Soba, the home of my grandfathers and grandmothers '[63] ; and even today to be ' destroyed as Soba ' is a proverb in the Sudan to indicate utter annihilation.[64] He may have organised troops of horse from among them, and taking advantage of their natural desire for revenge, have advanced down the Blue Nile to recapture with them their lost territory. After his victory at Arbagi he decided to establish the capital of his new kingdom at Sennar, for Soba was destroyed, and Sennar was protected by the Nile from the attacks of the Arabs. ' Obadiah,' possibly Abdullah Gema'a, was in charge of Sennar and the king's treasure there

[57] See *SNR*, xxvi, 64, and p. 113 above.

[58] In the introduction to the Tabaqat, translated by Hillelson (*SNR*, vi, 204), the name, as there transcribed is 'Umara al Dunqasi. In this book I have used the form familiarised by long usage.

[59] Rossini calls attention to this peculiarity and quotes in addition the names Damotay (man of Damot in Abyssinia ?) and Almaday. (*Giornale della Soc. It. Asiatica*, xiv, 1901, 73).

[60] *SNR*, xvi, 57 (Reubeni). It is not clear from the narrative whether he was the same person as Omar Abu Kamil whom Reubeni met at Suakin : probably not.

[61] MacMichael ii, 193 (D1, §125 : *c.* 1680).

[62] *SNR*, xviii, 220, pedigree.

[63] *SNR*, xiii, 256. For other customs (at Jebel Gule) associated with the name ' Soba ' see Seligman, Pres. Address to Section H. of the Brit. Assoc., Manchester, 1915, p. 9 of offprint. Soba is remembered there not as a place but as a queen. The Sheikh of Bunzoga, Ahmed Adam told me in February, 1950, that people said ' Soba beled el ged wa'l haboba ' (Soba the land of my grandfather and grandmother), and that the phrase is used in oaths. He also said that all ancient sites were called Soba.

[64] File ii, 328 (Amarar tribal history).

when Reubeni visited it. Amara Dunkas himself moved continually from place to place, a common and doubtless a necessary practice in those lawless times, if he was to maintain control over his feudatories. (The kings of Abyssinia did the same; they and their feudatories 'campent toujours, afin d'être plutôt prêts à aller où leur presence est necessaire.')[65] But Reubeni's evidence suggests that Lamul was his principal headquarters. If Lamul was at Gallabat[66] it was well chosen, for it controlled the two most important trade-routes entering Abyssinia from the west, which met there. Southwest of Gallabat is a belt of country studded with gebels, outliers of the Abyssinian mountains. It was a typical frontierland, inaccessible and uncontrolled, the natural refuge of outcasts. Even today it is little known and the Abyssinian portion (Kuara) is still unmapped. The southern portion, northeast of Fazughli, is the land of the Hameg, and its typical stronghold is Abu Ramla (which King Dekin failed to take)—probably the Vuromla of Zaga Christ's story, where Rubat took refuge[67]; this is the region of Ganjar, and it was probably from here that Amara Dunkas recruited his troops, composed of Anak refugees and Hameg natives. It was upon some such reservoir of man-power that the kings of Sennar relied for the maintenance of their supremacy, until the other reservoir in Kordofan was tapped. So long as the Fung ruler resided chiefly at Lamul, with deputies at Sennar and elsewhere, he could control the troops; but as soon as the 'capital' was moved to Sennar, possibly by Dekin,[68] these troops, left to themselves, would acquire a measure of independence. That may be the reality behind the phrase 'the Fung in the South,' the origin of the Ganjar horse, and of the 'troops of Lulu.' A possible scrap of evidence in support of this theory is the fact that, according to Shukria tradition, the mounted bodyguard of the king of Sennar was called the 'sons of Dungur Warid'; Dungur is in the region of Ganjar, on the upper Dinder. The tradition appears to relate to events at the beginning of the 17th century.[69]

The Fazughli region still contains the remnants of a number of semi-independent feoffdoms, once acknowledging the suzerainty of Sennar. The mek of Fazughli himself still retains his office under the Sudan government, and was recently crowned with the 'taqia.'[70] Guba, now in Abyssinia, is stated by Bruce[71] to have been dependent of Sennar in his time; today the 'present Fung ruler . . . is still addressed as *mangil*,' but this is said to be an innovation.[72] Keili, a gebel 70 miles due south of Roseires, has an interesting history with definite Fung associations. The name is the same as that other Keili in the north, and means 'red' in the Nubian language,[73] and may perhaps have been given to the southern site by Nubian refugees.[74] The early history is confused and known only from oral tradition, but it mentions a certain Gabar, king of Fazughli, who is also recorded in the King-list of that principality.[75] The first king of Keili was Myass, uncle of Amara Dunkas;

[65] Father Lobo (*c.* 1625) in M. le Grand, *Voyage historique d'Abissinie*, 1728, 67.

[66] For a discussion of the name, see p. 147.

[67] See my forthcoming article in *SNR*.

[68] See MacMichael II, 238 (D3, No. 93).

[69] *SNR*, III, 39.

[70] See the interesting description of his coronation ceremony in *SNR*, XXVI, 37–42.

[71] VII, 91.

[72] *SNR*, XXVI, 39 and note 7.

[73] Crowfoot, *Island of Meroe*, 24; *SNR*, III, 268. Cailliaud, however, says the district name which he calls Dar el Keyl means 'province des chevaux.'

[74] Or in Meroitic times: see *SNR*, XIII, 266, for Meroitic remains in this region.

[75] Cailliaud II, 396–7.

he had his seat at Disa, near and north of Roseires, a site formerly called Abu Mayas.[76] At Disa there is an ancient site which the people of the place told Chattaway[77] was also called Soba and Myass. There are ' what appear to be floors of houses made of red brick material,' and the site was ' more thickly strewn with pottery than any other I have seen.' The name Mias occurs in the genealogies, but apparently without any connection with the Keili tradition.[78] Almeida[79] mentions a group of people called Mayâs, but says nothing to enable them to be identified; they seemed to have lived somewhere to the northeast of Lake Tana.

According to the Keili tradition their headquarters were moved from Disa to Gebel Regreig, 80 miles to the south, by Dowra, son of Myass, and from there to the adjacent Keili (where it is now) by Myass, son of Dowra.

It is amongst some such petty feoffs as these that I imagine Amara Dunkas recruited the army with which he was able to defeat the Abdullab Arabs and found the Fung kingdom of Sennar. This is the Hameg country, and the Hamegs were the viziers of the Fung. The Amriyyun, the ancestors of the Fung kings, are said to have ' ruled the blacks in the Sudan and the country of the Hameg, and finally they became assimilated to them ' and were known as the Fung.[80] It would be nice if one could give some more exact definition of the term ' Hameg,' but that is not possible, for our authorities give varying accounts, and probably knew very little about them except that they came to Sennar from the south. They were people who did not know their pedigree; they included the Ghodiat (who are more commonly regarded as Fung); they conquered the banks of the White Nile; they were Gaali[81]; they were ' a section of those Arabs who are descended from the Anwab [*i.e.* Nuba], or, as another account says, a branch of the Ga'aliyyun el Awadia[82] '; and they themselves at Sennar claimed to be descended from Ga'aliin who married blacks of the Burun hills.[83] The term is current in Kordofan and Darfur, and MacMichael's explanation that it was a word used by Arabs to denote any people they regarded as (by their standards) uncivilised is probably correct.[84] This would not exclude a geographical connotation in some instances, such as the area we have been dealing with above. The word Anag has a similar meaning and is used frequently by the author of D1 to denote autochthonous peoples.

These Hamegs of the Fazughli region were preponderantly negroid, but probably included refugee elements from the northwest. Archaeology will one day reveal their material culture. Meanwhile it provides some slight support for the theory

[76] Cailliaud so names it and marks it on his map immediately south of his El Kouk (Abu Kuk, Sheet 55 O). Cailliaud also marks another site El Mahas a little north of the position of Singa. On the opposite (west) bank is the modern Hassaba. Bruce (VII, 93–4) mentions ' Myass or El Kassab ' (which is probably Cailliaud's El Mahas), but confuses it with the southern place (Abu Mayas, now Disa), for he says it was 7 days journey from Sennar on the frontier of Fazuclo, which agrees perfectly with the southern site. Cailliaud marks the line of the frontier between Abu Kuk and Disa. On his map Bruce marks Myas on the river and El Kassab 30 miles away inland to the south; he was never anywhere near these regions and his information was from hearsay only.

[77] *SNR*, XIII, 262.

[78] See MacMichael BA § 146, and the trees of AB, A2 and A3.

[79] Beccari VII, 159.

[80] MacMichael II, 104 (A2, § 30: mid 17th cent.).

[81] C3, § 2: D1, §§ 163, 208–9: D2, §§ 8, 30.

[82] D7, § 49.

[83] MacMichael I, 197. Arkell (*SNR*, XXVII, 94) derives the word from the Touareg *amghi* (plural *amghad*), a serf; but this is most improbable. Marquart points out that *hamaj* in Arabic is exactly equivalent to *ἄγριος* in Greek (*Benin*, p. CCXVIII, note 4). A connection with the 10th century Banu 'l Hamawija seems possible (*ibid.* CCLXIV, CCLXV, CCLXX). See also Rossini, 1921.

[84] MacMichael I, 275.

that the Fung came to Sennar from this region. At a site at Abu Geili opposite Sennar which I dug in 1914, there was a cemetery whose graves contained pots of a kind which had not previously been found. For reasons which are published in the report of the excavation,[85] I regard the cemetery as quite late in date and probably belonging to the Fung period. The pottery is of a type quite unlike any other, and must have been introduced from elsewhere and not developed from the Christian pottery of that district.[86] From an ancient site at Begawi below Roseires Chattaway[87] obtained sherds which are obviously parts of a bowl of exactly the same type as I found at Abu Geili and regard as Fung. So far as it goes, this slender evidence suggests that the Fung pottery of Abu Geili was derived from a culture higher up the river.[88]

But the advocates of the Shilluk hypothesis may well argue that there remains a small but hard Shilluk core in the Fung tradition which this eastern theory cannot account for. In the next chapter I shall try to deal with this objection, and also give some account of the Shilluks themselves who, even if only as raiders, have earned a place in the history of Sennar.

[85] *Wellcome Excavations*, Vol. III, Abu Geili, etc., Oxford, 1950.

[86] The type is illustrated in *SNR*, XVII, 104, and in Mr Addison's article on finds near Sennar in *Antiquity*, XXIV, 20, fig. 7.

[87] *SNR*, XIII, 263, plate 4 (middle). Mr A. J. Arkell informs me that he collected several more sherds of this same type in 1945 at Begawi, and that they are catalogued No. 4982 in the Khartoum Museum.

[88] Since writing this I have been able to visit some ancient sites on both banks of the Blue Nile between Khartoum and Roseires, in company with Mr P. L. Shinnie, Commissioner for Archaeology. Fung sherds ornamented like those from the cemetery at Abu Geili are very common on the sites of Arbagi and Old Sennar. They are also found at Hamda (a little north of Roseires and almost opposite Disa) and at Bunzoga where I found them on the site of the rest-house and also further south in the village. The sheikh of Bunzoga, Ahmed Adam, at once recognised those I found as ancient, and neither modern nor of the Mahdia nor of the Turkia (which he called the Ismailia) but of the Sultana Zerga, the Black Sultanate, *i.e.* the Fung. We did not prompt him in any way. It is evident that the type is very much at home in the Upper Blue Nile region. Further search would certainly bring to light a great many more sites. Sheikh Ahmed Adam told us that there were ancient (but not necessarily Fung) sites at the following places on the east bank, going south: Soleil el Ashra, Bados, Sumain wad et-Tayib, Jerif, Dar wad Dafoudi, Roseires: and at Abu Ramad and Disa on the west bank.

CHAPTER XI

FUNG AND SHILLUK

THE Shilluk theory of the origin of the Fung has been ably expounded by Arkell,[1] whose article has not lost its value with his change of opinion. Since however, he has abandoned the Shilluk theory, it is hardly necessary for me to controvert it, and I shall confine myself to quoting the chief evidence upon which it is, or was, based. First and foremost comes Bruce's account so often quoted.[2] Then there is the firm belief of the Hameg elders at Jebel Gule that the Fung were Shilluk.[3] There are the mentions of Shilluk (and Dinka and Kira) in the genealogies, one of them of the 16th century, as having a common ancestor with the Fung ; and there is the coronation ceremony with its stool or kukur, which has much in common with the ceremony of the Shilluk. If we exclude certain supposed philological resemblances, which are of very doubtful value and all highly speculative, that is all that the evidence adduced really amounts to. But slight as it is, it must surely have some basis. I suggest that the Shilluk association was not derived directly from the Shilluk region on the White Nile, but indirectly from the Fazughli region and the gebels to the west whose inhabitants were partly at any rate of Shilluk origin. When Amara Dunkas marched down the Blue Nile and founded his kingdom he may have carried with him some of those Shilluk associations ; but it is more probable that they were introduced, or first took firm root, when Sennar became the permanent residence of the Fung kings, and this I have suggested[4] was when King Dekin ' came from the East.' That agrees very well with Mek Hasan's statement[5] that Dekin was called Sahib el 'Ada because it was he who first introduced the coronation custom. May not the reality be that he was the first king to be crowned in Sennar, or to come and make it his permanent residence instead of the remote stronghold of Lamul ? Arkell's interpretation is similar—that Dekin was the first king who obtained the cooperation of the indigenous Hameg guardians of the rite ; but I should regard the rite itself as Hameg, and adopted from them by the Fung.

The confusion of Fung and Hameg, which frequently occurs, is easily accounted for. The Fung kings belonged to a ruling class of military leaders, probably of mixed origin. Some of them, including the second king, Abdelcader, had pure Arab names. The officers of Amara Dunkas's original band probably consisted of Arabs, Abyssinians, and perhaps some Hamites and Semites from the north, possibly even some Turks, Gallas and Mohammedans of Adel. But this is pure speculation ; we know nothing about the army except that it consisted of Fung and Hameg, and as

[1] *SNR*, xv, 201–50.

[2] See p. 143 above.

[3] Arkell quoted in support the evidence of Werne, *Reise durch Sennaar nach Mandera*, etc., 1852, 41–2 ; and of Mr J. W. Robertson, who obtained it at Gule from the Hameg elders. Both agree in substance with the remarks of Pruyssenaere who visited these gebels in 1863. (*Pet. Erg.* No. 51, 1877, 6–15 ; quoted above p. 146).

[4] p. 153.

[5] *SNR*, xv, 233.

the Hameg were ' locals ' one may infer that they formed the majority, and that ' Fung ' was the name applied to the ' officer ' class. There is a widespread tradition in the Gezira today that the Fung were an army without women, and that it obtained wives from the inhabitants.[6] That nearly always does happen, even today, and if the army remains long enough it becomes absorbed, except for a few ruling families. Hence the confusion of Fung and Hameg.[7] It is to this confusion that I would attribute the dual nature of the tradition about Fung origins. The tradition of a northern origin belonged to the Fung ruling caste ; that of a southern (Shilluk) origin to the people of the Fazughli region which they invaded.

That these Fazughli people came originally from the west seems to me to be as certain as anything can be. They are negroid, and can hardly therefore have come from the north or east ; and in the south-east is the land of the Hamitic Gallas. Moreover, the evidence of place-names is here quite conclusive. Westerman[8] has pointed out that in the Fazughli region there is a large group of place-names with the *fa-* or *pa-* prefix so commonly attached to the names of Shilluk villages. He concludes that ' these villages are originally settlements of the Shilluks, who have emigrated into these regions.' Fazughli itself, one such name, is mentioned in the Chronicle of Susenyos (Fazequelo) and by the Portuguese writers of the early 17th century. The argument is as convincing as that which uses English place-names in –ton and –ham as evidence of a Saxon invasion. There is, in addition, a certain duplication of actual names (*e.g.* Kaka) occurring in both the Fazughli and White Nile regions ; but the detailed analysis of these would demand a knowledge of the Shilluk language.

Direct contacts between the kingdom of Sennar and the Shilluks certainly occurred. There must have been frequent intercourse at the Fung outpost of El Ais on the White Nile. Somewhere about (or a little after) the middle of the 17th century, for instance, a certain Ismail the Lute-player,[9] a Mohammedan, and more than 40 of his followers were killed there by Shilluks, whose raids sometimes penetrated even further north. One of the first Europeans to reach the Shilluk country, Petherick, has given[10] a graphic description of these raids. He says: ' During the inundation of the [White] Nile, marauding bands of Shillooks in their canoes frequently drop down the stream, and surprise Eleis [El Ais, now Kawa] and the Arab population on either side of the river as low down as the vicinity of Wallad Shellai [Lat. 14° 34′]. So daring are they that on several occasions, hiding their canoes in the reeds and bushes, they have undertaken excursions across the country to the neighbourhood of Sennar . . . made slaves of women and children, and driven off herds of cattle.' Between Kosti and Sennar the Niles are only 60 miles apart, and the Gezira is much wider both above and below this latitude, so that the neighbourhood of Sennar may have been especially open to such raids. There is no actual record of any such having taken place, but one would hardly expect to find one.

[6] Arkell in *SNR*, xv, 234.

[7] There is a somewhat similar confusion in the Beja traditions between Fung and Arab. Agib, for instance, is sometimes called the ' Fung King.' But here it was two ruling castes that were confused.

[8] *The Shilluk people*, 1912, p. lvi.

[9] *SNR*, vi, 226 : D3, Nos. 84, 169. Ismail's father was a follower of a teacher who lived from 1594 to 1683.

[10] *Egypt, the Sudan and Central Africa*, 1861, 342.

The Shilluk canoes are very remarkable. Schweinfurth[11] who encountered them with some alarm, has left a graphic description, illustrated by a striking picture (PLATE 28a). They are made of the shoots of ambatch (one of the *Herminiera*) tied together (PLATE 28b); this plant 'is distinguished for the unexampled lightness of its wood, if the fungus-like substance of the stem deserves such a name at all.' Its weight 'is so insignificant that it really suggests comparison to a feather.' Canoes made of it are so light that 'one man can carry three of them on his shoulder, although each canoe is capable of holding three men . . . When the Shilluk has come to the end of his voyage, he seizes his gondola like an ancient warrior might his shield. He carries it, partly to ensure its safety, partly to allow it to dry, because the ambatch wood easily imbibes moisture and becomes saturated.' Schweinfurth's party was attended by a large fleet of these canoes, estimated to number 3000; and, as merchants on their way back to Khartoum had recently been attacked and robbed of their cargoes, there was some ground for anxiety. 'We could see them,' he says, 'dashing over the stream with incredible celerity, and crowding their canoes as thick as ants.' Petherick also describes the canoes,[12] adding that they were 'nine feet long and four wide at the stern, and are propelled by a single small paddle. Sufficiently light for a man to carry on his back, they are drawn up on either shore, and, supporting each other, are placed on end to dry.' Crocodiles were kept off with a lance.

In 1911 the Shilluk country formed 'a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile from Kaka in the north to Lake No in the south.'[13] Petherick described 'the town of Kaka' as consisting, in 1853, entirely of reed huts.[14] It was about a mile from the river, and was the most northerly and also the most important of the 'Shilluk towns,' and the only place where strangers were permitted to settle. Pruyssenaere[15] visited Kaka in January, 1859, and describes it as a quarter of a mile from the river and consisting of ten groups of huts, most of them inhabited by Shilluks, but also containing some Arabs, Baqqara and refugees from the Nile valley, and Turks. There were a few Arab and Berberine merchants, and some Khartoum tradesmen exchanging beads for ivory. The tukuls were badly built of reeds (Ströhwanden) and contained no furniture except the small angareb of the Baqqara. There were many hens, pigeons, goats, oxen, donkeys, horses and camels. The ivory and beads were buried under the angareb.[16] The huts had walls of dried mud; the roofs were carefully made, and there was a circular fence of straw or mats in front of the door. Mrs Petherick[17] found it a 'ruined village' of at least 600

[11] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, 1873, I, 61–2, 77, and opp. p. 100. A photograph of two Shilluks in ambatch canoes is published in *Le Razze e i Popoli della Terra*, by Renato Biasutti, 1941, II, 258. On the preceding page are illustrations of two modern Shilluk pots—the only such I have come across—which were once in the Ethnographic Museum at Hamburg. (I have been informed that the contents of this Museum, stored in a safe place, survived the bombing but were destroyed by fanatical Nazis, to prevent them from falling into the hands of their enemies).

[12] 1861, 357.

[13] C. G. Seligman, *4th Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum (1911), Vol. B (General Science), 216.

[14] 1861, 353. For a description of these see Schweinfurth, 1873, I, 87.

[15] *Pet. Erg.*, 1877, 3. On pages 19 to 28 is a detailed and valuable account of the Dinka.

[16] This practice, recorded by Pruyssenaere as the normal way of keeping their possessions, should be noted by future excavators of hut-sites.

[17] *Travels in Central Africa*, 1869, I, 96 (*Diary*, 31st March, 1862).

deserted *tookuls*, and implies that it had been destroyed the year before (1861) by the notorious slave-trader, Mahommed Cheir. Her drawing shows round huts with mud walls and conical roofs. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 30 miles up the Sobat river, principally along the north bank. Their territory is almost entirely grassland, and their wealth and chief concern is with cattle. Although a considerable quantity of corn (dura) is grown, not enough is harvested to supply the dense population, and famines are by no means unusual. A census of the river villages, taken in 1903, gave a population in 1010 villages of 40,000 persons possessing over 12,000 head of cattle, and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats[18]. Petherick passed village after village on the western bank in quick succession, often only 5 minutes walk apart. This was before the country had been depopulated and ruined by the slave-raiders.

The Shilluk are reported to differ from other negroes in having some idea of political organisation. Other negro tribes are described as having 'no idea of the tribe as a whole, of tribal loyalty' or of a paramount chief. Perhaps population pressure may have something to do with it. You cannot have a herd-instinct without a herd.

Of their ancient history we know only what can be inferred from their traditions. Some day we shall know more, for the banks of the White Nile are studded with ancient mounds, the debris of prehistoric villages which, here as in Iraq, have risen above the plain during the centuries (FIG. 24). They are called Debbas, a Sudanese word probably of Abyssinian origin,[19] and seem from the map to begin about 20 miles south of Jebelein, where the place-names also appear to acquire a Shilluk, or at any rate non-Arabic, form. They continue on both banks at least as far as Malakal and up the Sobat, and are also found occasionally inland on the banks of wadis (*e.g.* round Paloich in the Ageir region, Lat. 10° 30', Long. 32° 30', Sheet 66 F). Others in the Bahr el Ghazel province are found 'about the junction of the river Pongo with the river Voll and thence eastwards to the river Jur.'[20] They are round and vary in size from one to five acres and in height from fifteen to forty feet. Some are covered with potsherds, amongst which are some with a smooth red surface, unlike any now made by the Dinka. The local explanation is that they were made for dwelling-places by people called the Barrjo who were tall men. Similar debbas in the Beir region (Lat. 7°, Long. 33°) are some 200 × 160 yards and eight feet high[21]; they are very numerous. No excavation has ever been made in any of them. If it were undertaken, and properly carried out under expert direction, it would certainly reveal a culture-sequence that would be invaluable, and form a basis upon which the prehistory of this part of Central Africa could be constructed.[22]

That the occupation of the Debbas is ancient is strongly suggested by the potsherds found on them (mostly by Mr A. J. Arkell). The following notes were made by me in the Khartoum Museum :—

DEBBAT RASHIDI (5355). Fine burnished ware, red-filled ornament.

DEBBAT EL TOR (5356). A very fine collection of burnished red sherds, with red and white filled ornament ; has a Meroitic appearance.

DEBBAT EL FUKHKHAR (5380). Red filled ware.

[18] Seligman, *op. cit.*, 216.
[19] See p. 2.
[20] *SNR*, VI, 111.
[21] *SNR*, I (4), 239.
[22] The above paragraph was subsequently amplified and published in *Antiquity*, XXII : see Crawford, 1948.

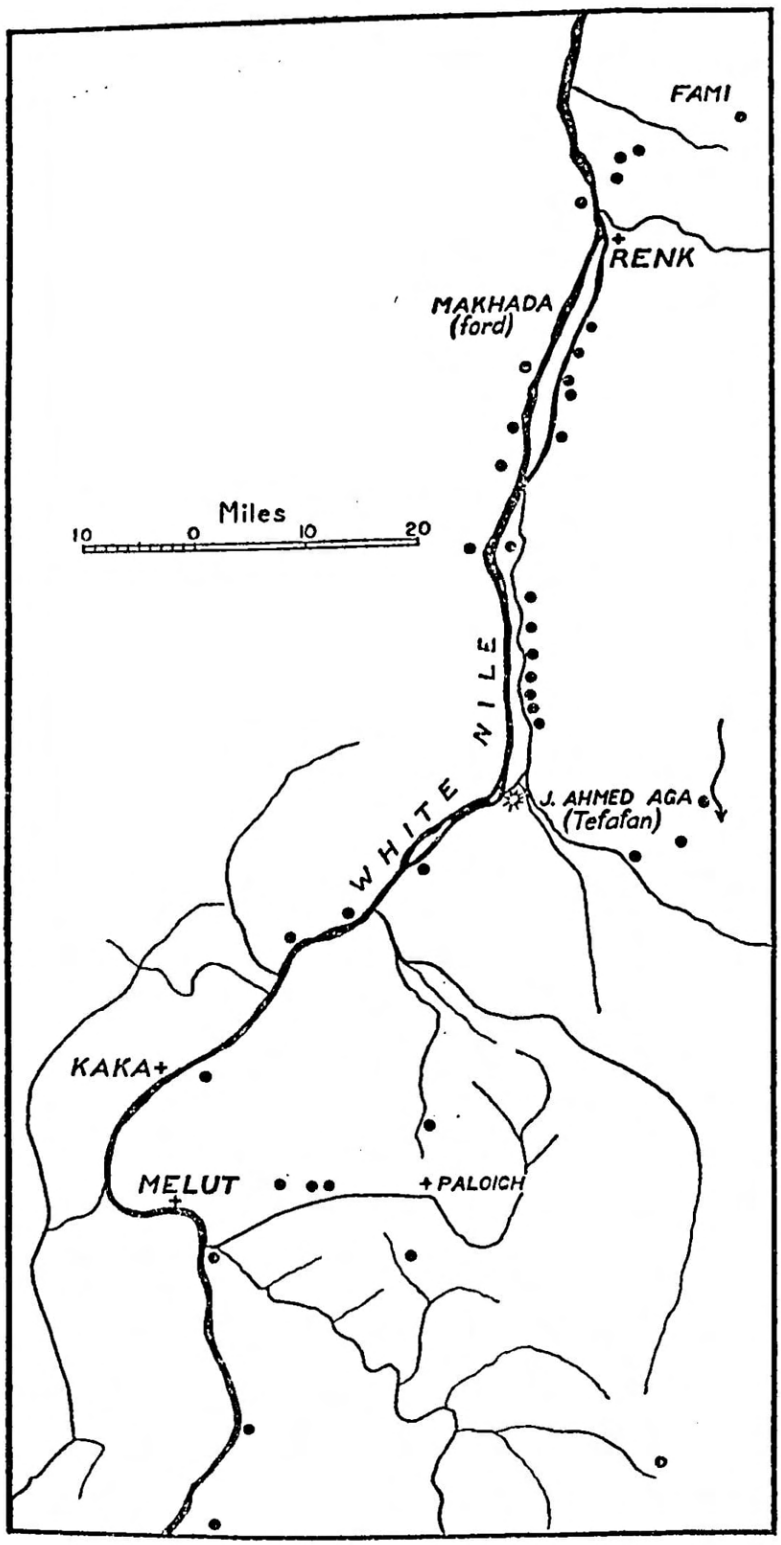
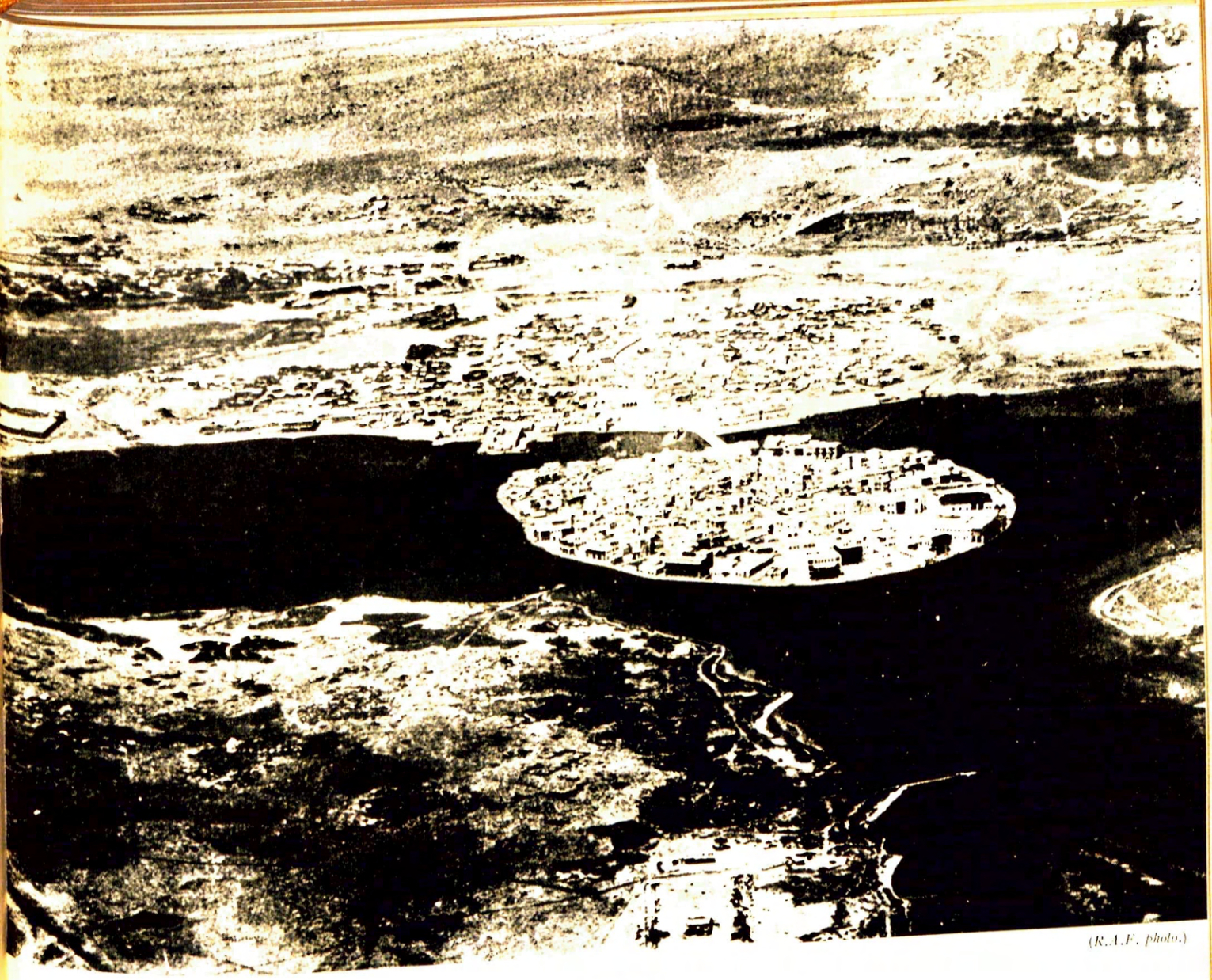


FIG. 24. Debbas on the White Nile

WI NGAJE, near AKWOIJ (4686). Spelt Akwaiya on Sheet 66 F. Mound 12 feet high; when dug into at top potsherds found down to a depth of 4 feet. Black burnished ware with red filled ornament; some animal designs, including what looks like the head and neck of a giraffe, and a bird. Wing festoons like those at Debbat Rashidi, but without dot-ornament between lines. Another tray has fragments of large brown burnished pots. This red filled ware is characteristic of the Meroitic period. It was common at Abu Geili (village site) and has been found at Meroe itself.

The absence of such mounds (if real) between Jebelein and Khartoum suggests that the Shilluk (or the people whose occupation formed the debbas) did not occupy the country north of this region, but negative evidence is always dangerous. It is, however, supported by the Tabaqat which records, on the authority of Sheikh Khogali (d. 1742), the destruction 'by Shilluk and Um Lahm' (the famine of 1684) of seventeen schools between Khartoum and El Ais. If the region was raided by Shilluks it was obviously beyond their frontier.

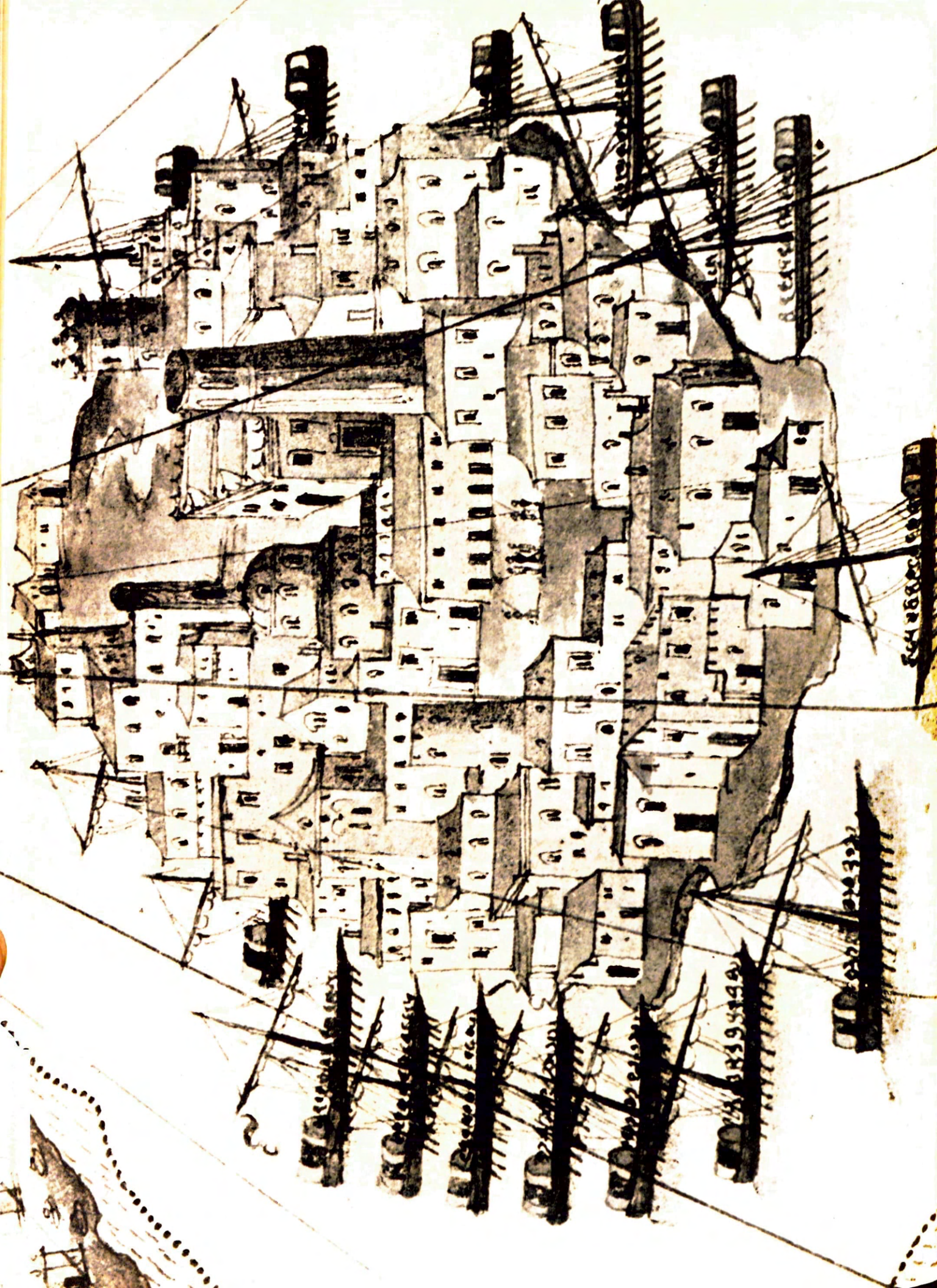


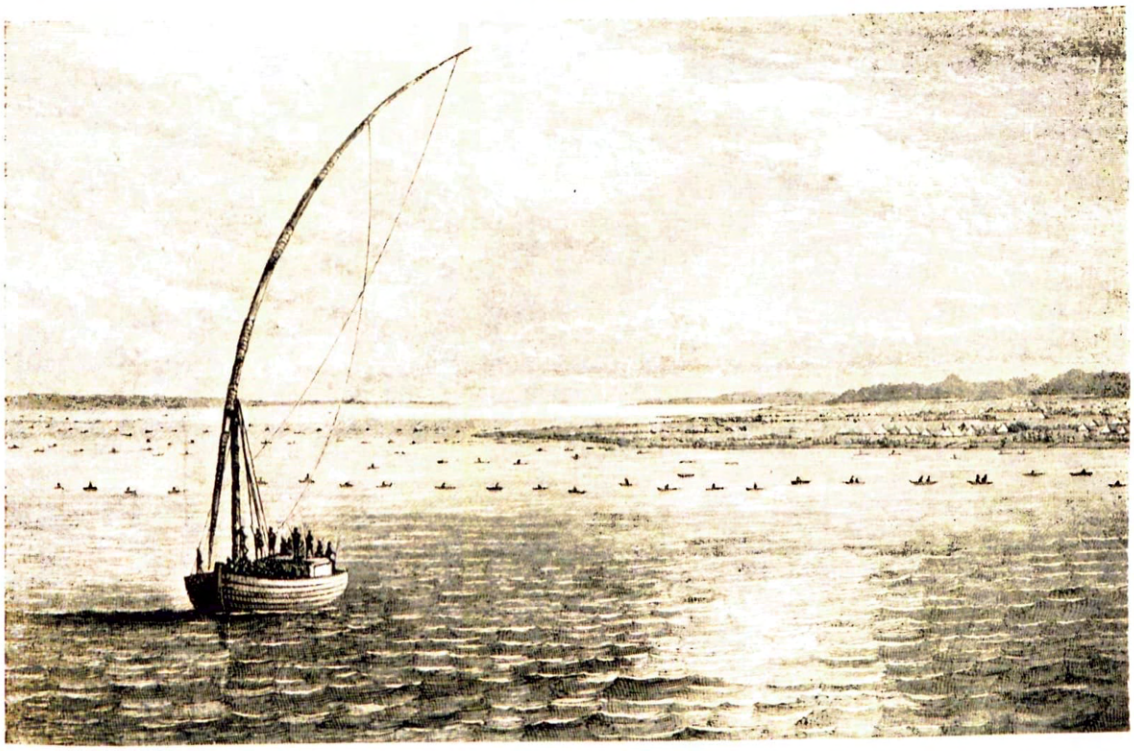
(*R.A.F. photo.*)

PLATE 20

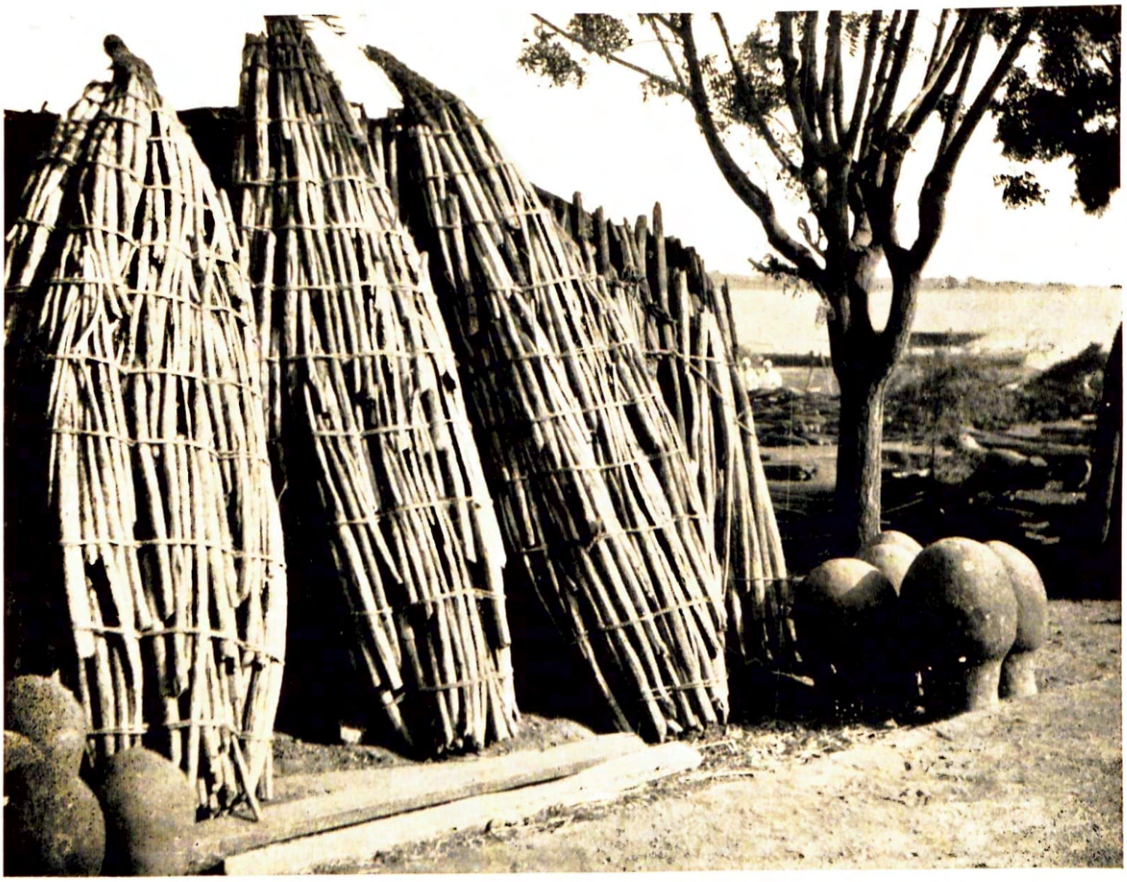
Suakin from the air, looking west (pp. 181 ff)

facing p. 160





a. Shilluk canoes, *after* Schweinfurth (p. 158)



b. Ambatch canoes at Abu Rof, Omdurman (p. 158)

PLATE 27 (*Page opposite*)
Suakin in 1540, *after* a drawing in the log of Joam de Castro (p. 124)

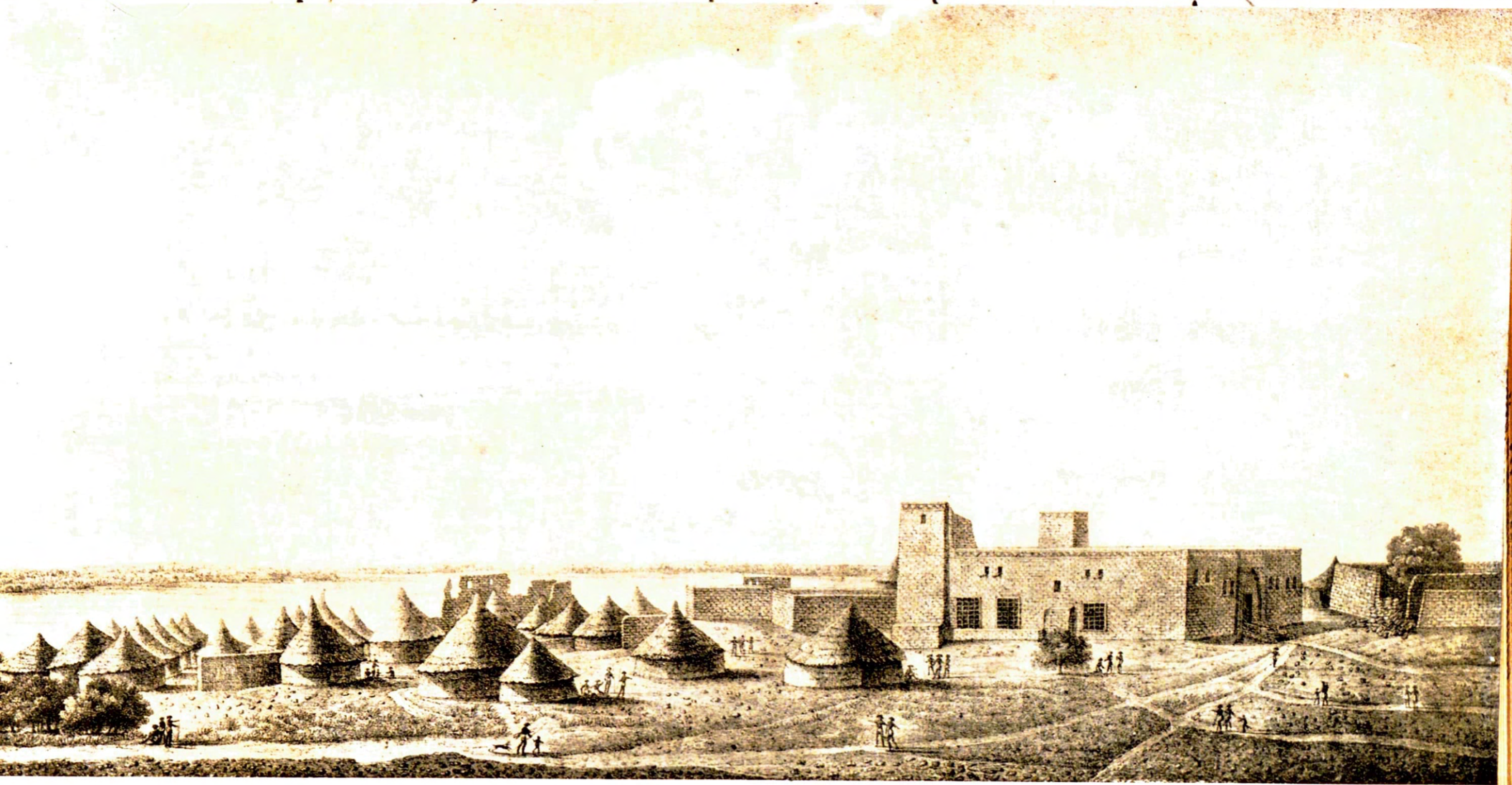


PLATE 29

The mosque of Sennar in 1821, *after* Cailliaud ; looking south (p. 191)

To return, however, to the problem of origins. If the Fazughli people came from the White Nile, as I suggest, there are three likely routes: (1) from the neighbourhood of Melut across the plain eastwards to the foothills of Abyssinia, and a gradual infiltration thence northwards by Kurmuk and Keili (2) from the neighbourhood of Jebel Ahmed Aga across to Kurmuk and thence northwards (3) from the neighbourhood of Renk by Jebel Guli and the Tabi hills.

Jebel Ahmed Aga is certainly Werne's Defafaungh, and is so marked on his map,[23] but I do not think (as did Arkell in 1932[24]) that the *name* has anything to do with the origin of the Fung. Lejean[25] calls it Tefafan and says the Dinka name was Kour Ouir, meaning the mountain of Ouir, and that the Arabs called it Djebel Berba from 'pharaonic' ruins (berba) in the neighbourhood. A branch of the Nile there was called Tarchan, and the district round was called Abielagn. On the modern map (66 F) it is called Jebel Ahmed Agha, and the alternative name Bibban is also given; is this the irregular plural of Bab, gate?[26] The name Ahmed Aga dates from about 1860, and records an engagement there between the Turks and Dinkas who, after their victory, renamed the hill after the defeated Turkish commander.[27] Petherick calls it Jebel Tefan,[28] and Heuglin 'Tefa-fam (Kur-uir).'[29] Hartmann calls it 'Gebel Hadid oder Defafan.'[30]

In favour of the third route may possibly be cited the name Qoz Fami, 20 miles NE of Renk, which might be the Fam of a tradition recorded by Nalder; Fam was one of the places passed by the Fung in their migration, but it is said to have been in Abyssinia.[31] So far as the name Teifa or Tafa is concerned, the evidence is evenly balanced, for there are traditional Fung associations with Atatafi in Eritrea.

I was able, by Mr Arkell's kindness, to read his second article on Fung origins,[32] before publication, while I was writing this chapter. In it he cites evidence in support of a theory which may be regarded as supplementary to his previous one, with which it is not in all respects inconsistent. The Fung travel to Sennar not, so to speak, under their own power, as before, but led by the ruler of an exiled dynasty of Bornu.

The empire of Bornu, then called Kanem, formerly controlled the kingdom of Darfur and the caravan-routes thence to the Nile and Egypt. The Bornu chronicle states that long before its own time (which was 1576) the empire of Kanem extended eastwards as far as the Nile and the land of Duwy—the Du (' Daw ') of the Christian kingdom of Dongola, now (according to Arkell) Adu on Sai island.[33] Islam had reached Kanem before A.D. 1240 but from the north of Africa, not directly from Egypt. For more than a century before *c.* 1500 Bornu had been divided between

[23] *Expedition to discover the sources of the White Nile in the years* 1840, 1841; translated from the German by C. W. O'Reilly, 2 vols, 1849. By a slip the name is there spelt Defanugh, but the correct spelling is given by Werne in his *Feldzug nach Sennaar*, 1852, 79.

[24] *SNR*, XV, 216.

[25] *Voyage aux deux Nils* (1865), 64.

[26] Is it also the mountain called B-b-n from which the Nile came according to Ibn Rosteh (9th to 10th cent. A.D.)? See *BGA*, VII, 90, quoted in article on the Nile, by J. H. Kramers, *Enzycl. Islam*, III, 991.

[27] Gleichen, 1905, I, 130.

[28] 1861, 351.

[29] Map to illustrate his travels, 1862–4, in Petermann's *Mittheilungen, Erganzungsheft* No. 15.

[30] *ZfAE*, NF, Vol. XIV, map between pages 80 and 81.

[31] *SNR*, XIV, 64. See also above p. 150.

[32] *SNR*, XXVII, 1946, 87–97.

[33] See however Appendix 17.

two warring factions—the usual conflict of cousins each claiming the right of succession. For a long time the usurpers managed to retain their rule in the neighbourhood of Lake Fittri, east of Lake Chad ; but in 1507 they were ejected by their rivals, the representatives of the former ruling branch of the dynasty. There is a tradition of connections between the Mais and Keyi of Bornu, and Sennar. A certain Mai Othman ibn Kade was expelled from Bornu in 1486 and went to the land of Malakada where he ruled ' the east and the west ' for a hundred years, until he was conquered by the Turks. Malakada is to be read as Makada, the Arab name for Abyssinia, but to be identified here with the kingdom of Sennar. (It was an unknown country in the east and cannot here be Abyssinia which the Turks of course never conquered). According to Arkell's present theory Mai Othman or one of his immediate descendants may have been the founder of the Fung dynasty. The name of that founder, as recorded by Sudanese tradition and by Reubeni, was Amara Dunkas ; and there are several Omars in the Bornu king-lists.

The Bornu exiles, Muslims of long standing, would have arrived on the White Nile, settling first perhaps at El Ais, then a Shilluk village. They would have acquired dominion first over the Shilluk and then over the crumbling Christian kingdom of Soba. With a force of Shilluks they would have defeated the Arabs, led by the Abdullabs, at the battle of Arbagi, as related, and then have established the new kingdom of Sennar. On the authority of Palmer the name Fung is connected with Fune, the name of a legendary *mai* of Kanem and with a word which (in Kanuri and Tibu) means the mouth-covering of the Tuareg (Ar., *Litham*). Examples are cited of Tuareg influence in the Sudan ; Hameg is derived from the Tuareg word *amghi*, plural *imghad*, meaning a servile class.

An obvious point of criticism is that one line of tradition is quite positive that the Fung were Shilluk, as Arkell himself pointed out.[34] But according to the new theory that is just what they were *not* ! They were conquerors of the Shilluks, and to call them Fungs would be like calling William the Conqueror's dynasty Saxon. Apart from this objection, Arkell's new theory has the merit of providing the Shilluks with leaders in their great enterprise. However politically competent the Shilluks may have been, they were probably in this respect inferior to their neighbours in the north and north-east—the Christians of Soba and the Arabs. Supporters of the Shilluk-Fung theory have to account for the fact that, in spite of this handicap, the Shilluks were able to overcome the others in battle and then to set up and organise a powerful kingdom on the ruins of the old. The recorded achievements of the Fung are not those we should expect of Shilluks, at any rate without such leadership as these hypothetical Bornu exiles (or, as I prefer to think, other non-Shilluks) might have given.

When first writing this section, I said that the Fung problem could only be solved by excavation. On second thoughts I expect that it will never be solved, and will remain as a perennial subject of friendly argument, like our own invasions of the Dark Ages. The next move is with the archaeologists.

[34] *SNR*, xv, 216 ; on the authority of the Hamaj elders of Gule.

CHAPTER XII

CHRONOLOGY[1]

THERE are several lists of the Fung kings giving the lengths of their reigns and, in some, their dates in years of the Mohammedan calendar. The oldest and best is the Arabic list written down for Bruce by Ahmed Sid el Kum, the executioner, in 1772.[2] Bruce printed a table based on this list giving the lengths of reigns and the dates of accession ; the former agree perfectly with the original Arabic list (which is still preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and is here[3] published in full for the first time). But Bruce has given an entirely different series of dates, obtained by adding the reign-lengths (which of course are in lunar years) to 1504 ; the consequent error is therefore cumulative. He also omitted several valuable remarks concerning the exact dates of succession.

Cailliaud also obtained a list from King Badi himself, giving lengths of reigns and remarks. His order of kings agrees with Bruce's[4] ; he gives no absolute dates except for the foundation of Sennar which, by a miscalculation,[5] he puts at A.D. 1484. His reign-lengths agree well with Bruce's, only once differing from them by more than five years.

The third list is one that may be compiled from the text introduction of D7, the Fung Chronicle. The order is the same as in the other two.[6] The absolute dates do not differ from those of Bruce by more than five years except in the 16th century where there is some confusion in all the texts.

These three lists are all good independent sources, no one of which can have been copied from the other. A list in BA contains minor variations, but is much later than the rest of the manuscript and its historical value is uncertain.[7] The biographies of the Tabaqat contain occasional references to Fung kings, but they do not help much. The succession did not follow automatically. When the king died his successor had to be chosen by a council of Sheikhs,[8] and this must have taken time. There was a gap of over a year between the death of Nul in May, 1723, and the accession of Badi IV on July 8th, 1724. Even if there be an error of a year in the record, there remains a gap of a month or two.

It seems certain that the raw materials from which all these lists were compiled consisted of written documents containing records of the length and order of reigns, together with the absolute dates of a few outstanding events. The very precise dates in Bruce's list, beginning with that of Badi II's death (=28th December, 1680), could not otherwise have been known a century later. The existence of written

[1] A good deal of this chapter is repeated elsewhere in the book ; but it seemed desirable, in view of the importance of the subject, to devote a special chapter to it. There is also an advantage in reference.

[2] Bruce VI, 376.

[3] Appendix 19.

[4] By ' Bruce's ' I mean, here and elsewhere, the Arabic original.

[5] Explained by MacMichael II, 433–4.

[6] Except that Abdelcadir I precedes Nail and Duda or Dura is omitted.

[7] MacMichael says nothing on this point.

[8] Krump, p. 286.

documents will also explain the agreement between all the authorities about a few earlier dates. All of them, for example, agree in assigning the foundation of Sennar, or the beginning of the reign of Amara Dunkas, to the year 910 A.H. (A.D. 1504); and it is noteworthy that the only exact agreement between Bruce and D7 is in the year of the accession of Badi I (A.H. 1020 = A.D. 1611–12), which was the date of the battle of Karkoj. That this date was a fixed point used by the compilers is indicated by its occurrence in their 'remarks column.' Bruce's list calls Badi's predecessor 'Adlan of Karkoj,' and Cailliaud and BA both mention the battle. From a little before this date to the end the variation of dates between Bruce and D7 is least. The compilers probably obtained their absolute dates by dead reckoning from such fixed points as 1504, 1611 and from their own times. Checked by the few scraps of outside evidence we have, the lists appear to be remarkably trustworthy.

The first such test we can apply is Reubeni's mention of Amara Dunkas who was reigning when he visited him in 1522. If he acceded in A.H. 910 (= A.D. 1504) and reigned for 30 years (Bruce and D7) he would have died in 940 (A.D. 1533–4). If he reigned for 42 years (BA and Cailliaud) he would have died in A.D. 1545–6. He was a part-contemporary of Abdulla Gema'a, founder of the Abdullab dynasty, who is said to have died in the reign of Amara abu Sakakin (962–70, D7; 965–76 Bruce), *i.e.* between 1554 and 1569, according to these authorities. If Abdulla died about 1569 or 1570 (as I think) and reigned not more than 40 years—a probable maximum—he would have acceded about 1530 and so might have overlapped with Amara Dunkas long enough to have challenged him in battle.

The second test comes from the Abyssinian annals which record that at Easter,[9] 1607, the king of Sennar sent a present of horses to the king Susenyos.[10] Such a gift may be regarded as an admission of vassalage; Abdelcader had been deposed in Rajab, 1015 (= December, 1606), and before Christmas, 1607, we find him (in company with Ali son of Ajeb) paying homage to Susenyos at his court. It is therefore certain, on the Abyssinian evidence, that Abdelcader was no longer king at the end of 1607, and almost certain, on the same evidence, that he had ceased to be king by April of that year. This agrees well with the date of his deposition given in Bruce's list, which was in December, 1606—about four months before his gift of horses. Adlan's accession is put by Bruce's list in 1016 (which began April 28th, 1607); there would thus have been a gap of at least 4 months between the two reigns, occupied perhaps in disputes between rival claimants. This hypothesis is supported by D7, which puts Adlan's accession in 1013 (A.D. 1604–5), 3 years earlier than Bruce's list. The deposition of Abdelcader may well have been preceded by a period of civil war begun by Adlan whose reign may have been regarded by the author of D7 (or his authority) as dating from its inception. The Chronicle of Susenyos, moreover, states that Abdelcader had been obliged to leave his country 'by reason of a discord raised against the peace.'

Adlan was followed by Badi I (Sid el Kum) and Badi by his son Rubat. The Abyssinian annals do not record the date of Rubat's accession, but we know from them that he was king of Sennar in the summer of 1618 and it is probable that he

[9] Easter Day was on April 5th in 1607.

[10] *Chronica de Susenyos*, ed. F. M. Esteves Pereira, Lisbon, 1900, Vol. II, 78.

was already on the throne in 1617. For in 1618 Susenyos raided Rubat's borders on the pretext that Rubat had ' long detained ' as a prisoner in Sennar the Abyssinian patriarch-designate, Abba Marqos. This man had been appointed to the office by the Alexandrian patriarch Abba Yeshaq who died on 25th January, 1617. Presumably therefore he arrived in Sennar not later than 1617, and we may thus presume that Rubat was then reigning there.[11] Incidentally the Chronicle of Susenyos confirms the fact that Rubat succeeded his father Badi on the death of the latter.

Both Bruce's list and D7 satisfy this test. The former puts Rubat's accession in A.H. 1025 (1616–17[12]), and the latter in A.H. 1023 (1614–15). But as we do not know how long Rubat had been reigning when he is first mentioned by the Chronicle of Susenyos, it is not possible to say which of the two dates is the correct one ; I have therefore adopted the date of 1616, which is not likely to be more than a year out in either direction.

There are no other precise checks possible during the 17th century, but stray references in the very trustworthy Tabaqat confirm the lists in a general way. For instance Badi II (1644–5 to *c.* 1680) had as his adviser Dafa'alla (D3, No. 84) who died in 1683. His successor Unsa II consulted El Medowi (D3, No. 165, who died in 1684) at a time when that holy man was already famous ; this was possible whether we adopt for Unsa the dates of Bruce's list or those of D7. Then again the Tabaqat,[13] in connection with a prophecy of Sheik Idris, says that the combined reigns of Rubat, Bady II, Unsa II, Bady III and Unsa III totalled 110 years. According to Bruce's list Rubat acceded in A.H. 1025 and Unsa III reigned to 1132, which is 108 lunar years[14] ; the total of their regnal periods also is 108 years. The actual years given by D7 are slightly different, but the period is also 108 years. The agreement of both with the Tabaqat is therefore close—an error of less than 2% is not great. The Tabaqat also confirms the order of succession of these five rulers.

Badi III, el Ahmar, is dated A.H. 1103–28 (A.D. 1688–9 to 1715) by D7. Badi was therefore king throughout the period of the missions of Poncet and Brevedent, du Roule and the Franciscans of Achmim. He was certainly reigning in 1706 when Tecla Haimanout, the king of Abyssinia, wrote him a letter about du Roule.[15] Most unfortunately neither De Maillet nor any one of the numerous travellers who visited Sennar mention the name of its king, calling him simply the king of Sennar. Poncet says that he was 19 in 1699, which would make him only 12 years old or even younger at his accession. This is quite possible. Krump never mentions his name, but in the letter of recommendation which the king gave him, the king calls himself ' the son of Badi the son of Gionsa,' an impossible appellation which is certainly an error for ' Badi son of Gionsa.'[16] El Turabi (D3 No. 125) died in 1704 and is said to have lived in the reign of Badi.

A check on the reign of Badi IV is provided by the original documents referred to on p. 237, dated 1733-5, which is consistent with the regnal years given by the lists (= A.D. 1723–4 to 1761–2).

[11] Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos* I, 124–5 : II, 475–6.

[12] The year 1025 lasted from 20th January, 1616 to 9th January, 1617.

[13] D3, No. 141.

[14] The first and last year were often reckoned as whole years ; in Bruce's list for instance.

[15] Bruce IV, 2–3.

[16] See p. 225.

The dates and order of succession of the Abdullab sheikhs present a far more difficult problem. The earliest list is that of Cailliaud,[17] which can be supplemented by a much fuller one in *SNR*, XVII, here called the Abdullab Chronicle. But the latter, though obviously compiled with care by one familiar with Abdullab oral traditions, is so late in date that it can only be used with caution. The same may be said of the latest list of all, kindly obtained by me for the District Commissioner[18]; this list agrees quite closely with the Abdullab Chronicle compiled a couple of decades earlier by another Sheikh. I have spent many hours puzzling over the complexities of Abdullab genealogy and dates, and the resulting tables[19] are printed with some misgivings and are approximations only. The genealogy contains more names than MacMichael's[20] and differs from it in a few points; the most serious concerns El Amin Aradib whom MacMichael inserts (with a query) as the son of Agib (III). There is only one mention of El Amin Aradib and no evidence to indicate who he was; it is difficult to believe that he was not the Sheikh of Gerri; but no such name occurs in the lists. He led the Horsemen Revolt, and as the troops of Gerri took part in this, one would imagine that the Sheikh of Gerri was at least compromised; but the rebel Sheikh of a few years later bore another name.

A crucial problem is the date of accession of Agib I. His death in 1611 may be regarded as securely established, and if he reigned for 41 years he would have acceded in 1570. His predecessor was Abdulla Gema'a who is said to have died in the reign of Amara abu Sakakin, which ended (by deposition) according to Bruce's list in 1568–9. If he enjoyed the usual long span of successful rulers he would have come to the throne about 1530 or 1540, and if in the former year would have overlapped the reign of Amara Dunkas by about 4 years. I am inclined to think that 1530 is the correct date for his accession, but then we must either suppose that Reubeni's Obadiah was another person, or that, if Obadiah was Abdulla Gema'a, then he was a very young man and not yet recognised as the Sheikh of a tribe.

Abdullab history provides examples of that rivalry which inevitably came into existence soon after the death of a prominent leader. The first two rulers seemed to have reigned supreme without challenge. Agib I was succeeded by Othman, the offspring of his matrimonial alliance with the Amarar. Then for about a century the Sheikhship was a bone of contention between three branches of the family—the descendants of the three brothers (or half brothers) Othman, Mohammed el Agil and Arābi. El Agil succeeded Othman and was followed by his sons Khidr and Abdulla II (el Brins); then the succession passed back to Othman's son Hago who was quickly succeeded by Agib's third son Arābi. Then the succession reverted to the line of El Agil, with Hammad, and next to that of Arābi, with Agib II and Musmar I with whom (as implied in D3, No. 58) Arābi's line became extinct. Then it went back to Othman's son Ali and his son, also called Othman, and to Ali's brother, Hammad es Simeih with whom Othman's line ends, so far as the Abdullabs are concerned (but he was the ancestor of many Amarar sub-tribes).

[17] III, 96–7. Shucair's list (Budge II, 204) seems to be based on this but there are divergences.

[18] I wish to express my thanks to him and to the Abdullab Sheikh who compiled it, and to Mr A. J. Arkell, then Commissioner for Archaeology, to whose good offices as an intermediary I owe not only this but many other kindnesses.

[19] Appendices 20 to 24.

[20] I, 246.

Then it reverted to El Agil's son Agib III who must have been an old man and is said to have been 65 at his accession. All the subsequent skeikhs were descended from him.

There seems to be no doubt that Othman I, son of Agib I, was Sheikh of both the Abdullabs and the Amarar ; the line of his descendants according to Abdullab tradition agrees with that given by Amarar tradition—Ali being the son and Othman the grandson in each, Amarar tradition calling the later Othman Margub. But Ali lost the Amarar sheikhship to Gwilai, his younger brother, and Othman Margub is definitely stated not to have been the Amarar sheikh. Gerri was the fatter living and that no doubt was why Ali demanded it of Badi at an opportune moment.

The difficulty of sorting out all these rulers is increased by the custom of giving the same names to different people. The fact that names are given to distinguish people from each other was often ignored in all periods and places, not least in our own Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARAB INVASION AND THE BATTLE OF HANNEK

FROM the collapse of the kingdom of Nobadia early in the 14th century to the Fung conquest in the 16th there is a complete gap in history. It was a time of chaos and break-up—a short Dark Age[1] such as always intervenes between the decay of one civilisation and the birth of another. Some feeble rays are cast by occasional references to missionary work carried out by the Catholic Church. Already in the middle of the 13th century the Popes had begun to interest themselves in the Christian king vaguely known to exist somewhere in the east, and letters of a purely formal kind were even addressed to him. It is unlikely that any mission got further than Egypt. In 1306 a strange echo comes to us from Pekin. In that year certain emissaries from ' Ethiopia ' met at Pekin a certain John of Monte Corvino, and asked him to come to their country and preach the Gospel. They had received no preachers since the time of St. Matthew ; most of their fellow-countrymen were Christians only in name, and knew nothing of the Scriptures.[2] Opinions differ about the country from which these ' Ethiopians ' hailed, whether they were Nestorians from Arabia Felix or from Socotra (Asseman), or (as Kunstmann suggests) Nubians. In favour of the latter hypothesis may be cited the well-known trade between Aidhab and (later) Suakin, and China, proved by the discovery of celadon ware at Aidhab. It seems by no means impossible that some Nubians from the kingdom of Dongola—then still Christian but hard pressed by the forces of Islam—might have gone, perhaps as refugees, to the coast of the Red Sea and taken ship thence to China. It is most improbable that they were Abyssinians, for, apart from other cogent objections, such an appeal is most unlikely to have been made by any Christians of that country.

Apart from this faint gleam we have nothing that throws light on the Dark Age except the tribal tradition recorded by Burckhardt,[3] and the history of Na'um Bey Shucair. Burckhardt states that Nubia between the 1st and 2nd cataracts was occupied ' after the promulgation of the Mohammedan Creed,' by the two tribes of Djowabere [Gawabra] and El Gharbye, the latter a branch of the Zenatye. ' The Djowabere having nearly subdued the Gharbye, the latter sent an embassy to Constantinople, in the reign of the great Sultan Selym [1517–20], to seek aid against their enemies, and they succeeded in procuring from the Sultan a body of several hundred Bosnian soldiers, under a commander named Hassan Coosy. By their

[1] Summarised very briefly by Budge, II, 207–8, who must certainly have derived the information from Shucair, though he gives no authority.

[2] Somigli, *Etiopia Franciscana*, I, 1, p. XX, giving references. Somigli quotes the original authority which is a summary of a letter from John, dated Pekin, 13th February, 1306. See also G. Phillips and G. Gorres *Historische-politische Blatter für das Katholische Deutschland*, Vol. XXXIX (Munich, 1857), 500–1.

[3] *Travels*, 133–4.

means the Djowabere and people of Dongola were driven out of Nubia, into the latter country.'

Budge assigns the expulsion of the Gawabra to the year 1520, and says that ' soon after the Fung kings became lords of Sennaar '—a date conveniently left open—' they wished to seize Northern Nubia, and sent an army to occupy the country. Ibn Janbalan, the chief of the Ghuzz,[4] collected an army and set out to fight the invaders. The two armies met near Hannek, and the Fungs were defeated with great slaughter, and retreated, leaving their path strewn with their dead. It is said that their blood was collected in a pool by the victors, who built a " kubba " over it,[5] and that this became the boundary-mark between the territories of the Fungs and the Bosnians.' The source of this story is obviously not Fung. The mention of the army commander's name Ibn Janbalan suggests that the source was a documentary one, and Turkish or Egyptian.

This encounter between the rulers of Egypt and those of the Sudan is recorded in the Abdullab Chronicle, but attributed to a later period.[6] It states that when the Turkomans contemplated attempting the conquest of the Sudan, the Abdullab sheikh Agib sent an army, commanded by his son Hammad, to the Egyptian border. The Turkomans had fire-arms, and Hammad, realizing that he was ' up against it ' adopted tactics which gained him the victory. As a consequence of this defeat Selim sent a force to Suakin ; and Agib, fearing another invasion of the Sudan on the pretext that its inhabitants were infidels (*i.e.* Christians), wrote Selim a letter, whose contents seem to have resembled those in Amara's letter.[7] The gist of the plea was that Amara and his followers were Arabs and true Mohammedans, and that there was therefore no ground for a religious war. The letter was accompanied by genealogies (drawn up according to Shucair's version by a certain Imam of Sennar called El Samarkandi) proving that the Abdullabs (or Fungs, Shucair's version) were of Arab origin. The Abdullab version does not specifically mention the genealogies, and states that ' a long correspondence[8] which ensued [between Agib and Selim] was lost in later days along with the Abdullab crown.'[9] This statement must surely have some basis ; does it imply that the narrator was re-telling from memory what he had heard as a boy from his father, who would have been between 12 and 16 years old when Ahmed was governor ? The most likely explanation is perhaps that both the Abdullab story and Shucair's were based upon documents, or the memory of documents, which have since perished. I am not by any means convinced that such documents ever were preserved at Constantinople ; Cairo would be the obvious place for them in Selim's reign, and if any documents were removed from Gerri by Ahmed they might have been taken to Khartoum and seen there by Shucair. There they would certainly have been destroyed during the Mahdia.

[4] These were the Bosnian Kashafa who ruled Nubia, nominally subject to the Sultan but actually enjoying a large measure of independence.

[5] It was still there when Cailliaud passed by and observed it in January, 1821, and marked the boundary between the provinces of Mahass and Dongola. Cailliaud I, 394.

[6] *SNR*, XVII, 66.

[7] *SNR*, XV, 215, quoting a translation from Shucair printed by Jackson in his *Tooth of Fire*, p. 22.

[8] These letters were stated to be still extant in Constantinople and to contain non-Arabic names ; but repeated efforts to re-discover them have all failed.

[9] This priceless relic was ' the bejewelled crown of the Anag Kings of Soba ' ; it was handed over with the documents to Ahmed Pasha, Governor of the Sudan, 1838–42.

It would seem not unlikely that the first two at any rate of these stories relate to the same affair. Common to both are the facts that an attempted expansion northwards into Nubia was repulsed about the time of Selim. The name of the successful commander, however, is given differently. The third story is unlocated and may not relate to the same incident. The Abdullab attribution of the events to the reign of Agib III (who cannot have reigned before the end of the 17th century at the earliest) is inconsistent with the mention of Selim as concerned with the affair. If, on the other hand, it is the battle of Hannek which is involved, then it is extremely doubtful whether the Abdullabs then existed at all, for it is difficult to date the beginning of Abdulla Gema'a's reign until at least a decade later. It is equally difficult to see how the Gawabra can have taken part, because they were the descendants of Gabir who flourished, according to D3, during the middle or second half of the 16th century.

Nevertheless, we may, I think, accept the battle of Hannek as a historical event which occurred during the 16th century, probably during the reign of Selim.[10] I have given reasons elsewhere[11] for thinking that it represented the successful attempt of a Nubian ruler, backed by Egypt, to secure the Abri terminus of the desert route from Egypt to the Sudan. A date before 1522 is supported by Reubeni's evidence, for when he went through this country in that year, Al Khabir (Abri) and Al Mamah (Jebel Firka) were both held by enemies of Amara Dunkas, so that the northern frontier of the Fungs was then already fixed at some point further south, almost certainly at Hannek, where the above-mentioned gubba still marks the boundary between the provinces of Halfa and Dongola (now merged in the Northern Province). This was throughout Fung times the northern boundary of the Gawabra.

An incident related by Alvarez[12] may be connected with this frontier affair. When he was at Barra (near Asmara) in July, 1520, a proclamation was made ' that the Barnagais intended to make war on the Nobiis, five or six days from the limits of his country, towards Egypt, neighbouring to the countries of Canfilla and Dafolha (Dafilla), which are subject to the Barnagais.' The Nobiis had once been Christian but had lost their faith. There was much gold in their country. In another passage[13] it is certain that by ' Nobiis ' Alvarez meant the inhabitants of one or both of the Christian, or once Christian, kingdoms of Nubia. ' I heard say that on the frontier districts of these Nobiis there were four or five hundred horsemen, very great warriors, and that it is a country very well supplied with provisions, and it cannot be otherwise because it is on this and the further side of the Nile, which they say is a very fertile country. The proclamation said that he would set out in fifty days from that time, but up to this there has been no muster nor movement of arms.' The Barnagais ruled over the hinterland of Massawa and had his seat at Debaroa. Nominally a vassal of Abyssinia, he was in fact virtually independent. Canfilla and Dafilla can be located with certainty in the region north of Massawa.[14] The name

[10] The existence of cannon marked with Selim's name at the castle of Sai, where they were seen by Linant, is evidence in support of this early date, though of course it is possible that they were not taken there during Selim's reign. (See pp. 141-2).

[11] p. 141.

[12] *Narrative*, etc., 64–5.

[13] p. 352.

[14] Alvarez spells them in different ways (Dafilla, Cãfilla, f. 24v) and twice (pp. 316, 344) refers to them as persons rather than places.

Canfilla still survives,[15] in the form Caf-illa applied to a part of the coastal region near Mersa Cuba, and is spelt Kafr'illah on Munzinger's map.

The proposed expedition mentioned by Alvarez was to take place during the summer of 1520, three years after the year in which Selim is stated[16] to have occupied Suakin. It was probably connected with that occupation ; the Barnagais may well have wished to oppose any extension of the Turkish power southwards towards his port of Massawa—an extension which actually occurred by sea in the middle of the century. Alvarez speaks of the expedition as directed against the Nobiis ; but he seems to have had only a vague idea about them, and is obviously confusing them with the Beja, for he speaks of their gold-mines (which were in the Beja country) but also says they occupied both banks of the Nile and had been Christians—clearly a reference to the kingdom of Mukurra.

[15] On the 1 : 500,000 map of the Sudan, Nacfa Sheet, 50 miles north of Massawa. The 1/M map marks Canfer 24 miles north-west of Massawa. Rossini (1914, Note sul Sahel, 366) says (referring to Littmann, *Princeton* II, 432) that Canfila is certainly an alteration of Ganifra, the name of an old people on the NW of the Sahel, adjoining the Suakin district.

[16] I cannot however find any original authority for the date (1517). Selim died in October, 1520.

CHAPTER XIV

KING DEKIN (*c.* 1561–76?)

LITTLE is known about the eight kings whose reigns covered the latter part of the 16th century. The Fung chronicle contains only a bare record of names, and the author of the Tabaqat gives only three dates in this period, one (the death of Agib in 1511[1]) quite impossible, and the other relating to one of his own ancestors. His sheet-anchor seems to have been the accession of Agib Mangilak which he consistently assigns to the second half of the 10th century A.H., *i.e.* about the middle of the 16th century A.D. It is to his credit that he did not attempt to give an exact date when he had no evidence for such. Of the other kings only one, Nail, is mentioned,[2] but in passing only.

We are told a little more by the Chronicle. Dekin ' was one of the greatest of the kings of the Fung.'[3] He is said to have reorganized the administration, and to have appointed chiefs of districts, whose names are given by D3; but there the appointments are said to have been made by Agib, acting under the orders of Dekin ' when he came from the east.'[4]

A King Dekin is mentioned twice in Abyssinian documents. The first is in the Chronicle of Susenyos, where it is stated that a King Dakin failed to capture Abromla (Abu Ramla) at some date before 1619.[5] The second is in an original document, a letter dated 21st January, 1706,[6] written by the Abyssinian emperor Tecla Haimanout to the Fung king Badi. This refers to ' the ancient friendship which has always subsisted between our predecessors since the time of the king of Sedgid and the king of Kim, to the present day.' Pereira[7] identifies ' Kim ' with the Fung king Dekin (an identification which I had already made myself independently, before I came across Pereira's); and Sedgid with Malak Sagad (Sertza Denghel) who reigned from 1563 to 1597 (1056–89). There is no chronological difficulty in these identifications, which are probably correct. The only objection is that, in the first place, we know of no exchanges, friendly or hostile, between these two rulers; and we also know that, some fifty years after their time, occurred the war between Susenyos and Sennar. It would have been more natural for Tecla Haimanout to have referred to the interval between this war and his own time (which so far as we know was one of uninterrupted peace) than to have thus ignored so signal a break in friendly intercourse and gone back to an earlier date. There is also the possibility that his reference might have been, not to Sertza Denghel but to Susenyos, who was also known as Malak Sagad, who was a very famous conqueror, and who did fight

[1] See pp.178-9.
[2] No. 71.
[3] D7, § 16.
[4] D3, No. 93.
[5] See p. 184.
[6] Bruce IV, 3, taken from Le Grand, 1718, 470–1, where a French translation of the original (which was in Arabic) is printed. The date given there for the original letter is the 10th of Zulkade, 1118 [A.H.].
[7] *Chron. Sus.*, II, 1900, 374.

with Sennar. This would not explain ' Kim '–Dekin ; but it so happens, rather unfortunately for our present purpose, that Rubat, the king of Sennar who was attacked by Susenyos, is also once called ' Dacin ' by a contemporary Portuguese writer.[8] Thus we have to decide between two pairs of contemporary rulers, each pair of whom bore the same name. The problem is at present insoluble. We need confirmation of the statement that Rubat also bore the name ' Dacin,' or proof that the Portuguese writer was wrong. If he was right, then the Dakin who fought at Abromla is more likely to have been Rubat than his predecessor in the 16th century. But the Chronicle of Susenyos speaks always of him as Erubat.

These confusions are not helped by the fact that Dekin was once also the name of the Kassala district. Whether the king derived his name from the district or *vice versa* I do not know ; the name seems to mean ' elephant,'[9] and there may therefore be no connection between the two names. It occurs in the genealogies[10] in close association with Shilluk and Dinka, and Arkell has already called attention to the possible bearing of this mention on Fung origins.[11] Dekin was the son of Doka or Dukka, whose father Hasan el Hilali (obviously an Arab) married Lula, a Fung. This suggests what may be called ' conquest by marriage.' Dekin's brothers were Ibrahim, Shilluk and Dinka, however ; and it is most unlikely that either of these last two tribes had the least admixture of Arab blood.

One of Dekin's sons was called Doka, a name that has some resemblance to the Shilluk king's names Dokot, Nyadoke and (the queen's) Abudok.[12] Another of Dekin's sons was Ounsa, according to B1 ; but the Ounsab Fungs were not, according to D7, descended from Dekin but from his uncle, Abd el Kadir. The chief significance of the evidence from genealogies is the fact that Shilluk and Dinka should be mentioned at all in association with one of the early kings of the Fung ; this is evidence in favour of some connection between the Fung and the Shilluk. BA is a good early source[13] composed ' early in the 16th century.'[14]

[8] Pereira, *Chron. Sus.*, II, 485 ; *Annual Letter of* 1619, p. 171. See below p. 184.
[9] See pp. 115, 127.
[10] BA and B1.
[11] *SNR*, XV, 217.
[12] Westermann, *Shilluk*, 141 ff.
[13] MacMichael II, 16. But as Dekin belongs to the second half of that century this dating is surely too early. It may have been brought up to date by a later (but still early) copyist. This section ends with Dekin's great-nephews (soon after 1600 ?).
[14] For other Dekins see *SNR*, II, 70 ; III, 53, 109 ; D3, Nos. 189, 207, 259.

CHAPTER XV

SHEIKH AGIB EL MANGILAK (*c.* 1570–1611)

THE early Fung kings are shadowy figures—mere names of persons about whom we know practically nothing. Even their names and the order of their succession are not always clear.[1] Reubeni, who knew and talked with the founder of the dynasty, might have told us so much, had he been as interested in others as he was in himself.

The first ruler of whose deeds we have even a fragmentary record was not a Fung but the Abdullab Sheikh Agib I, the Mangilak or Mangil, also called Agib the Great. He was the youngest son of Abdulla Gema'a, by a nameless daughter of Sherif Hammad abu Denana, ' who lies buried at Abu Delayk.'[2] His aunt Fatima (' Sulha ') was the mother of the celebrated Sheikh Idris, his first cousin and adviser. Agib's title of Mangil (equivalent to Lieutenant-Governor) was given to him by the Fung kings ; it has been compared[3] to the modern Tuareg word *amanokel*, tribal chief. Krump heard it used at Gerri to salute the chief ; he spells the word ' Maänschell.' The authors of D3 and D7 are careful to record that the Abdullab sheikhs were appointed to that office by the Fung kings, and that they did not act on their own initiative—' of their own mere motion ' as English medieval jurists would have said—but on the instructions of their overlords. D7,[4] for instance, states that King Dekin reorganised the administration and appointed chiefs of every district. D3[5] states that there were four, giving their names and saying that they were ' appointed by Sheikh Agib by order of King Dekin when he came from the east.' They were placed at Arbagi, Abu Haraz in the Gamuia region, and perhaps at Nuri near Merawe in the Shaigia district. This indicates a riverain control extending from the borders of Dongola to within 60 miles of Sennar. Noticeably absent is any mention of Dongola itself, Sennar, the Butana or Suakin. Dongola no doubt looked after itself under its own tributary Meks ; the Butana was a region of nomads ruled by local sheikhs, who needed no such urbane institutions as cadis. Suakin was politically at least half Turkish.

The reign of Agib was a long one, and for this reason, even if for no other, it would be safe to infer that he was a powerful and important king. We are told, in a portion of the Tabaqat missing from MacMichael's manuscript copy, that it lasted 41 lunar years (39·7 solar years).[6] The Chronicle says that he was appointed by Amara abu Sakakin (*c.* 1558–69). From the Tabaqat[7] it would appear that Agib's death coincided with the deposition of Adlan in favour of Badi I, which the Chronicle puts in 1611–12. The date of Adlan's succession is fixed with certainty by the

[1] MacMichael II, 431–2.
[2] MacMichael II, 86 (ABC). See p. 175, and Appendix 23.
[3] By Sir Richmond Palmer, *SNR*, XVII, 62.
[4] § 16.
[5] No. 93. Cf. *SNR*, XVII, 62.
[6] *SNR*, VI, 205.
[7] Nos. 141, 221.

Abyssinian annals[8] in the year 1606, and Bruce's list gives him a reign of 5 years. We may therefore place the reign of Agib at *c.* 1570 to *c.* 1611, the latter date being rather more secure than the former.

Sheik Agib's father was Abdulla Gema'a. His mother was the daughter of Sherif Hammad abu Denana (also called Abu Halima)[9] a shadowy figure whose daughters married well.[10] One of them, Halima, married Sheikh Omar, son of Belal; another, Fatima, married El Arbab Muhammad and was the mother of the famous Sheikh Idris of Eilafun; a third married into a famous Dongola family and became the ancestress of the Sowarab. Sherif Hammad is remembered in Beja tradition which relates that he came from the Hejaz and married his daughter to the Fung[11] king, 'and exercised great craft, and became his partner in the kingdom. And their son was Otman who took from the Amarar the lady Miriam, daughter of Ashib . . . their sons were Mohammad Filab and Ali and Kurb and Nur and Hamad who emigrated from Egypt.'[12] No doubt Agib too profited by the alliance, but we do not know how. Sherif Hammad was buried at Abu Deleiq,[13] which in later times was the headquarters of the Batahin, a rich pastoral region with many reservoirs. He must have been a wealthy man and may be compared perhaps with Hassan wad Hasuna who founded the neighbouring place of that name in the following century.

Several traditions associate Agib with Suakin and with the Beja tribes in its neighbourhood with whom he intermarried. There is some inconsistency in them; according to one (here called the 'Miller' tradition after its recorder[14]) Agib married Miriam, daughter of Sheib, an Amarar sheikh, and begot Otman who married Fatma, daughter of Aligai[15]; according to another (the 'Woodland' tradition[16]) Agib himself married (?) Fatma, daughter of El Alawi and begot Otman who married Miriam. But Suakin is the scene of action in both.

The Miller tradition relates that 'Sheikh el Agib, son of Abdulla, the Mangil from the Fung' dreamt whom he was to marry and became thereby the founder of a tribe. He met Miriam the girl of his dreams at Suakin, where she had come from their home in Wadi Oreir to visit her sister, Fatma, the wife of Muhammad Ghul, an Arteiga merchant.[17] Agib resumed his journey to Mecca, and while he was away the father took the girl, now pregnant, home with him. Agib on his return was unable to find her and went back 'to the Fung,' leaving instructions for a search to be made, and that the child, if a boy, was to be called Otman, or if a girl, Fatma. He also left, for the boy if such, his nisba (pedigree) and sword, with which to carve out a kingdom. These were duly given to the son, Otman. In due course he grew up and succeeded to the sheikhship of the Amarar, and by his wife Fatma, daughter of Aligai, became the father of Ali, Gweili, Nur and Kurb from whom a large branch of the Amarar is descended.

[8] See p. 164.

[9] MacMichael II, 192 (D1, § 115: *c.* 1680). The descendants of Agib are there stated to be of his stock.

[10] See genealogy, Appendix 23.

[11] The Abdullabs are often so described in Beja tradition.

[12] Newbold's File II, 325 (the 'Woodland' tradition).

[13] MacMichael II, 82, 86 (*ABC* §§ 2, 13).

[14] Newbold's file II, 453–6 (written down about 1921).

[15] According to Sandars' pedigree (*SNR*, XVIII, 220) Elogai (=Aligai) was the son or descendant of Kumeil, brother of Amar the father of Sheib.

[16] Newbold's file II, 321–5.

[17] The name is taken from a closely similar version of the same tradition, recorded by G. E. R. Sandars in *SNR*, XVIII, 200–1.

The Woodland tradition connects Agib with another branch of the Amarar, the Kumeilab, who stole his daughter Fatma from El Alawi and gave her to ' the king of the Fung who reigned in Suakin, whose name was Ajib el Manjaluk.' Her father appealed to Muhammad Hadab, the Sheikh (and founder) of the Hadendowa. Muhammad's son, Barakwin, devised a strategem for her recapture. He went to Suakin in the guise of a slave and obtained employment in the house of the Fung king, and having eventually succeeded in getting the girl away, he handed her back to her father, and then married her himself. The happy pair fled to Jebel Okwer, by the Khor Amet, whither they were pursued by the king of the Fung with his army. Failing to capture them ' they purposed to undermine[18] Jebel Okwer to overthrow it ; and the marks of their digging are still to be seen. Then they attacked the mountain, but Barakwin drove down camels with burning grass on their backs as they were crowded in the narrow way, and destroyed them.' From Barakwin[19] and Fatma were descended the seven tribes of the Hadendowa ; and she passed to the mercy of God and was buried on the white mountain-top at Badri near Amet. Barakwin drove out the Fung from Suakin, where the last Fung was Garib abu Gura, so called because he was reduced to begging with a beggar's bowl. He married the daughter of Bashok, one of Barakwin's seven sons, and their descendants are the Garib. (Newbold adds that they now live at Gebeit and in the glens running down to Suakin).

The recorder of this tradition gives also a quaint explanation of the origin of the people of Suakin ; they were descended from some Abyssinian girls who were being taken to ' a Sultan of the West.' The girls were allowed to go ashore at Suakin where they spent the night with certain ' white Junis from the sea.' That is why to this day ' you may see in Suakin people whose faces have something not human in them ; their ears are long and pointed and remind one of bats.'

A third tradition, written down[20] for Newbold by Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim[21] confirms the Amarar associations of Agib by describing ' a well known gallant man of the Amarar ' as descended from Osman the son of Sheikh Ali Agib Manjulak.

Agib's activities in the Suakin region are also reflected in the traditions of Beni Amer origins. It was the Gaalin and Fung who assisted Amer to defeat the Belu near Akik, thus avenging the death of Amer's father and making him Sheikh of the Beni Amer.[22] The Abdullab Chronicle attributes this act to Agib, calling Amer by the name of Nabit, and making it the sequel of a war on the Sobaha.[23] There is a brief reference to the same episode in the Habab tradition.[24]

[18] The original typescript says ' undermerit,' which I have thus emended. It is thus given in the version given in *SNR*, xx, 185, which is probably from the same source.

[19] A nickname ; his full name was Muhammad Mubarak. Genealogical dead reckoning gives him a date of *c.* 1600 (Sudan Govt. File No. 66 : E 5, genealogies 18, 22–23, 35).

[20] Newbold's File II, 328. Newbold notes that it was written in the winter of 1931–2. It relates early Beja and Fung history ; the history of the Amarar nuggara ; of the Balawiyyin tribe ; of Kook, the Bisharin progenitor and hero ; and adds some notes on the Ababda. A previous instalment by the same writer (File I, 89–102) gives more traditional Beja history, and was written in January, 1930.

[21] Presumably the former *omda* of the Musayab Amarar : see *SNR*, XVIII, 213.

[22] Newbold's File II, 358–9 (Nazir Idris Saleh, January, 1932).

[23] I can find out nothing about this tribe except that it had a traditional connection with the Kassala district (MacMichael I, 319). Is the name in fact not tribal but a reference to Soba (spelt Sobaha on European medieval maps)? The place must have been destroyed before Agib's time, but some dim memory of the event may have survived and been wrongly attributed to him.

[24] Newbold's File II, 319 (Hassan Kantibai Mahmud, 1932).

The Abdullab Chronicler also tells a curious story about the making of a road to Suakin for pilgrims. Agib ' collected large store of butter and, pouring it over the rocks, set fire to it until the rocks split and he passed through to Suakin ' where he made a large reservoir.[25] This story bears all the marks of being an etiological legend accounting for an observed feature of the landscape. Now the story just quoted about the undermining of Jebel Okwer (also by Agib) clearly had a like origin, and Jebel Okwer stands right above the old caravan-route from Suakin to Berber (*i.e.* to Agib's domain) near the difficult rocky watershed. Do both tales relate to the same topographical feature, and if so is it still to be seen there ? One would suspect that it might refer to abandoned mines.

These legends certainly contain a kernel of historical fact. They imply that Agib conducted a campaign of ' conquest by marriage ' amongst the Beja tribes, and that his son Othman, himself the result of one such campaign, carried on in the same way. They also suggest that Agib himself spent much of his time at Suakin and even had a residence there, and that he interested himself in its welfare. This is in good accord with the recorded history of Suakin, which states[26] that the Fung shared the customs of Suakin with the Turks ; for Agib was in fact only the agent of the Fung king with whom tradition so often confuses him.

Sheikh Agib el Mangilak left a great name in the land, and has a place in the traditions of Beja and Fung as well as amongst his own people. During his reign Islam was established in the vacuum left by the disappearance of the Christian kingdom, and as Viceroy of the Arabs he himself must have helped to establish it.[27] For some of the holy men he built and endowed mosques[28] ; according to the Abdullab tradition he built mosques at Ahmed Mugi near Roseires, at Fadasi near the Abyssinian boundary and amongst the Koma and A'aman tribes, a Moslem district in Abyssinia ; and traces of them were said to survive to the present day.[29] That is certainly true of the mosque at Ahmed Mugi, for until *c.* 1924 the site was marked by an ebony pole ' reputed to be part of the mosque or house of El Agib wad Manguluk ' (*sic*). (The site is an ancient one strewn with bricks and potsherds).[30]

The reign of Agib ended in a quarrel with the Fung over a ' change of custom.'[31] Idris was against declaring war upon the Fung, ' for,' he said, ' they will kill you and subject your seed afterwards until the day of resurrection.' To Badi, vizier (Sid el Kum) of the Fung king Adlan, he foretold victory and a return to Sennar as king. The words of Idris's biographer suggest that he regarded the Fung as the aggressor ; Abdullab tradition certainly took this view. The Fung Chronicle states that Agib rebelled. It seems probable that Agib had become strong enough to

[25] *SNR*, XVII, 63 ; this is the Hafir el Fulah near which is a reputed burial-ground of the Fung kings, where Badi IV and Abdulla Gema'a are said to be buried : *SNR*, XIX, 286.

[26] See p. 131.

[27] The introduction to the Tabaqat (defective in MacMichael's manuscript) gives the names of several important teachers of Islam who flourished under his rule (*SNR*, VI, 205).

[28] *e.g.* for those whose biographies are given in D3, Nos. 60, 126.

[29] *SNR*, XVII, 62.

[30] *SNR*, XIII, 263 ; Chattaway's Site 9. He describes it as at Abu Khallag. The map (55 O) marks Adb el Khallaq as the next village above Ahmar Mogi, about 40 miles below Roseires on the west bank.

[31] See MacMichael II, 247 (biography of Idris, D3, No. 141) and compare the alleged cause of his quarrel with the Fung, *SNR*, XVII, 61. (The facts are, however, chronologically confused).

become a threat to the uneasy alliance, and the Fung king may well have seized an opportunity to attack him. The battle was fought at a place called, in all except one manuscript (D7), Karkoj ; Agib was defeated and killed, and tradition relates that he was then so old that his eyelids sagged down over his cheeks, and were tied up with string round his forehead.[32] He was buried at Gerri, where his tomb (PLATE 2a) is said still to be visited by pilgrims.[33] It seems to have been a decisive victory for it is mentioned several times in the records ; in Bruce's Arabic list Adlan is called ' he of the Karkoj battle,' and Cailliaud, in a list that may come from a similar source, refers to ' Karkoug ' under Adlan.[34]

Of the three places called Karkoj, the southernmost, near Singa, is too far south and an unlikely place for a battle between the forces of Sennar and Gerri. There is a small place called Karkoj (sheet 55 G. LAT. 14° 28′ : Long. 33° 27′) on the west bank of the Blue Nile between Rufa'a and Wad Medani ; this is a possible site. Another possible one is that place now called Karkoj (Sheet 55 B : Lat. 15° 34′ : Long. 32° 36′) on the east bank of the Blue Nile 5 miles above Khartoum. Cailliaud marks it on his map and names it ' Kolkoul ou Korkot,' thus suggesting a confusion of names which could be responsible for the name ' Kalkol ' given to the battle by the Fung Chronicle.[35] A site near Khartoum is supported by the Abdullab tradition, which locates the battle ' at a place called in the old days Dabakra, now Karkoj, on the east bank of the Blue Nile, near Khartoum.' If Debakra is to be equated with Debarki, it is of course quite a different place from the southern Karkoj, being situated 30 miles east thereof on the Dinder. The name Dabakra may have got inserted here through some confusion with another battle there.[36] The author of the Chronicle himself evidently thought the battle took place on the east bank of the Blue Nile near Khartoum.

There is yet another possible site which might be called ' near Khartoum.' Two miles north of Kamlin there is an island called Kalkol,[37] and a village of the same name opposite on the west bank. This Kalkol was a Shukria village when Sha'a ed Din, their famous Sheikh, was a small boy, before the Shukria were ' massacred ' (*i.e.* defeated in a big battle ?) by the Fung. It is tempting to equate this ' massacre ' with the battle of Karkoj, and to locate it here. The Shukria might well have united with the Abdullabs on this occasion.[38]

Adlan, the Fung king, followed up his victory by marching northwards through Dongola as far as Meshwa, certainly the modern Mushu, near the 3rd cataract. There, as foretold by Sheikh Idris, he was deposed by the army, and

[32] Evidently a proverbial indication of great age, for the same is related of Ismail, king of Tegali in the 18th century (*SNR*, XVIII, 14).

[33] *SNR*, XVII, 64. The tomb is still known and was pointed out to Mr Shinnie and myself on 30th January, 1910, by the villagers, though, not being Abdullabs, they take little interest in such matters. No one knew any more about Agib than his name, not even who he was. The grave is a coffin-shaped area outlined in brick ; over it was once a gubba whose collapsed bricks and timber struts lie round. There seemed to have been a small courtyard on the east, once surrounded by a rough stone wall.

[34] II, 256 : but, as MacMichael has already pointed out, he wrongly makes Adlan killed by Agib instead of *vice versa*.

[35] MacMichael II, 360 (D7 § 20). See also his note, II, 57–8.

[36] Perhaps in the 1st Abyssinian war ; see p. 183.

[37] Sheet 55 C : Lat. 15° 07′ : Long. 33° 11′.

[38] *SNR*, III, 38. Jackson puts the battle at this place (' Kalakol near Kamlin ') ; see *Tooth of Fire*, p. 26.

Badi his vizier appointed in his place.[39] This event, which for reasons discussed elsewhere,[40] probably occurred in 1611–12, enables us to assign the battle of Karkoj and the death of Agib to the same year. No reason is given for Adlan's deposition, and one may assume that Badi merely profited by a favourable opportunity. The Fung Chronicler states that Agib was succeeded by his son Othman, who at once collected an army to fight against the Fung ; but he ' died prematurely ' and Sheikh Mohammed Agil was appointed in his place and prepared to continue the struggle. But a treaty (some of whose provisions are given) was arranged by Sheikh Idris before fighting was resumed, and was recorded in a book called ' the Covenant of Protection.' Othman was the offspring of Agib's Beja liaison at Suakin, and the founder of a branch of the Amarar, from among whom he may have collected his army. There is no reason to doubt the Abdullab tradition ; although it is our only authority for Othman's succession, his son Ali is well attested in the Tabaqat biographies.[41]

[39] MacMichael II, 268–9 (D3, No. 241).
[40] See pp. 180 ff.
[41] D3, Nos. 38, 236.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FIRST ABYSSINIAN WAR

WE must now return to the Fung kings. Dekin was succeeded by Dura of whom nothing is known, and Dura by Tabl who is a mere name—and even that uncertain, being given in the Arabic version of Bruce's list as Taiyib ibn Abdelgadir, A.H. 996–1000 (A.D. 1587–8 to 1591–2). Cailliaud's statement[1] that he was killed at Shendi is obviously a wrong attribution, for it was Tabl II who was killed there.[2] Cailliaud also states that he was the father of Ounsa I by a daughter of Agib. His successors Ounsa I and Abdelgadir are also dismissed in a couple of lines, and the chronicler's brevity may perhaps be deliberate. Abdelgadir, at any rate, was not a king such as a Fung historian would approve of, for he became a vassal of the king of Abyssinia, where he lived in exile for eleven years or more. The Arabic list states that he was deposed in Rajab, A.H. 1015 (equivalent to December, 1606), and the Chronicle of Susenyos[3] states that at Easter, 1607, the king of Sennar[4] sent a present of horses to Socinios. Easter Day that year was on April 5th and the year 1015 ended on 17th April, 1607. Before Christmas, 1607, Abdelgadir, accompanied by Ali son of Ajeb, came to Susenyos (who was then at Bad, south of Lake Tana), having been obliged to leave his country ' by reason of a discord raised against the peace.' He brought with him much horse and foot and became the vassal of Susenyos, who presented him with silk robes and a gold bracelet —the symbol of vassalage—and settled the town of Chelga on him. This last act was the exact equivalent of the gift of a manor to a feudal lord, who then owed the king service for it. After Christmas Susenyos raided the inhabitants of Vandje[5] and Lag, who were in arrears with their tribute, and gave the cattle captured to the two exiled princes.[6] In 1609 they helped Susenyos to quell the revolt of Malkas-adeq[7]; they are last heard of in October, 1618, when they came and paid homage to him at Dekhana.[8] It seems certain that Adelgadir had already been deposed for some months when he sent the present of horses to Susenyos; his reign was certainly over before Christmas, 1607. The events recorded are important because they are the first whose date is exact and can be checked.

Adlan is called ' of Karkoj ' in Bruce's Arabic list, referring to the battle there which has already been dealt with. The Chronicle says that a number of holy men flourished in his reign, but the dates of those mentioned are inconsistent, and the

[1] II, 256.
[2] D7, § 109.
[3] Edited by F. M. Esteves Pereira (Lisbon), Vol. II, 1900, 78.
[4] His name, not here mentioned, can safely be taken as Abdelgadir from what is said; Pereira, p. 80.
[5] I give the Portuguese transliterations for the proper names, in the forms used by Pereira.
[6] Pereira, p. 80.
[7] Pereira, p. 96.
[8] Pereira, p. 156. The date has been checked and proved correct by the mention there of two comets observed in November, 1618, which are authenticated by European observations. The facts are also recorded by Paez (Beccari III, 328) from the same source.

remark is probably just a piece of padding. In any case Adlan did not reign for more than seven years according to the Chronicle itself, and probably for not more then five.

He was succeeded by Badi I, Sid el Kum, in 1611, the date given by Bruce's list and the Chronicle; for, though no exact check is possible, this date and the length assigned to his reign are consistent with the other evidence. All that is certain, however, is that, in April, 1617, Badi had been succeeded by Rubat.[9] When Badi came to the throne the Fungs were probably at the height of their power. The Abdullabs had been humbled and weakened by their recent defeat, and their sheikhs did not last long. Muhammad el Agayl, Agib's eldest son and Othman's successor,[10] was followed by his own son Khidr, who was deposed after six months[11]; then followed a number of sheikhs whose order is uncertain and reigns short. They seem all to be crowded into Badi's short reign of six years, during which also we are told that authority was divided between Agib, son of Ereib and Qanis.[12] The march of Adlan and Badi into Dongola had no doubt included a visit to the custom-house there, with satisfactory results for the Treasury. The Shaigia were still quiescent and had not yet begun to hold up caravans in the desert. The Butana tribes were still paying tribute; Nail had not yet seceded, and Fatima was still—in theory—forwarding to Sennar her pickings from the Suakin caravans. Feeling on the top of his little world the truculent Badi decided that it was no longer necessary to be polite to his Abyssinian neighbour. His father Abdelgadir had exchanged presents with the Emperor,[13] one of which (the kettledrum) was interpreted as implying vassalage. Badi himself had received a gold bracelet and a chair with gold decoration; in return he sent the Emperior a couple of lame old horses. Whatever the exact significance of the Emperor's gifts there could be not doubt about the meaning of Badi's. To this deliberate insult were added other alleged provocations. Before his secession, while he was still Badi's vassal, Nail son of Agub had raided Dambya, the heart of the Emperor's domain, and Badi had sent no reply to the latter's protest. When Aleb[14]—not Alico, as Bruce calls him—the governor (seyum) of Mazaga, an Abyssinian province bordering on the Atbara, had absconded to Sennar, taking with him his horses and the provincial kettledrum, the Emperor had again protested, demanding that the kettledrum at any rate should be returned; but again there was no reply. When the Emperor had sent a punitive expedition against the people of Chusen[15] in June, 1611, they had taken refuge in the Fung village of Sarki where they had been ill-treated, the particular grievance mentioned being a charge made for digging graves and the detention, when they returned to Chusen, of their families.

[9] Pereira, *Chron. Sus.* II, 124–5. The Fung Chronicle records nothing of Badi except his dates.

[10] D7, § 20.

[11] D3, No. 58.

[12] *SNR*, VI, 205.

[13] Bruce III, 312. The Emperor sent a kettledrum and Abd el Kadir a trained falcon. Bruce does not give his authority for this statement, which is not to be found in Paez or the Abyssinian annals. The exchange of gifts seems to have been made before Abd el Kadir's deposition.

[14] III, 314.

[15] An Abyssinian village (also spelt Chavsen) near Sarki and identified by Pereira with Poncet's Tambisso between the Gandwa and Shinfa: *Chron. Sus.*, p. 424. The inhabitants are described as black people (Xanqela=Shangalla), and their offence was alleged to be that of taking the cattle of Bambaho and doing harm to the merchants and cotton-collectors, and robbing the people of Dambya.

Finally, ' when the mother of Joseph, son of Jebara, came to visit Susenyos, the people of Sarki had detained her there.'[16]

We have no corresponding statement of Badi's case. He probably regarded the harbouring of his father Abdelgadir as an unfriendly act ; it was always possible that the latter might try to regain his throne with Abyssinian aid (as did Badi IV), and if he succeeded he would have become a vassal of Abyssinia. That possibility would not be overlooked by Badi and his counsellors, and would enlist their support for his policy of aggression. The secession of Nail would be regarded as a genuine grievance. The other incidents were of a kind that occurred frequently and would hardly by themselves lead to war. They could quite easily have been settled if the will to do so had been present. But it would be wrong to attribute too much weight to purely political motives. Badi and Susenyos were barbarian despots. Badi may have nursed a grievance, real or imaginary ; Susenyos may have desired to exercise his own undoubted military talents and acquire slaves and booty. There was nothing but fear of the consequences to restrain either the Christian or the Mohammedan from doing what he liked. Each would snatch an advantage from the other if he thought he could do so successfully.

The war began in the summer of 1618 and ended in the second half of 1619. It consisted of a series of raids on the frontier districts of the Fung dominions, mostly (like modern warfare) at the expense of the unfortunate inhabitants. There appears to have been only one engagement in which the armed forces of each side met each other.

Za Giyorgis, the brother of Susenyos, reported in the summer of 1618 that he had made war on certain districts belonging to Erubat (the Fung king) whose names were Barta, Qaheba, Halava, Wad Deber, Abudom, Batal and Jabay. Jebel Halava is situated at the point where the modern Abyssinian frontier crosses the Khor Dibaba, which may perhaps be the Wad Deber. Close by them ran the main caravan-route from Sennar and Egypt into Abyssinia, by Sarki. There is a name Yabatal near Guba, 35 miles east of Fazughli, and a village Badala between the Shinfa and Jira at their confluence ; the latter is the more probable site. The site of the other places mentioned is not known. At the same time there also came the news that Abba Yeshaq, who had been sent by Abba Marqos, the patriarch of Alexandria, to ' protect the Christian flock of Ethiopia,' had died in the land of Sennar after a long detention there. (Abba Marqos himself died on 25th January, 1617, so that Yeshaq may have been detained at least a year or more).

The raids of Za Giyorgis seem to have roused the king of Sennar to action, for he sent his captains Avenala and Abdlat, seyum of Deleb, to defend Sarki. They attacked the village of Chanqa and killed Mohammed Seid. Avenall and Abdlat are both Arab names ('On Allah and 'Abdallah) but nothing more is known of the persons in question. Deleb was five hours march east of Giesim (Meshra Humr el Qism ?)

[16] Pereira, 124–5. The same account is given by Paez, Beccari III, 353–4, which is reprinted with a translation in MacMichael, II, 435–6. The last sentence in this passage of Paez is compressed and obscure ; the original Abyssinian text, translated, is as follows :—' On account of all this the King was annoyed and received Nayl and made him his vassal, promising him many gifts ; and he devastated the land of Sarki and destroyed it. These were the causes of the enmity of the two kings, and the cause of the first devastation of the land of Sarki, province of the domain of the King of Senar, in the days of King Urbat, since his father Bade had died.'

and was so called from ' the long walks of trees which you see as far as your eyes can carry.'[17] Chanqa is Sancho, which in Bruce's time was a semi-independent Mohammedan dependency of Ras el Fil (Gallabat) ruled by Gumbaro, the giant elephant-hunter. (Bruce has left a graphic description of his hill-fort and hall hung with hunting-trophies[18]). Susenyos, roused in turn, took the field himself, and marched to Bad, camping near Tankal. He did not, however, go to the front himself, but sent Yonael, the governor of Bagemedr with Za Giyorgis and Qebea Krestos under him, to Sarki, which they reached in seven days. The purpose of following this circuitous route right round the southern end of Lake Tana was doubtless to mislead the enemy. They arrived opposite Sarki at dawn, and found the people of Erubat prepared for battle. When the Abyssinian forces got to within a stone's throw, they hurled their spears, ' and the Balaw fled and were surrounded and 326 were killed ; the soldiers threw their heads at the feet of their captain Yonael.' Abdlat was killed, but Avenala escaped. The usual booty was captured and taken to the king, who rejoiced that Abba Yeshaq and his own vassal Mohammed Seid had been avenged. Za Giyorgis, however, died soon afterwards, of an illness. The same year there was an epidemic, said to have been imported from Sennar.[19]

Susenyos, who evidently did not like taking unnecessary risks, left Gondar because of the plague in October, 1618, and camped in Dekhana where, as we have said, he was visited by Abdelgadir and Ali[20] and also by Kamel, the king of Dankale, all of whom paid homage to him. He then went to Danqaz and chose a site for the palace which the Portuguese patriarch and historian, Paez, was to build for him. It was in the next month, November, that the appearance of two comets is recorded, providing a welcome and highly satisfactory test of the chronological accuracy of the annals.

Between November, 1618, and March, 1619, Susenyos prepared and launched a campaign of aggression against the whole of the Border, from the Blue Nile in the south to Kassala in the north. The army was divided into three parts. The largest division, under Malkea Krestos and Yonael, was to advance into Sennar as far as Dabarki and the banks of the Abai ; Valda Havaryat, son-in-law of Susenyos, was to attack the lands of the Atbara, and was given as commanders of his forces

[17] Poncet, p. 35. The name survives in Meshra ed Doleib Mugdu on the Rahad, where it is joined by the Khor Mugdu.

[18] VI, 245–9. His name seems to be the same as that of a king of Fazughli about the same period, Guimbar : see Cailliaud II, 397.

[19] Pereira II, 154–6. The statement that the epidemic came from Sennar is made by the editor and is not in the Abyssinian annals, which merely mention its occurrence. A reference to the epidemic in the Annual Letter of the Portuguese missionaries for 1619 is quoted, but neither here is there any mention of Sennar.

[20] Ali son of Ajeb had fled from the Kingdom of Sennar with Abdelgadir in 1607. His identity is uncertain. One would naturally suppose him to have been an Abdullab, but there is no Ali in any of the Abdullab pedigrees at this date. He may of course have been an Abdullab for all that ; but the name Agab occurs also, though at a much later date, in the pedigree of the Sheikhs Abu Gin of the Hammada. The founder of the family fortunes, Musa abu Gin, is believed by tribal tradition, to have taken service as a young man with the King of Abyssinia, and on his return to have become Mangil of the tribe on the Dinder. The date of his return is estimated at about 1630, which would be quite consistent with his identification with Ali, were it not for the difference of names. After 1618 Ali is not mentioned again in the *Chronicle of Susenyos*. (I wish to thank Mr A. J. Arkell for most kindly obtaining for me a genealogy of the Abu Gin and a note, briefly summarised above, on the origin of the tribe ; as, however, it does not otherwise relate to anything in this book, I have not thought it necessary to print it here. It is based on the work of Messrs N. F. Nalder and A. W. M. Disney).

the Galla captain Varenta and the Turk Mastafa ; Takla Giyorgis was assigned the land of Takha (Kassala) which he was to attack with the men of the province of Tegre.

Dabarki is a village on the Dinder only 70 miles from Sennar, on the main caravan-route. But Yonael's forces did not get to it. As before they confined themselves to looting a few frontier villages, three of which had been attacked in the previous campaign. The others were Radamer, Abromla, Sin and Sakhya. Abromla is the modern Jebel Abu Ramla, just inside the Abyssinian frontier 36 miles NE of Fazughli. It was evidently a strong hill-fort, for the Annals describe it as a ' terrible and precipitous stronghold ' (amba horrenda e escarpada), and relate that when it revolted against King Dakin he was unable to recapture it. This remark is inserted merely in order to magnify the achievement of the soldiers of Susenyos, who, it is said, destroyed it and killed the inhabitants who had taken refuge there. They also captured its king and led him back to Susenyos with a rope round his neck.

The reference to King Dakin is interesting but puzzling. The only king of Sennar of that name hitherto known was the fifth, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. It is unusual in Annals such as these to find mention of minor events that occurred long before the annalist's own times ; and here the event must have happened about 50 years before. Pereira[21] quotes an extract from the missionaries' Annual Letter of 1619 (p. 171) which speaks of fighting by the Emperor in three areas (trè parti), with three strong armies, against ' Rè Dacin.' There can be no doubt that the writer is referring to the campaign of 1619, but all other accounts agree in calling the ruler of Sennar Urbat (or Erubat). Is it possible that he also bore the name of Dakin ? The Letter adds that Susenyos had nominated as Governor of this kingdom (Sennar ?) a Christian ruler who was to allow the Christian faith to be preached. The reference to ' this kingdom '—none has been mentioned —makes one suspect that the writer was confusing the *kingdom* of Dekin, which, according to Tellez,[22] was a name by which that of Sennar was commonly (vulgarmente) called, with its *king*. No explanation is quite satisfactory, and I prefer to suppose that in this instance the Annalist had a long official memory.

The second division was to attack Atbara, whose centre of government in Bruce's time was at Teawa, a village of the group now called Gedaref. Valda Havaryat, with his Galla and Turkish commanders, arrived in the land of Atbara three hours after dawn on a Sunday on the nineteenth day after leaving Susenyos at Danqaz. Now Gedaref is just 190 miles from Danqaz, and the normal route is quite direct and mostly through country controlled by the Emperor ; that agrees very nicely with the usual allowance of ten miles a day for an army on the march in its own country. The ruler of Atbara was a certain Haket, probably the Ethiopian form of the Arab name 'Aqit ; he was driven out, and the usual booty taken included also camels and three pairs of kettledrums, and was greater in amount than that of the first division. Valda Havaryat returned to Danqaz on the 46th day after his departure.[23]

[21] p. 485.

[22] *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta*, Book I, cap. VIII, quoted by Pereira, *loc. cit.* Tellez was probably wrong. The name existed, but with another connotation.

[23] The Annals regularly record periods of absence and speed of return. Presumably a commander who delayed his return might come under suspicion of disloyalty.

The Annalist, carried away by his exuberance, claimed that in a week Susenyos had accomplished more than any of his predecessors, ravaging from the sea at Sevaken to the gold mines of Fazequelo. (Actually his armies did not get within 250 miles of Suakin or 100 miles of the southern goldfields). He then describes the ceremony at which the Emperor received his victorious captain and his camels carrying the captured kettledrums, adding that he had witnessed this with his own eyes, and was writing the account in the third month after it happened. Another hand has added the information that the Annalist's name was Takla Selase, but that he was called Tino, a Gallo word, because he was of small stature.[24]

This was in Lent, Easter Day that year being on 28th March. In May, 1619, it was decided to make another raid on the Atbara region. Valda Havaryat was sent northwards through Wagara (a district immediately north of Gondar) where he received (but ignored) a message from the Emperor to await reinforcements on the Wagara frontier. Going ahead alone he reached the Atbara, but Haket got away again, taking with him his flocks and herds, and the Abyssinian had to be content with a kettledrum overlooked on the previous foray.

Malkea Krestos pursued his own course and met with some Shangalla led by their chief Natoy, all of whom he defeated and killed (so the Annalist says). The third day after this he reached the desert and plain of Atbara, ' land of thirst and heat, without water.' For three days they carried water with them for themselves and their animals. Then they came upon the people of Atbara called Bagara, who defended themselves with their herds, like the Maya and Zalan.[25] A battle was fought and the Abyssinians were victorious, capturing a huge quantity of cattle. Malkea Krestos returned loaded with spoil, but of Valda Havaryat it is merely recorded that he returned, and was rebuked by the king for abandoning his companion. As a result the Atbara region was deserted and abandoned to the beasts of the field, and the inhabitants thereof took refuge in Sennar.

It is not easy to follow these operations, as the Annalist mentions no place-names. But it is clear that they were conducted well to the east of Gedaref, and probably east of the Atbara, between that river and the Takkaze.

Of the third field of operations we are merely told that during the same summer Takla Giyorgis, Makuanen of Tegre,[26] made war in Takha as ordered by the king and then returned and re-entered his province of Tegre. It is to be concluded that he either kept the booty for himself, or did not capture any—probably the latter, for we learn later that the inhabitants of both Takha and Atbara had received timely warning of the raid and decamped. As he did not return to the king the Annalist may not have been able to obtain much information. But it is much more probable that the silence covers an unsuccessful foray.

One might have expected Susenyos to have been satisfied with all this loot; but the appetite of these robber kings was insatiable. So long as the going was good and there still remained a single unplundered community within his reach, he had

[24] Paez gives substantially the same account in the Annalist's own words. Probably he was copying from the same unique manuscript (now, thanks to Bruce, safe in the Bodleian) before additions had been made by a later hand.

[25] Doubtless a reference to the tactics of driving them forward into the enemy's ranks as a shield to cover their attack. For another instance see *SNR*, XVII, 66.

[26] *i.e.* Tigre-makonnen, a word occurring frequently in European accounts from the 15th century onwards.

no intention of stopping. Recent events had shown that the nomads of the plain provided better hunting than the hill-forts of the south. He therefore chose as his next victim the queen of Arom, whose name was Fatima and whose 'capital' was so situated that it served as a market for the people of Atbara and Takha. It was also at a distance of eight days' march from the province of Shire; and one may assume that a day's march in *hostile* territory was at least 12 miles and possibly more.[27]. It has not been observed by previous students that about 30 miles NNW of Kassala is a place called Aroma, giving its name to a railway-station; here or hereabouts, then, it would seem was the 'capital' of Fatima.

Bruce[28] calls her 'Negusta Errum' which he translates 'Queen of the Greeks' and derives from the word Roumi; but the transliterated spelling of the Annals is definitely 'Arom' not 'Errum.' There is a Kanzi-Dongolwi word *urum*, spelt *oroma* by Burckhardt,[29] meaning 'black.' The word occurs in the famous Piankhi stela as P-w'-r-m, which Breasted[30] says means 'literally "the Negro," from a Nubian word "urum," black, and the Egyptian article.' It seems very probable that it was this word *urum*[31] which gave a name to Fatima's capital; the site is at the head of the Gash delta, where one would look to find fertility and (perhaps) its accompanying black soil.[32]

The task of hunting down Fatima was entrusted to the Barnagash Gabra Maryam who took with him the people of Zana and Adet (two contiguous regions between the Tacazzé and Adowa) and those of Shire. Eight days later he reached his objective and the capture of the usual booty is recorded; but the queen herself had fled and gone into hiding. Gabra Maryam waited eleven days and sent her a peremptory demand to come and surrender, threatening otherwise to remain there for the winter and eat the cattle he had taken. On receiving the message the queen came and submitted. She probably realized that, though the threat may have been bluff, there would be a succession of other raids if something were not done to appease Susenyos. Gabra Maryam took Fatima back with him to the Emperor at Danqaz where he arrived in September, 1619. Fatima was led before the Emperor and did obeisance. 'When the Emperor saw that she was old and infirm and could not stand, he told her kindly to sit down'; and this act is recorded as an example of his courtesy. He proceeded to harangue her, saying that the kings who preceded her were vassals of his own predecessors, asking why she had not paid the tribute due? She replied that for a long time no one had asked for it; and that the Fung, 'who are stronger than you, overcame me, because I am a weak woman.' The king then shifted his ground and asked her why, when he sent his forces to attack Atbara and Takha, had she given the people of those regions warning of their

[27] When the King entered hostile territory on a raid, the Abyssinian annals usually record that he began to make 'forced marches.'

[28] III, 316.

[29] *Travels*, 1819, 157.

[30] *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 421.

[31] MacMichael I, 119. The same name may occur in Dongola, applied to an island which Waddington (217) calls Aroom, Cailliaud (map) Roum, and Hoskyns (map) Rouma; it is 11 miles N. of Old Dongola and is to be identified with the modern island of Bakri or that of Kalanarti.

[32] It has been stated that the Atbara was also called the Bahr el Aswad, from the quantity of black earth brought down by it during the rains. (*An essay on the Nile and its tributaries*, by Charles T. Beke, 1847, 3, giving authorities). The same name for it is recorded (in the form Bahar el Uswood) by English, *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 125. Krump also refers to it as the Black River. The same cause that gave this name to the Atbara may have produced the name Arom (Urum) on the Gash.

approach ? Fatima denied that she had done so, saying that her village was a market frequented by the people of those two regions, who had heard there of the impending attack and taken the news back with them. Having thus cross-examined her it is recorded that Susenyos did not ill-treat her, but provided her with the necessaries of life and put a house at her disposal. During the days she remained there he did her many kindnesses ' and adorned her with the ornaments of women.' An annual tribute was arranged and she was sent back home. Susenyos, it is said, spent the winter doing good deeds and distributing gifts. He must have had plenty of loot to dispose of.

Thus ended the first war between Abyssinia and the Fungs. Only once did the professional armies meet each other, and on that occasion the two rulers remained discreetly in the rear. Except on this occasion, when his army was defeated, the Fung king did nothing at all to protect his vassals, who might well have thought that this was a poor return for the tribute demanded of them (but not always paid). For the only claim ever put forward by these overlords in justification of their demand for tribute was that they protected the payers against foreign enemies. The aggression of Susenyos was just such an attack. But his own predecessors too had been inactive when Fatima and her principality was overrun, as she alleged, by the Fungs. If the plea of protection had been sincere, the proper course would have been to attack the Fung king himself at the time of his aggression, and not his victim. But dog does not eat dog in feudal society.

If anyone can be said to have profited by these barbarous forays it was the Emperor of Abyssinia and his chieftains. The king of Sennar may have lost some revenue from the devasted regions, but one suspects that he had seldom if ever received any of it. The relative strength of Sennar and Abyssinia probably remained much the same as before : Sennar may have been slightly weakened ; but it retained its independence and seems during the later years of the century to have attained a fairly high degree of material prosperity. The customs of Argo Island, Gerri and Suakin were unaffected ; the villages of the Nile Valley continued to produce food and other commodities ; and the caravans of Kordofan and Darfur still frequented Sennar. Rubat could afford to have some of his eastern provinces overrun ; in a few years the stock of cattle would be replenished. His capital was at a safe distance and protected by the Nile ; the armies of those days grew weaker with every mile they advanced and could never remain long on a distant front, as the second Abyssinian war was to prove.

Unfortunately we have only the Abyssinian account of this war. The silence of native Sudanese authorities, such as they are, may mean little or nothing. Probably the whole series of raids did little to disturb the tranquillity of the cultivators of the Blue Nile valley. The Fungs were on the up grade, and within a century we find that they had pushed their frontier forwards to within 50 miles of Gondar, the capital.[33] The advance may even have occurred during this war, through the capture of Sankaho by Sennar. All we know is that in 1701 Chirkin (Turkhin) was described by the Franciscans as the ' last place in the kingdom of the Fungi ' ; and Chirkin is 30 miles *east* of Sankaho. What was at stake was not an increase of area but control of an important trade-route and the customs-posts along it.

[33] See p. 207 (Fung frontier at Turkhin in 1701).

CHAPTER XVII

KING BADI II, ABU DUKHN

RUBAT was succeeded by his son Badi abu Dukhn whose reign was long and, it seems, fairly prosperous—mere length was often in itself a proof of success in those days. Outstanding events were the extension of the empire into the Nuba hills of Kordofan, the revolt of the Shaigia, and the formation of a Palace Guard.

Badi himself is, like the rest, little more than a name. We know that he consorted with the fekis and was influenced by them ; he would even make a 60 mile journey to consult the feki Dafa'alla[1] at Abu Haraz—and in those days kings did not lightly undertake such journeys. On the whole it would appear that the influence of the holy men was a good one.

The mid-17th century seems to have been a period of peace and prosperity. The Abdullabs had had time to recover from their severe defeat at the beginning of the century, and one of their sheikhs, Mismar walad Arābi el Halashi, went to Dongola in 1659 where he ' wrought havoc among the men of rank and dignity '[2] ; but he was deposed by the king of Sennar and Ali ibn Othman appointed in his place.[3]

The Kordofan expedition[4] was the chief achievement of Badi. In the mountains 140 miles SW of El Ais was the kingdom of Tegali, founded, about the same time as the kingdom of Sennar, by Arab immigrants. The king, Geili abu Gurun, had married Aǧaib um Shilla, daughter of Rubat, king of Sennar[5] ; he had, however, ill-treated a friend of Badi's, and in reply to a protest had sent an insolent message, challenging Badi to cross the ' wastes of Um Lama'a ' if he could. Badi accepted the challenge and began by a raid up the White Nile against ' its inhabitants, who are called Shilluk ' ; this no doubt was to scare them so that they would not play any tricks while he was west of the river. He then invaded the mountains of Tegali, having crossed the waterless waste of Um Lama'a on foot—probably so as to use the horses for carrying water, as Bruce used his camels in similar circumstances. Tegali had been fortified and was besieged ; but the besiegers were hospitably given provisions during the night. This generosity, we are assured, won the heart of Badi ; terms were arranged, on the basis of a fixed annual tribute, and Badi returned to Sennar with prisoners. There he built a village for each different race of prisoners, ' and these villages surround Sennar like a wall to the east and west, and the inhabitants acted as troops for the aid and protection of the realm, and they bred and multiplied until the fall of the Fung kingdom. Now each village was named after the race inhabiting it, for instance, " Tekali " and " el Kadero " and " el Kanak " and " el Karku." '[6]

[1] D3, No. 84.
[2] D3, No. 66.
[3] D3, No. 58.
[4] The date is unrecorded ; perhaps it may have been after the Shaigia revolt (*c.* 1659–60 ?) : see next Chapter.
[5] *SNR*, XVIII, 10–11.
[6] D7, § XXXII.

Arkell[7] is sceptical of D7's account of this raid, but surely without good reason. The Chronicle shows a marked improvement beginning with § 29, and these military villages are certainly not an invention of the compilers, for Bruce found them there in 1772. He says[8] that in these Nuba villages, which, at the distance of four or five miles, surround the whole capital ' are cantoned all the soldiers of the Mek of Sennar. They are either purchased or taken by force, from Fazuclo, and the provinces to the south upon the mountains Dyre and Tegla [Gebels Dair and Tegale]. Having settlements and provisions given them, as also arms put in their hands, they never wish to desert, but live a very domestic and sober life. Many of them that I have conversed with seem a much gentler sort of negro than those from Bahar el Aice, that is, than those of whom the Funge, or government of Sennaar, are composed.' He proceeds to give a lengthy and interesting description of the inhabitants. The villages, he says, were called Dahera. Three out of the four named above are marked on Russegger's map, compiled in 1837 ; there can therefore be no question of their invention *c.* 1870, and I see no reason for not accepting the Chronicle's account at its face value.

There can also, I think, be little doubt that the creation of this ' palace guard ' was one at least of the objects of the Nuban expedition. Perhaps the Abdullabs had shown signs of giving trouble. A standing army which was also self-supporting was certainly a brilliant invention.

Badi is said to have built a mosque and a palace for himself at Sennar. The palace was five stories high with a council hall inside it, the whole surrounded by a ' vast wall ' with nine gates, all of them in the same frontage.[9] But it is, to say the least, highly improbable that these two buildings (which were of baked brick) were built by Badi II, whose residence seems to have been a much humbler affair. There have survived two contemporary descriptions of this palace. Poncet, who was received by the king in 1699, speaks[10] of a ' confused heap of buildings, without symmetry or beauty,' surrounded by high walls of brick baked in the sun, *i.e.* mud brick. Inside was a large court paved with small square tiles ' of different colours, after the manner of Fayence.' Near by was ' an open hall where the king usually gives audience to Embassadors.' Krump who resided for a year at Sennar (1701–2) and, as the king's doctor, often visited the palace, describes it[11] as a *single*-storied building of clayey mud (lettigen Koth), having a perimeter of ' ¾ of an hour.' The rooms, though high, were dark and bare of furniture and decoration. The floors were covered with mats. The building was surrounded ' for the most part ' by a zareeba of thorns in place of a wall, and had a slightly inclined roof covered with earth, so as to throw off the heavy rain which begins to fall in May and June. Bruce[12] found a building of one storey built of clay, the floors of earth, recalling a barracks. The king was in a small room, not twenty feet square, which was reached by ascending ' two short flights of narrow steps '—so that there must have been one upper storey here at any rate. The floor of this room was covered with broad square tiles over which was placed a Persian carpet, and the walls were hung with tapestry. Cailliaud[13] says that the building which he saw there in 1821, the ancient residence

[7] *SNR*, xv, 210.
[8] vi, 342.
[9] D7, §§ 36–9.
[10] p. 19.
[11] p. 283.
[12] vi, 352.
[13] ii, 258.

of Badi's ancestors, was of baked brick (en briques cuites) and four storeys high. It was then uninhabited and falling into ruin. He made a drawing of it which is here reproduced (Plate 21). Needless confusion has been introduced by Budge who, with characteristic carelessness, reproduced another drawing of Cailliaud's, which shows the Mosque, with a mistranslated title.[14] This is not, as he calls it, a ' view of Sennaar in 1821, taken from the *side* of the Mosque,' but a view looking in the *direction* of the Mosque (du coté de la Mosquée) and showing the mosque itself. Cailliaud's view[15] of the ruined tower has the following title : ' View of the former (ancienne) residence of the Kings of Sennar. The view is taken from the west. The house represented is that of a former king of the name of Bâdé. The building is of four storeys : it is in baked brick, like the adjacent buildings ; the upper part, collapsed, has the rafters exposed amongst the ruins . . . '

A drawing from almost the same view-point was made by Linant on 27th December, 1821, and is reproduced here for the first time (Plate 22). It is therefore contemporary with Cailliaud's, which must have been made during the second half of the same year, and it agrees with it in all essentials. Having been made from a slightly more elevated point it shows, beyond the palace, the conical roofs of straw huts, and in the distance, on the edge of the river, four slender towers that look like the minarets of another mosque. To the right of the palace tower is the grisly spectacle of an impaled corpse, with another on the ground at its foot, being inspected by two dogs and a bird. (The round-bottomed birmahs on the left are carefully drawn and though small may perhaps be found useful as a record of the type then in use ; they differ slightly from the present type in having a high collar-like neck).

The omission of any mention of the four-storied building by Poncet, Krump and Bruce is to be noted, for, had it then existed, one or other of them would surely have mentioned it. Arkell[16] considers the Chronicle's attribution of a five-storied building to Badi abu Dukhn to be ' demonstrably inaccurate,' and he points to the contrasts between Poncet's ' confused heap ' and Bruce's one-storied building on the one hand, and Cailliaud's four-storied tower of baked brick on the other. A passage in Cailliaud's narrative[17] throws some light on the problem. When Cailliaud was talking to Badi in the house where he was then living, Badi ' with obvious emotion pointed out to me from there the ruins of his father's palace, which still dominate the whole town. " Those ruins," he said, " are all that remain of my ancestors' power." ' Would he have used those words if he had built the palace himself, and would Cailliaud (who would surely have known it) have then described it as his father's palace ? Badi's father, Tabl II, only reigned for a year and a half (1788–9), and Badi V for a year (1789) ; but it is certainly suggestive that Tabl is said by Cailliaud to have built the mosque, and by Trémaux to have installed the bronze grills. We are thus placed in a dilemma which compels us to conclude either that the palace and tower were built by puppets who reigned for a year or a year and a half only, or that the greatest architectural achievement of the Fung kings, the tower, was overlooked and not thought worthy of record by three travellers. The

[14] Budge I, 44.
[15] *Album*, 1823, plate 6.
[16] *SNR*, XV, 210–1.
[17] II, 299 ; see also Plates 21 and 22.

evidence of English is ambiguous. He was told,[18] in 1821, that the palace had been built 18 years before (*i.e.* in 1803) by ' the last good Sultan that they had had.' In the earlier edition of the *Narrative*[19] these words appear as ' the late good Sultan.' Badi VI came to the throne for the second time in 1803 ; and if what the people really said was ' by our late good Sultan ' we should only have to suppose that Cailliaud made a mistake, that Badi VI himself *did* build the palace, and that the Chronicle attributed the work to an earlier and perhaps more famous Badi. This is, perhaps, the least objectionable explanation. Alternatively a good case might be made out for Tabl, as Badi's father, and the probable builder of the mosque. There are objections to every solution, and the date of the building of the palace must be left open. On the whole I favour Tabl. Excavation, if carefully carried out, would probably decide the matter.

On *a priori* grounds one would imagine that some royal residence must have first been built in the 16th century when the Fung kings established a permanent capital at Sennar ; and that it was enlarged from time to time by later rulers. The great brick tower was the outstanding feature of the palace in the 19th century ; and this fact suggests that the palace was modelled on the Shaigia castles, which also had such towers.[20] No doubt the builder, whoever he was, determined that he too would have his castle, partly for security, partly as a display of pomp.

In 1844 the bricks of the palace were being used to build an official residence for Soliman Pasha, which is probably the large rectangular building seen on the extreme left of Russegger's picture (Plate 23).

Four views of the mosque are extant. Cailliaud's Plate 7 (reproduced here, Plate 29) shows the (bronze) grills in three windows of the north wall, and along the top a kind of parapet recalling that of Melik Tombol's castle on Argo Island (Plate 5a). The doorway in the west wall was set in a blind pointed archway and approached by three or four steps. At the two eastern corners were square towers ; and Linant shows a tree growing within the walls (Plate 22). Linant's drawing agrees closely with Cailliaud's, but represents the parapet rather differently. English[21] mentions the ' well wrought bronze gratings ' of the windows and the doors which were ' handsomely and curiously carved,' as were also those of the old houses of Sennar. The fact that, according to him, this workmanship was ' inimitable by the present population ' might point to an early date for the building.

Lord Prudhoe, who was evidently no draughtsman, made a drawing of the mosque showing the north and east sides (Plate 30). The north side agrees with the other drawings in having three bronze grills, and the five openings above are similarly disposed. There is a doorway in the middle of the east side, and two buttresses supporting the wall south of it. At the bottom is written :—' Mosque, Sennar, March 24th, 1819. Red brick with layers of wood. Bronze transoms. Upper part of gate broken.' The wooden beams, indicated presumably by horizontal lines in the drawing, were no doubt intended to strengthen the walls ; the technique is common in the stone-built churches of Abyssinia.

[18] *Narrative, etc.*, 1st American edn., 1823, 126, note. See Appendix 13.

[19] Published in 1822 by John Murray, London, p. 164.

[20] See for instance Plates 1, 5b, 12, 13b, 16b.

[21] See Appendix 13.

Russegger's view (Plate 23) shows a round minaret like a lighthouse in the middle of the south wall. Either the drawing is very inaccurate or it represents another mosque.

Trémaux (1840–50)[22] says the mosque was still kept in repair, and that the bronze grills were bought from the Mameluks by Mek Tabl, and appeared to have come from India.

[22] *Le Soudan* [1863], 154. Though careful to record the days of the month, he nowhere states what year they belong to! The date of his sojourn in Sennar therefore remains doubtful.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REVOLT OF OTHMAN (1659-60 ?)

DURING the reign of Badi II the Shaigia revolted successfully against the Fung government, and maintained their independence down to the Turkish conquest in 1821.

The Shaigia occupied both banks of the Nile from Gebel Dayka or Dager in Southern Dongola to the upstream end of the 4th Cataract.[1] There were four centres ruled by meks at Merawi, Hannek, Kajebi and Amri ; Merawi was the tribal ' capital ' down to the time of Burckhardt. They were renowned for their hospitality, their schools of learning and their predatory habits. They were famous horsemen, and their strength lay in their mobility. Their horse-traders were well-known in the 17th century[2] ; the revolt must have weakened the military power of the Fungs, for it cut them off from the horses of Dongola which was their great strength. In some respects they differed from the normal Arab tribe, for, although each district had its own ruler, there was no paramount chief,[3] and Cailliaud describes the state as a republic ruled by three principal meliks. They had, however, the habit of uniting and presenting a common front to an external enemy. Another emphatically non-Arab characteristic was the prominent part played by their women-folk, whose courage was said to equal that of the men.[4] They themselves, according to Werne, claimed to be children of the soil, disdaining any connection however with their Nubian serfs on the one hand and the Arabs on the other. Their chief occupations were those of an old-fashioned ruling class. The meks lived in crenellated sandstone castles, strong enough to withstand the attacks of the Arabs.[5] Most of these were still preserved in the early 19th century when Cailliaud passed and wrote a description of them, and when several of them were drawn by Linant de Bellefonds (Plate 13b).[6]

The territory of the Shaigia was a cul-de-sac reach of the Nile, crossed but seldom followed by caravans. Here as in an ambush the Shaigia lay in wait for the Egyptian caravans that had to cross the adjacent Bayuda desert. As long as the Fung-Arab confederacy of Sennar could keep the peace—which meant in effect control the Shaigia—so long did this desert route remain relatively safe, and the break between north and south was geographical only. But when to the natural difficulties of desert travel was added the risk of attack by Shaigia raiders, then the desert became also a factor of political and economic importance, for the Shaigia held a key position in relation to it.

[1] MacMichael I, 215.
[2] D3, No. 236.
[3] Werne quoted by MacMichael, I, 214.
[4] Cailliaud II, 67–8 ; see also up to p. 72 for a good account of the Shaigia.
[5] Cailliaud II, 40–1.
[6] ' Château Attanné [Hetani, sw of Korti] bâti par les Chaguier.'

The revolt of the Shaigia took place in the reign of Badi II, but the fighting was with the Abdullab mangil. The account in D3 is confused ; it states that a certain holy man called Sheikh el Asir had guaranteed victory in war against the Fung to Othman walad Hammad, and that after the battle Othman came out of his retreat[7] wearing a shirt of rough wool. Sheikh Ali walad Othman, who now appears on the scene without any introduction, but is certainly the Abdullab Sheikh, sent a message (apparently by the holy man) to Badi informing him of the defeat and demanding the kingdom of him. This may be expanded to mean that Ali demanded the deposition of the defeated Abdullab sheikh in favour of himself. We know that the Abdullab sheikh Musmar el Halashi was deposed in favour of Ali son of Othman, and may conclude that his request for the kingdom was granted—indeed it would not otherwise have been mentioned.

The traditional account was obtained by Nicholls[8] from the Omda Mohammed Ali Bileilu of the Suarab, a great-grandson of the ' famous Sheikh Abod '[9] who fought the Turks in 1821 at the battle of Korti. According to the Omda the Abdullab Sheikh was called El Amin and the Shaigia was 'Itman wad Hammed (=Othman walad Hammad) the 'Amerabi whose mother 'Azila was a Shaigia warrior. The incident which provoked the revolt was 'Itman's refusal to yield up an outlaw. Realizing that this meant war he retreated to Dulga Island where he was besieged by El Amin. In order to create an exaggerated impression of his forces, he painted his horses with coloured earths between waterings, so that their numbers would appear greater. This appears to have produced the desired effect for he was invited to a conference. Crossing the river alone on his horse he found El Amin playing *munkala* (a sort of draughts) but caught his foot in the stirrup when dismounting. El Amin said ' Now we've got him ' or words to that effect, which were overheard by a friendly Shaigia who warned 'Itman, speaking in the Shaigia dialect. Leaping back into his saddle 'Itman recrossed the river to Dulga. That night they attacked Amin behind a barrage of animals loaded with brushwood that had been set on fire. The device was successful and the Arabs all fled except El Amin who remained behind, seated on his sheepskin rug awaiting death. 'Itman, however, drove a bargain with him, obtaining in return for his life the independence of the Shaigia. This agreement was subsequently ratified.

If we can trust D3 and the chronology of Bruce's list the revolt must have occurred before 1680 when Badi II died. It must certainly have occurred before 1684, the year called Um Lahm, which was during the reign of Badi's successor. If Ali walad Othman was the Abdullab Sheikh (as seems certain from D3) then a date in or after 1659-60 is indicated ; for in that year the Abdullab Sheikh was Mismar walad Halashi, and he was raiding in the direction of Dongola.[10] Mismar's deposition in favour of Ali walad Othman was foretold by a holy man who died in 1662.[11]

The revolt therefore was between 1659 and 1680. It seems practically certain that the Amin of the traditional account is to be identified with Mismar walad Halashi, and that his raid which did not reach Dongola[12] was closely connected with

[7] Khalwa ; presumably Dulga Island ; see below.

[8] W. Nicholls, 1913.

[9] His fame however, did not reach Cailliaud, who does not mention him.

[10] D3, No. 66.

[11] D3, No. 58.

[12] The curious phraseology suggests an unsuccessful raid.

the Shaigia revolt. There was a famous Sheikh el Amin Mismar whom Bruce met, and the earlier sheikh may have borne the same name—or acquired it in the transmission of the tale. We know[13] that the earlier Mismar was deposed and succeeded by Ali walad Othman, and we may be sure that his ignominious failure to crush the revolt would have ended his career. The revolt may therefore be assigned with some confidence to the year 1659–60 or to a date very soon after it.

Nicholls, relying apparently on the name El Amin, puts the revolt of Othman in the reign of Badi III, el Ahmar, but the direct statement of D3—that it was against Badi II—cannot be lightly set aside. He also places it *after* the Horsemen Revolt, which is impossible if my dating (1705) and reconstruction of this event be correct. For we know that the Shaigia were in a state of revolt when Poncet and Brevedent crossed the Bayuda desert in January, 1699, and when Krump and the Franciscans crossed it a year later.

This revolt was the first serious crack in the structure of the Fung Empire, and it was never repaired. It almost cut off Dongola from Sennar, for though communications were still maintained, the hazards of crossing the Bayuda desert belt were greatly increased. In Krump's time an armed escort had to be provided by the King of Sennar to protect his merchants, entailing much extra expense and delay. (The documents of the De Maillet period contain many references to pillage of the Sennar caravans by Arabs). Moreover the Shaigia were near enough to the Suakin route to threaten its security, though actual instances of pillage do not seem to be on record. The Shaigia held a key position and used it to destroy security. Later, in 1782, they had a battle with a Fung army, defeated it, and ejected the Fung representative from Dongola.[14] Thus they completed the ruin of the once prosperous province of Dongola so that its capital fell into decay. Later still they even penetrated to the city of Halfaya ; and when the Turks invaded the Sudan with a force that was never greater than a modern infantry brigade there was no one but these parasitic warriors who had the strength to stand up to them, and even they were defeated. But ' when Turk meets Turk '— ! Recognizing a spiritual affinity they went over to the enemy and collaborated with them in their atrocious campaign of aggression on the Blue Nile. At a later date the people of Omdurman (who were no saints) bracketed the Shaigia with dogs.

Such were the wholly evil and disruptive results of achieving independence. The Fungs, on the other hand, turned their eyes westwards to Kordofan, the land of cavalry, now that Dongola was closed or at any rate less accessible. If the chronology I have suggested be correct, it may well have been the Shaigia revolt which determined Badi's expedition to Kordofan a century later, an expedition which prepared the way for his own dynasty's downfall under the Hameg viziers.

[13] D3, No. 58.

[14] A. E. Robinson, *American Anthropologist*, 1929, 245, possibly on the authority of Shucair's history, but he gives no documentation.

CHAPTER XIX

THE JOURNEY OF PONCET AND BREVEDENT

BADI II was succeeded by his nephew Ounsa walad Nasir. We are told almost nothing about his reign except that during it there occurred a great famine 'so that men ate dogs.' The date of the year is recorded in D3[1] as occurring in A.H. 1095 (A.D. 1684), for which reason that year was known as Um Lahm. After a dozen years he was succeeded by Badi III el Ahmar (1692–1716), during whose reign Sennar was visited by many Europeans, including the French envoy Du Roule, who was murdered there.

Poncet and Brevedent were the first Europeans[2] to reach Sennar and their pioneer journey deserves to be described in some detail.[3] Its purpose was involved in the ecclesiastical politics of the time and as they exclusively concern Abyssinia we need not enter too deeply into them—which is fortunate, because the whole business is a tangled mass of intrigue. The Emperor of Abyssinia's son was suffering from some illness and his father commissioned a Turkish merchant named Hagi Ali, who was going to Cairo, to fetch a doctor back to treat him. Hagi Ali and the French Consul, Benoist de Maillet, persuaded Jacques Charles Poncet, who is described as 'avanturier, grand parleur et grand ivrogne'[4] to undertake the journey, and De Maillet sent with him a Jesuit missionary, Father Charles Francis Xavier de Brevedent. Poncet described Hagi Ali as 'très-méchant homme qui m'a volé jusqu'à mes souliers,' and De Maillet as 'un des plus méchans hommes du monde.'[5] We need not accept these epithets at their face value, nor on the other hand need we believe that the three lived holy and immaculate lives. Father Brevedent, however, seems to have been a good man; M. de Ferriot,[6] French ambassador at Constantinople, reported him to be 'un saint Religieux, éloigné de l'esprit de l'intrigue et de dissimulation, et d'une humilité profonde'; and in all the voluminous documents there is nothing said against his personal character.

The three travellers left Cairo on the 1st of June, 1698, embarking on their boat at Bulak. M. de Maillet proposed, presumably for security, that Father Brevedent should 'se travestir, et de se joindre comme domestique à Charles Poncet'; this merely meant wearing lay instead of monkish clothes, and the worthy father gladly agreed to go in this disguise 'dans l'esperance du fruit qu'il auroit produit'; and adopted the name of Joseph Duval.[7] (Unfortunately he died just before the party

[1] Nos. 84, 88, 157, 165. The chronological implications are discussed in Chapter 4.

[2] Reubeni was not a European.

[3] It has already been summarized by Budge, I, 1–4. Poncet's narrative was composed for the Pope, Clement XI, to whom he presented it personally. The original manuscript found its way to Montpellier where it is now preserved in the library of the Faculty of Medicine. It does not appear to differ in any important respect from the version printed in *Lettres Edifiants* (1st Edn., Vol. IV, part 1; 2nd Edn., Vol. III, 260–387). It was rediscovered by Dr Bonnet who says it was catalogued wrongly under the name Pernot, I, 325, No. 98. See *Bull. Soc. de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 1896, 296–301.

[4] Le Grand, pp. 364, 429.

[5] Beccari XIV, 396.

[6] Le Grand, p. 362.

[7] Beccari XIV, 59.

reached Gondar). They sailed up the Nile, and on 23rd June arrived at Manfelou [Manfalot], half a league above which place was Ibnah ' the rendezvous of the caravans of Sennar and Ethiopia.'[8] Here they remained over three months, awaiting the assembly of their caravan, quitting ' that unpleasant abode ' at 3 p.m. on 24th September and taking up their lodging ' at about a league and a half distance on the eastern bank of the Nile, in a place called Cantara.' While there he visited a relation of the king of Sennar at Assiut, crossing the Nile ' upon a very large bridge built with fair stone.' There he ' beheld the ruins of an ancient and magnificent amphitheater, with some mausoleums of the ancient Romans.' They left Cantara on 2nd October, entering a ' frightful desart.' Passing through Helaoue (' un gros village de Turcs, dominant un 30e de petits [villages] ayant un Kachif '), Chab (' ainsi nommé pour la quantité d'alum qu'on en tire '),[9] and Selima they reached Machou [Mushu] on 26th October ; it was ' a good large township . . . in the province of Fungi ; it appertains to the king of Sennar, and is the beginning of the country of the Barauras, whom we call Barbarins.' While there they called on the ' Erbab or Governour of this province, whose court was at Argos ' [Argo Island]. Here they were regaled for two days ' which very much refreshed us after the great fatigues we had undergone.' On Argo Island was the Chief Customs' Officer, a son of the king of Dongola. The King himself, in his public appearances, rode upon a horse covered with two hundred little brass bells '[10]; he paid an official visit to the caravan and received the duties, ' which consist of soap and linen cloth ' ; and the next day they dined with him in his palace of sun-dried brick. ' The walls are very high, flanked at certain distances with great square towers without any port-holes, because in that country they have no use of cannon, but only muskets.' Father Brevedent was struck by the ' grande idée et veneration ' which the people of these parts (*i.e.* of the kingdom of Dongola) had for Abyssinia, ' qu'ils appellent simplement le Megâde ou trosne '[11] Was this an echo from the days when Dongola was Christian, and Abyssinian influence may have extended over the region ? Or was it merely due to pious exaggeration and wishful thinking ?

On 4th November, 1698, they left Machou, arriving at [Old] Dongola on the 13th. Poncet remarks upon the excellence of the Dongola horses, which he preferred to the inhabitants, whom he calls stupid and debauched, given to ' oathes and blasphemies,' and ignorant of all but ' the bare formulary of their profession of faith, which they repeat upon all occasions.' The good Father was reduced to tears at the thought that they had not long since (actually some four centuries before) been Christians. Poncet records that, during the journey, they had passed a great number of hermitages and churches half-ruined ; if only he had told us a little more about them ! He says that in 1696 the plague which raged at Cairo that year had depopulated the country.

They crossed the Nile at Dongola, where they arrived on 13th November. The

[8] Poncet, p. 2. The quotations which follow are from Poncet, pp. 2 *et seqq.*, except where otherwise indicated. I have not retained the capital letters or italics of the English version.

[9] Beccari XIV, 60.

[10] Some of these, round and like those once commonly attached to cats' collars, were found on the Fung site at Abu Geili which I excavated in 1914. They are discussed in my Report on it.

[11] Beccari XIV, 62–3 : full text of Brevedent's first letter (15th February, 1699) of which Le Grand gives a summary only. A translation is given in Appendix 4.

king, whose name was Akhmed,[12] kept a ferry and made a charge for merchandize but not for passengers. The houses of Dongola were ill built and the streets ' half deserted and filled with heaps of sand occasioned by floods from the mountain (*sic*).' The castle was in the middle of the town. The travellers were several times entertained by the king but fed at a separate table. On one of these occasions the irrepressible Poncet, doubtless slightly intoxicated, got involved in a religious argument with the caravan-leader (' notre conducteur '), but seems to have lost his temper ; peace was restored by the mek.[13] Poncet also effected some cures and the king invited him and his companions to remain at his court, but they declined. ' His kingdom is hereditary, but he pays a tribute to the king of Sennar.'

They left Dongola on 6th January, 1699. Somewhere near Korti they were entertained, on 10th and 11th January, by ' le Chek Gandil, c'est l'associé du Mek ou Roy de Dongola.'[14] Both Poncet and Brevedent explain that they had to leave the Nile Valley at Korti because ' the people who are beyond Korti upon the river Nile are in rebellion against the king of Sennar ' and pillage the caravans. This is no doubt a reference to the Shaigia (though the name is not mentioned) whose successful revolt I have just described.[15]

After leaving Dongola they ' entered into the kingdom of Sennar.' Poncet means, no doubt, that the kingdom of Sennar proper, as opposed to its dependencies, began at Derreira on the Nile, which they reached on 23rd January. This was called ' God's Country ' (Beladalla), ' by reason of the great plenty.' There were no villages between Derreira and Guerry [Gerri], ' but the inhabitants who live under tents bring in provisions to travellers.' They crossed the Nile at Guerry where they arrived on 28th January. Here was the residence of a Governor whose name most unfortunately is not mentioned. His principal employ was to ' examine whether in the caravans which come from Egypt anyone has the small-pox.' He was particularly civil to the travellers on account of their Ethiopian connections, it seems ; and he ' exempted us from the quarantain.' The brother of the Abyssinian patriarch ' et les 3 godsiens (ou pères Recolets) ', who are here mentioned for the first and last time, were not similarly privileged and had to remain on the further bank, in spite of the appeals made to the sheikh by the caravan-leader.[16]

They left Guerry on 1st February and proceeded by Alfaa [Halfaya], ' a large village built with square stone,' Alfon [Eilafun], Cotram [Kutrang] and Camin [Kamlin] to Harbagy which they reached on 6th February, having crossed the Blue Nile there near a ' great island.' Father Brevedent records that south of Guerry were several large villages whose roofs were conical on account of the rains. After refreshing themselves for two days they left the town of Harbagy (' grande, mais peu

[12] Beccari XIV, 64 ; Waddington and Hanbury, 328.

[13] Beccari XIV, 64.

[14] Beccari XIV, 65.

[15] See last chapter. Poncet and Brevedent speak of keeping to the west, by which is meant no doubt that they were to the west of the Nile valley, as actually they were, though their direction across the Bayuda desert was of course south-eastwards. Probably they did not realise how great a bend the Nile makes here ; neither of them refers to the bend at all. Even Bruce did not realize the fact that the Nile flows south-westwards for 140 miles. They probably thought they were nearer to the Nile valley than they were while crossing the desert, and that, since the river (as they thought) flowed northwards and they had left it, they must be going south or southwestwards.

[16] Beccari XIV, 66. These were the three Franciscans, Pasquale, Benedetto and Antonio della Terza, forerunners of the Achmim mission described by Krump.

peuplée')[17] on 8th February and passing through pleasant forests of flowering acacias full of little green parrots and across fruitful and well-cultivated plains they finally reached Sennar on 12th.February They were ' charmed with its pleasant situation.' It was ' near a league and a half in compass, is very populous but has nothing of neatness and besides is ill-governed. They number in it near a hundred thousand souls.' Father Brevedent observed its position on 21st March, 1699, and found it to be on Lat. 13° 4'N. (It is actually about 13° 34').

The king received them in his palace[18] on 2nd February, the day after their arrival. He was ' nineteen years of age, black, but well shaped and of a majestick presence, not having thick lips nor flat nose like the rest of his subjects.' Seated round him were ' twenty old men.' Poncet gave him ' some chrystals and other curiosities of Europe, which he graciously accepted.' He asked them many questions ' which discover him to be curious and of a piercing wit.' After they had returned home he sent them' great vessels filled with butter, honey, and other refreshments ; and moreover two oxen and two sheep.'

Poncet tells us many things about the king but not his name ! In this he is like nearly all the other travellers. There can, however, be no doubt that it was Badi III (el Ahmar), who was certainly the king responsible for Du Roule's murder in 1705. Had there been a change of ruler between 1699 and then, it would certainly have been known to the French Consul at Cairo, who had agents with all the Sennar caravans. But in all the documents there is no mention of any such change. De Maillet must have had full information about Sennar from Poncet himself who reported to him in Cairo in June, 1701. A minor check is provided by the career of the holy man Ahmad walad el Turabi, who lived in Badi's reign and died in 1704–5.[19] Poncet says the king was 19 years old in 1699, and De Maillet that he was 22 or 23 in September, 1701 ; but De Maillet, who can only have based his remark on what Poncet told him, was probably slightly out. We may put Badi's birth at about 1680 and his age at accession at about 12.[20] One might therefore have expected a regency ; and such a view might obtain support from De Maillet's interest in the king's mother, one of the three persons to whom presents were to be sent.[21] Moreover she was of sufficient importance for her death in May, 1699, to cause the return of Poncet's escort to Sennar ' to take new orders from the king his master.' But there is no reference whatever to the queen-mother in the whole of Krump's account and no hint of any regency ; the king has a council of Sheikhs, but acts always of his own mere motion. Badi's sister married Yacout, ruler of a kingdom near Suakin and brother-in-law of the king of Abyssinia.[22]

From his name ' el Ahmar ' (the Red) one might infer that Badi was not quite black, for the word is used to distinguish the more-or-less coffee-coloured from the negro types of pigmentation. Poncet's description shows that Badi was not negroid, but he also says that he was black. In fact, as I read the passage quoted above, the meaning seems intended that the king, though black, had not those features usually

[17] Beccari, XIV, 66.

[18] see pp. 189-92.

[19] D7, § 43 : D3, No. 125.

[20] He would therefore have been only 16 when, if we may trust Father Verzeau (Beccari XIV, 9–11, letter of 1697) he killed his son and threw his body to the dogs !

[21] This happened *after* the queen's death, which De Maillet had probably forgotten.

[22] Beccari XIV, 88 (Brevedent's last letter : see Appendix 4).

associated with a black face. Bruce tells us[23] definitely that Badi was ' white ' (' or rather red, as Achmar signifies ; it is what we call copper-coloured '), his mother having been an Arab and his father Rubat black. But he is probably confusing him with Badi II walad Rubat, for Badi III's father was Ounsa II.

Poncet's account of the town of Sennar, the first ever written, is too long to quote here and too good to omit ; it can be read in Appendix 11. They stayed three months there, and on the 12th May, 1699, they crossed the Nile in a dug-out canoe and encamped at Basboch, ' a fair village half a league from the town of Sennar.' At the next stopping-place, Bacras, they met ' a venerable old man a hundred and thirty years old . . . He had served five kings of Sennar.'[24] He asked Poncet about the news from Europe. At Abecq, a ' pitiful hamlet,' there were only shepherds' cottages. Baha was a little village on a dried-up arm of the Nile. Thence by Doda (also small), Abra, ' a large burough,' Debarke, Bulbul to Giesim, ' a considerable town on the bank of the Nile,' where they arrived on 25th May. Here they stayed 19 days ; it was necessary for travellers to leave their camels here ' by reason of the mountains that are to be crossed, and the herbs which poison those animals.' At Giesim also they saw a caravan of Gebertis, ' a Mahomitan people ' dependent upon the ' Emperor of Aethiopia, who treats them as slaves, suitable to what their name imports.' The long delay, caused by news of the Queen Mother's death, involved the party in the rains. They left, however, on 11th June and passing Deleb, Chau, Abotkna, crossed the valley of Sonnone, through ' the middle of a pleasant meadow ' and entered Serke, ' a pretty town of above five or six hundred houses, very neat, although built of Indian canes.' At the going out of the town was a little brook ' that separates Æthiopia from the kingdom of Sennar.' Here we must leave them.

Bruce has given an account[25] of Poncet's journey between Sennar and Gondar, but he himself followed a different route, and he obviously did not know where most of Poncet's places were ; several of them cannot be identified even today.[26] He also gives a stimulating discussion of Poncet's mission. Bruce had a high opinion of Poncet as an explorer—and no one has ever been better qualified to judge. But he could not accept all the traveller's tales, such as the ' monstrous lie about the golden rod suspended in the air ' [at Bisan] which he considered to be the addition of ' some fanatic, lying friar into whose possession Poncet's manuscript might have fallen.' No such assumption, however, is necessary ; Poncet himself was credulous. But such matters as these are fortunately well outside the scope of the present enquiry.

Badi's vizier was Ali Zughoyer [Little Ali] to whom there are many references in Krump's narrative. The Jesuits Grenier and Paulet had letters of credence addressed to him, and he was one of the persons to whom De Maillet sent presents. He is said to have been regarded almost as the king's father[27] ; but this regard was evidently not shared by Badi who put him to death not long before [quelque temps auparavant] May, 1705 ; and it may be presumed that his successor was that Naser

[23] VI, 379–80.

[24] To have done this he would have had to start with Badi I, whose reign began in 1611 and ended *c.* 1616. If he was born in this reign he would be between 83 and 88 in 1699. I have myself seen and photographed an old Georgian in the Caucasus alleged to have been 125 years old ; he looked about 80.

[25] III, 493 ff.

[26] For the places mentioned see my observations at the end of Appendix 3.

[27] Le Grand, 437.

el Tamany whom Cailliaud says,[28] was nominated as his vizier by Badi el Ahmar. The fact that this event should be chronicled and selected for special mention indicates probably that it created some stir ; one may imagine that the liquidation of his paternal vizier was a decisive act by which Badi broke loose from the leading-strings and abolished what may have been in effect, if not in name, a regency. The unbridled tyranny which probably succeeded culminated in the Horsemen Mutiny.

This was a revolt of the troops at Gerri, Sennar and El Is, led by El Amin Aradib walad Agib. The Chronicle[29] says that it was the first rebellion made by ' a section of his [own ?] people ' against a Fung king ; presumably the author regarded Agib's revolt about a century earlier as confined to the Abdullab Arabs. The rebels appointed a certain Awkal, of whom nothing more is known, as Mek, and they appear to have had some initial success, for the king's supporters were nearly all killed and he himself was surrounded with only a remnant of horsemen.[30] In this predicament he took refuge in the courtyard of his sister Kimayr, who consulted the holy man, Sheikh Khalil. The Sheikh said it was the result of the king's wrong-doing, and asked her to bring the king to see him. She agreed and brought him, disguised in woman's dress. The king repented of his misdeeds and was promised help if he would take the Sheikh with him. This he did, and though having with him only a few horsemen, he routed the rebels and drove them to a place called El Atshan where he slew El Amin, returning home victorious. El Atshan is mentioned by Cailliaud[31] as a village on the east bank of the Blue Nile, a short distance above its confluence with the Dinder. It was thus situated close to the Sennar-Gerri frontier, just where such an encounter might be expected to take place.[32]

We can place this revolt with considerable confidence in the year 1705. On his way to Sennar that year, Du Roule (whose story will be given later on[33]) had been unwilling to stop at Arbagi because the Commandant of that town was preparing to make war against the king of Sennar.[34] He reached Sennar, it appears, towards the end of May, 1705 ; and some time after his arrival (possibly as late as November) a week's festivities were ordained, on account of a victory achieved by the king over the rebels.[35] The revolt is said to have been due in part to the king's murder of his vizier, Ali Zugoyer, partly also to an ' infinity of other equally senseless deeds which had set against him all the chief people of the realm,' who were united under the Commandment of Arbagi and regarded him as their king.[36] These statements were made by De Maillet in an official report dated 1st October, 1706, more than a year after Du Roule was murdered ; and although he writes in the present tense we may assume that he is referring to events in 1705. De Maillet also believed, on the evidence of caravan gossip, that the victory obtained by the king of Sennar had been

[28] II, 256.
[29] D7, § 42.
[30] Thirty, D3, No. 153 ; forty-five, D7, § 42. I have conflated these two versions of the revolt.
[31] II, 221.
[32] There is a station called by the same name on the Sennar-Kassala line, between the Rahad and the Dinder, but it is unlikely that the battle took place at this one. The name is however very common, meaning ' The Thirsty One.'
[33] See pp. 227-36.
[34] Le Grand, p. 437.
[35] Le Grand, p. 171 : Beccari XIV, 400. Budge (I, 10) calls it a ' victory of the Abyssinians over the Arabs ' !
[36] Le Grand, p. 437.

partly due to the advice of Du Roule.[37] He confidently expected the king of Sennar to be ultimately overthrown by the rebels, and looked forward to reporting this event at an early date ; there remained faithful to the king, he says (twice) only a few black slaves, the rest having abandoned him on account of his cruelties.

Now Arbagi was, as we have seen, the headquarter-town of the Abdullabs, and the Commandant must therefore have been an Abdullab, almost certainly the ruling Sheikh. The name El Amin Aradib suggests as much, but there is no such sheikh mentioned in the lists. De Maillet's reiterated statement about the ' few black slaves ' also accords well with the traditional account ; and his anticipation that the revolt would ultimately succeed, though incorrect, is also in keeping ; for it is plain that it nearly did. We know that there was just such a revolt against Badi ; it is mentioned in both the best sources.[38] It is most improbable that there were two distinct revolts, one of which was ignored by both the native sources.

The revolt would appear to have lasted for some time. In January, 1707, Father Joseph of Jerusalem was reported to be in great danger on account of sedition at Sennar[39] ; and in his letter from Elefous [Eilafun], dated 2nd May, 1707,[40] Bayard reported that he had recently (' ces jours passés ') been visited by the person whom the king of Sennar had sent to Gerri ' prendre possession et place du Cheik Ahmet le rebel.' Was this Hamed es Simeih who fought at Shendi and killed the king of the Gamui'a in 1706 and who was deposed ? The date fits nicely, and there is no other person of like name amongst the contemporary Abdullab sheikhs. In Krump's letter or passport (1702) the Abdullab sheikh is addressed as ' Machomet.' Though all three names are in fact different, there is still some confusion, in daily intercourse, between Muhammad, Hamad and Ahmad. But if so, the sheikh-list must be at fault here.

[37] Beccari XIV, 372.
[38] The Chronicle account differs slightly from that of D3 and does not appear to be derived from it.
[39] Beccari I, 203.
[40] Beccari XIV, 393.

CHAPTER XX

THE MISSION OF ACHMIM, FUNGI AND ETHIOPIA

THE next Europeans to visit the kingdom of Sennar after Poncet and Brevedent were the Franciscan missionaries who passed through it on their way to Abyssinia. There have been several casual references to them in the course of this narrative, but all out of their setting. The full story has never been told, partly no doubt because, before Beccari's great work was published, the documentary sources were not fully available, partly because it largely concerns a region whose history has not previously been written. Though Abyssinia was their goal, the monks actually spent far more time in Sennar. Between 1699 and 1703 Joseph was in Sennar first for two periods of about 4 months in all, and then for about 5 years (1705–10); Pasquale was in Sennar for 2 years or more, acting as doctor to the king of Sennar and, while in Abyssinia, being relieved by Krump who held that office for more than a year; Benedetto was there for nearly 3 years, and Antonio for well over 2 years in all. During the same period Joseph and Pasquale were in Abyssinia for a little over 6 months, Benedict for less than a year (as king's doctor) and Antonio for less than a year, in the same capacity. Grenier and Paulet, the Jesuits, were in Abyssinia for $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 months respectively.[1] Brevedent and Francisco died after crossing the frontier, and Krump never went there. Thus, excepting the two who died, only six reached their goal; and during the whole ten years the total time spent at Sennar or in its neighbourhood by all concerned was 4 or 5 times as long as that spent in Abyssinia. These figures are sufficient to justify a fairly long and detailed account, in spite of the fact that the information forthcoming is scanty and (except for Brevedent's) poor in quality.

The story is complicated by feuds between the different orders, chiefly between the Franciscans[2] and the Jesuits. The Franciscans were further divided by an internal feud between those of the main body and a special group called the Fathers of the Holy Land. Behind the Franciscans was the Pope, and behind the Jesuits Louis XIV, king of France, and his consul at Cairo, De Maillet. But De Maillet ravelled this already tangled skein by a personal quarrel of great bitterness with Bichot, the chief Jesuit at Cairo and therefore his official ally.[3] Fortunately it is not necessary, in order to follow events, to remember all these differences, but only that between the Franciscans and Jesuits, which had its roots deep in past history.[4]

[1] These are all minimum periods and only approximate.

[2] O[rdo] M[inorum] R[eformatorum].

[3] Leniently outlined by Beccari, XIV pp. xiv to xvi. Full details are given by the documents he publishes and by Legrand.

[4] A detailed, but badly biassed, account will be found in Bruce III, 480–5.

For it was the Jesuits who had first conducted large-scale missionary enterprises in Abyssinia, and for a short time with some success. They therefore resented the intrusion of other orders on what they claimed to be their own special sphere of influence.

The mission was founded, it seems, at the instigation of the Franciscans ; Bruce says it arose from the quarrel between the two branches of that order, but as the relevant documents do not enable one to distinguish monks of the Holy Land from the rest, it is impossible to say whether that was so or not, nor does it matter. In 1694 a proposal was submitted to Rome[5] for the foundation of a Mission in the Kingdom of the Fungi (*i.e.* Sennar), and adjourned for enquiries to be made. The supporters of the proposal made the astonishing claim that there were, in the kingdom of the Fungi, 12,000 Catholics in hiding who had escaped from Ethiopia (*i.e.* Abyssinia) and were without priests. No evidence was submitted in support, and the claim was, of course, wholly without foundation. It is doubtful whether there were ever any Christians there at all during the whole of the Fung period, apart from passing travellers and perhaps a few Copts and Greeks. In 1694 no European had ever penetrated into the kingdom of Sennar and returned to tell the tale ; and the last Christians heard of there were those remnants of the old Nubian kingdom mentioned by Alvarez nearly two centuries before. The pretence that such existed was kept up until exploded by the journeys of a few years later, after which it became untenable and was quietly dropped,[6] having served its purpose.

On 20th January, 1697, Cardinal Sacripante raised the matter again. He spoke of the rich harvest of souls waiting to be gathered in Abyssinia and the neighbouring kingdoms, and proposed the foundation of a new mission in the regions bordering on Egypt, in order to obtain a passage for missionaries to Abyssinia. The project was approved by the Pope who allocated a grant of 50,000 scudi (about £10,000) to the mission which was entrusted to the Franciscans. The seat of the mission was to be at Akhmim and then in the land of the Fungi, whence they could more easily enter Abyssinia. On 3rd February, Francisco Maria da Saleme was appointed Prefect of the Mission of Akhmim, Fungi and Ethiopia, and instructions were drawn up for his guidance.

Seven weeks later (24th March) a letter from Father Verzeau, the Jesuit, was received, in response to which a faculty was given to him and five others as missionaries (Bodin, Pois Levache, Grenier, Bonamour and Brevedent). Verzeau, whom one suspects to have been rather a pleasant and peaceably inclined person, immediately retired to his monastery at Said in Palestine, leaving Bichot in charge at Cairo, where he squabbled with De Maillet. Preparations were being made for the journey of Poncet ; and De Maillet, working in the greatest secrecy, intended to send with him Father Brevedent. The Franciscan Prefect alleged that he learnt of these preparations by chance, but the Jesuits claimed that he had been informed by them

[5] To the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, a committee of Cardinals hereinafter referred to as S.C. The evidence for the facts in this chapter is mainly to be found in Beccari, Vols. I and XIV, and particular references are not given ; the majority of them will be found in the Synopsis of Events, Appendix 7.

[6] Francisco, the Prefect of the Mission had heard Hagi Ali say that there were many Christians in ' Fungi ' ; but Hagi Ali would have said anything he thought likely to be acceptable to his questioners ; see Beccari, XIV, 38, letter of 3rd July, 1698.

deliberately. However this may be, he at once prepared counter-measures. Three Franciscans were sent off to join the caravan at Siut—Pasquale à Montella, Antonio della Terza and Benedetto d'Atripalda. They left Cairo on or about 5th September, 1698, three months after Brevedent and Poncet, but were in ample time for the caravan which did not leave till 2nd October. I have already described the journey as related by the other two. The Franciscans adopted the disguise of dervishes, whom Pasquale defines as ' men who go wandering about the world and whose nation and faith are unknown.' (Bruce, adopting on occasion the pose of a dervish, described himself in almost identical terms to the king of Sennar).[7] They decided to remain aloof and not reveal themselves to Brevedent, who, though concealing his religious profession, was like Poncet travelling openly as a Frank. The disguise was, it seems, not altogether a success, for they were recognized by the brother of the Abyssinian patriarch[8]. At Gerri they were detained by the Customs, but they were in Sennar in February, 1699, when Antonio was mysteriously separated from the others. Brevedent was told that he had been sent to Cairo via Suakin with information. The caravan-leader, on the other hand, maintained that he had gone to teach the king of Sennar's soldiers, who were engaged in suppressing an Arab revolt, how to shoot. Neither explanation seems at all convincing. While at Gerri the Franciscans' leader,[9] says Brevedent, had written to the king of Sennar, offering to become his doctor, and saying that they had presents for him; on arrival they were accepted on these terms and gave ' the Mahometan king ' a camel-load of presents probably, intended, says Brevedent sarcastically, for the (Christian) king of Abyssinia. In any case it was Pasquale who did actually become the king's doctor, thus disembarrassing Poncet of this charge; and he remained there in that capacity until relieved by Krump two years later.

The death of Brevedent freed the Franciscans of all danger of being forestalled by the Jesuits in Abyssinia, and they remained in Sennar, whence one of them seems to have written to Poncet on 16th October, 1699. Some time after this Benedetto was sent to Abyssinia to replace Poncet (who left that country in May, 1700) as the King's doctor. Later, falling ill, he was relieved by Antonio.[10] At this time there is no mention of any missionary work proper, or of proselytes; but it must be remembered that many of the Franciscan documents are unpublished or lost, and we have to reconstruct the story almost entirely from those published by their rivals.[11] The three Franciscans were occupied in medical work for two years, and this, though recognised as a legitimate by-path, was after all not the primary function of missionaries, however useful it may have been in helping them to gain a foothold at the start. The mission was hanging fire and failing to achieve any results, and it was no doubt because he recognized this that the Prefect, Francisco Maria à Saleme, determined to go out there himself. He left Cairo on 5th November, 1700, taking with him Carlo di Cilento and the baggage, and meeting Joseph of Jerusalem and a Bavarian friar called Theodore Krump (who had left earlier by boat) in Upper Egypt. It was now the Franciscans' turn to be shadowed by the

[7] VI, 347.
[8] See p. 298, Appendix 4.
[9] That is, Pasquale, but Brevedent does not name him.
[10] See, however, p. 309, Appendix 7.
[11] No reflection whatever is intended upon the excellent and scholarly work of Beccari.

Jesuits. When in mid-December their caravan left the Nile valley near Girgeh on its long desert trek to Selima and Mushu, it had with it the two Jesuit fathers Grenier and Paulet, sent by the ever-watchful De Maillet, with a letter[12] from him addressed to Poncet, from whom he had had no news ; he did not therefore know that when the Jesuits left Cairo, Poncet was already at Massawa on his return journey, having left the court of Abyssinia six months before. He had heard rumours, then unconfirmed, of Brevedent's death ; and in view of this thought it advisable to send persons to take his place, if that were so, and in any case to replace Poncet and thus facilitate his return. Grenier, he said, had much talent for medicine and was a very pleasant person, and his companion also had much merit.[13] He was giving them letters of commendation to present to the kings of Sennar and Abyssinia, and his faithful domestic Abdalla was to go with them. He had also given them a few small presents for the two kings, and 400 livres with which to buy (comperare) three young Abyssians whom Verzeau could send to the college of Louis le Grand.[14] Though pressed to take more money, the fathers had declined. He trembles when he thinks of the *zeal* of the Italian fathers who knew little about the religious affairs of Abyssinia, and who had acquired a reputation with the king of Sennar that ' you others ' (*i.e.* Verzeau and his Jesuits) might have obtained if matters had been expedited two years ago.

Of this party of six only two—Krump and Joseph—survived to return, Krump to write a book about it, and Joseph to go to Rome and present his forged letter and seven ' black scoundrels ' to the Pope. All the other four died of sickness on the journey. I shall describe later their adventures on the way as described by Krump,[15] so that here it is necessary only to give details of the mission that are derived from other sources.[16]

They arrived at Sennar on 1st May, 1701, where they found Pasquale, still doctoring the king, and Benedetto. A long conference was held at which Francisco declared himself to have the rank of Apostolic Nuncio ; this was a legitimate claim, for although one at least of the Jesuit missionaries (Grenier) had a faculty as a missionary, the Pope had given precedence to the Franciscans. Francisco further announced his intention (not carried into effect) of sending Joseph on ahead into Abyssinia to inform the Patriarch that there was at Sennar an envoy of the Pope who was ready to come and discuss the cause of the schism and to demand of him a profession of faith, in which he was to declare (1) that circumcision was useless and had been superseded by baptism (2) that Jesus Christ had two natures (3) that things strangled might be eaten. He tried to persuade the Jesuits not to set out before the others, but they argued that their earlier entry in Abyssinia would not prejudice his own—an argument falsified by subsequent events ; that the proposed journey had been concerted in Cairo by Verzeau before their departure, and was ordained by higher authority. The conference seems to have failed, for a fortnight later

[12] Beccari XIV, 124-8, to be dated about October, 1700 ; it had already been written 1st November ; see p. 106.

[13] But he mixed them up somewhat ; Grenier was then 34 and his ' young ' companion 44 !

[14] In a letter addressed to the Consul, and received by him on 26th September, 1702, Grenier confessed that he had spent on his own account 100 Spanish piastres which the Consul had given him for the purpose of buying young Abyssinians at Sennar. (This was one of that packet of letters which gave rise to the quarrel between the Consul and Bichot). XIV, 280.

[15] See Chapter 21.

[16] Dates are supplied, when necessary, from Krump.

Grenier and Paulet left Sennar for Gondar which they reached on 14th July, nearly a month ahead of the others.

The Franciscan party consisted of Francisco Maria à Saleme (the Prefect of the Mission), Joseph of Jerusalem and Carlo di Cilento. They left Sennar itself on 6th June, 1701, crossing the river and camping on the other side (probably at or near Basbosh) to await the arrival of the Morsal (escort) who was to join them next day, but actually did not arrive till the 21st. He was accompanied by Pasquale, between whom and the Prefect there may still have been a certain coldness.[17] The next day (22nd) the whole party started on the journey to Gondar.

For the story of the journey, of what happened at the Court of Abyssinia, and of their return to Sennar we are entirely dependent upon Joseph of Jerusalem as reported by Krump (pp. 326–49), and upon a letter of Joseph's to Cardinal Sacripante.[18] Of the other members of the party only Grenier and Paulet are recorded to have written letters, and unfortunately none have survived.[19] Their loss is doubly regrettable, for not only would they have given the Jesuit version of the events at Gondar immediately following their arrival there, but from what little we know of their early letters (from Syut in Upper Egypt) they would appear to have been more intelligent observers than most of the other missionaries of the party.[20] The proceedings of the mission in Abyssinia do not, of course, form part of the history of Sennar, and for that reason fall outside the scope of this book ; but they have not been described before and must be summarized here, if only to complete the story.

The party reached Turkhin (Chirkin), ' the last place in the kingdom of the Fungi,' on 23rd July, a month after leaving Sennar.[21] The Prefect, who was 66 years old, was ill and growing weaker daily, and he died on 4th August at Selica (Chilga), their next halt. Joseph succeeded him, and indeed one suspects him to have been the *de facto* leader for some time past. Francisco was buried in the church of St. George on 5th August and the same day Pasquale and the Morsal of Sennar went on to Gondar, arriving on the 7th. Joseph and Carlo arrived there two days later, and found that the Jesuits were (as he alleges) trying to obtain the post of doctor to the king. Joseph lay low and waited his turn, which came after he had been at Gondar for a week. Summoned before the king, he delivered an Arabic oration, outlining the theological history of Abyssinia and the purpose of his mission. The king thanked him and promised to discuss privately the error of his ways. Joseph then presented to him his first honorarium or present, consisting of a large Venetian mirror in a gilded frame. At a second audience Joseph gave him a golden

[17] Three years before S.C. had given him leave to remain in the hostel of the Holy Land in Cairo, on account of his dislike of joining Francisco (S.C. 27th May, 1698 : Beccari I, 200).

[18] Beccari I, 53, XIV, 277. The letter is printed as written from Sennar, 23rd August, 1702, but this is impossible, for on the next day Joseph reached Dongola on his return journey. On 29th January, 1703, Joseph sent off a duplicate of this letter from Achmim, adding the latest news in a postscript. The letter does not add anything to the much fuller account given in Krump's book.

[19] Their letters were forwarded by De Maillet to Pontchartrain on 8th January, 1703 (II, 306). On 12th February, 1702, Krump at Sennar received a letter from Paulet written at Gondar between 14th July and 27th, 1701 (Krump, 321).

[20] Beccari XIV, 137. At Syut they visited caves where hermits of the Thebaid lived, and saw Christian churches with frescoes of the Virgin not yet wholly defaced.

[21] Joseph comments on the length of time taken for the journey, caused (one may infer) by the rains ; and he adds that it was normally an 8 days' journey. One is reminded of the fact that, according to Reubeni, Lam'ul was 8 days from Sennar.

locket,[22] a present from Cardinal Fabronius, and some Venetian vessels of cut glass ; and at another three exceptionally artistic religious paintings, seven feet high. Finally he handed him some curios from Berchtesgaden[23] and a silver writing-desk containing miniatures and his trump card, the Breve Apostolicum, which the king placed on his head.

Meanwhile trouble was brewing outside the Court. The people had not forgotten the events of 80 years ago, when forcible conversion and massacre had followed in the wake of European missionaries. During the last eighteen months they had seen a succession of foreign visitors, culminating during the last few days in the arrival of persons openly proclaiming themselves to be priests (casis). These seemed to be gaining an influence over the king, and indignation meetings were held and murmurs of revolt began to be heard everywhere. Joseph, alarmed, took counsel with the General of the religious of St. Antony, whose friendship he had already obtained. The General professed sympathy with Joseph and promised to talk the king over. But events took charge ; a crowd assembled outside the palace, demanding the expulsion of the missionaries, and threatening otherwise to kill them. The king's hand was forced, and he sent for Joseph and Carlo by night, as it was not safe for them to be seen openly by day. Joseph alleged willingness to return to Rome but asked for a letter of acquittance and an acknowledgment of the receipt of the presents to show to the Pope. The king tried to temporize, but popular feeling was rising and he was obliged to order all the ' Franks ' to leave at once. At the same time he sent his secretary, the Abbot Gregory, privately to Joseph and Carlo to say that actually he was only expelling the two Jesuits and Pasquale, ' because they could not live in harmony with each other,'[24] and that Antonio, who had been so long at the Court, seemed to be excepted from these popular objections. The three were ordered to leave within three hours ; Joseph and Carlo did not wait so long but set off at once ; they were, however, recalled before they had left the town. The other three protested and refused to go, even though the king sent them a present of 18 ounces of gold. After the expiration of the time-limit the mob threw their things out of the house into the street, forcibly put them on their mules and hunted them out of the town ' mit grössten Hohn und Spott,' and with some stone-throwing. A detachment of soldiers was sent to protect them and they were escorted to a fortress (Festung) near Selica, as they could not then travel back to Sennar on account of the rains. Joseph and Carlo remained under house-arrest for 9 days, and on the 3rd September had another audience with the king. Joseph claims that from this time forth he acquired an increasing influence over the king and was publicly appointed one of his privy councillors.

On 25th September Carlo di Cilento died, his death being caused by dysentery and hastened by fasting and by the hardships they had both suffered. Joseph was now left alone to carry the whole responsibility of the mission, for Antonio was not openly known to be a missionary.[25] On the same day, as was learnt later, Grenier had died at the fortress ; and Pasquale sent a request for a transfer to a more healthy

[22] Hals-Uhr (Krump 331), perhaps a misprint for Hals-schnur.

[23] Berchtesgader raritaten ; their nature is not revealed.

[24] ' Ohne das sich nicht miteinder comportieren kunten,' Krump, 340.

[25] ' Der P. Antonius della Terza ware zwar ein Missionarius, allein unter diesem Titl aller Orten ganz unbekandt,' Krump, 342.

place. This was granted and the king sent Abbot Gregory and Antonio to conduct them to Selica itself. Antonio, Joseph's only companion, died on the return journey from Sennar; and no European witnesses could be called to confirm or controvert his account of what occurred at Gondar between Carlo's death on 25th September, 1701, and his own departure homewards on 24th February, 1702. During those five months, we are told, Joseph had frequent interviews with the king whom he eventually claimed to have converted to the Catholic Faith on 2nd February, 1702. The following day the king's profession of faith was delivered, and mass celebrated. Joseph took the opportunity of revealing to the king the true function of Antonio, who had hitherto been known to him only as his doctor. Antonio, we are told, was a man of intelligence and virtue, who had for about 20 years served the mission as a labourer (Taglöhner). He could speak Arabic fluently, was a skilful craftsman and musician and had made a guitar on which he used to play before the king.

After the ceremony, so we are told, the king pressed Joseph to accept two gold bracelets and asked him what presents the Pope would like to be sent. Joseph suggested some boys of good breeding and intelligence, to be trained as missionaries, and the next day eight were found, between the ages of 8 and 13. On 18th February Joseph at last obtained his letter of credence[26] (so he says), written on parchment in letters of gold, wound into a roll and placed in a gold-embroidered bag and sealed with the royal seal in Spanish wax, showing a lion with open mouth and a crown on its head and another round its neck. This was to be delivered by Joseph to the Pope, humbly kissing his feet. Joseph was also given a letter for the king of Sennar, authorising him to arrange the final clauses of the peace treaty as a plenipotentiary—which he claims to have done.[27] Each missionary was given a finely caparisoned mule and a Turkish costume of gold brocade, suitable to their ambassadorial rank. Their luggage had been sent on ahead, and on 24th February they set out from Gondar, accompanied by a Morsal and by the king himself and his body-guard, who escorted them to the outskirts of the town. Joseph excuses all this magnificence as customary, but it bears the mark of delusions of grandeur that seem quite at variance with the facts. Two days later they reached Selica, where they were joined by Pasquale and Paulet, the latter seriously ill. After a halt of two days at Selica, they marched by easy stages (on account of Paulet) to Sennar where they arrived on the 28th or 29th March.[28] Paulet died the next day (30th March).

The whole party left Sennar with the Egyptian caravan on 15th June, leaving Pasquale and Benedetto behind. It consisted of Joseph (the Prefect), Krump,[29] Carlo Maria da Genova, Antonino da Malta and Antonio della Terza, together with the 8 Abyssinian boys. Antonio was so ill that he had to be left behind at Arbagi in the care of Krump, and he died there on 8th July. Krump caught up again with the caravan at Triera (Dereira) on 3rd August. The caravan followed the usual desert route to Egypt, and Joseph arrived in Achmim on 5th January, 1703. From

[26] Credenz-Schreiben, Krump, 348.

[27] There is no record of any audience given by the king of Sennar to Joseph during the time he was at Sennar (29th March to 15th June, 1702).

[28] Krump gives both dates. They may have arrived opposite Sennar on the 28th and crossed the river the next day.

[29] Whom Joseph calls 'il padre Teodoro tedesco' (Beccari XIV, 276: this is the only mention of Krump in Beccari's volumes).

there he sent off to Rome a duplicate of his previous letter, giving the first news of his alleged achievements and adding to it a paragraph with the latest news. He left Achmim soon afterwards, and by the middle of March was in Cairo, about to leave for Rome. De Maillet had the distasteful task of arranging the passages of Joseph and his seven ' black scoundrels '—one had died on the journey ; and Joseph promised to speak for him to the Pope.

Arrived in Rome Joseph proudly presented to the Pope the letter which, he alleged, had been written by the king of Abyssinia. At a Special Congregation held on 30th September, 1703, he was confirmed in his appointment as Prefect of the Mission, and a proposal submitted by him to found a new Mission for the island of Socotra was considered.[30] He also asked for the annual grant of the Achmim mission to be increased to at least 60 scudi (about £12) for each missionary. This last request was, as we infer from a later reference, granted.

The last item on the agenda passed over the meeting like the shadow of a cloud no bigger than a man's hand ; it was a long but anonymous[31] letter casting doubts upon the authenticity of the letters from the king of Abyssinia to the Pope and Cardinal Sacripante.

Nothing more is heard of Joseph for a whole year. In July of the year following (1704) Du Roule left Cairo for Abyssinia, and Joseph wrote to Rome (before October) saying that on that account the Sennar route was closed. By this it may be implied that, as Du Roule was a diplomat of the pro-Jesuit French king, the Franciscans of Achmim had nothing to hope for in that quarter.[32] He added that he had already attempted the journey himself, but been robbed in the desert of Beris, south of Khargah, and lost all his own and the missionaries' ' provisions ' ; for this loss he asked (and received) compensation. Two other fathers who left before him had already ' arrived '—presumably at Sennar, but we are not told where. Giacomo d'Albano, in a report written three years later,[33] gives a few more details, but no exact dates. The caravan with which Joseph and his companions was travelling was stopped ' in a place called Beris ' by a special emissary sent after them by the governor of Luah, acting on orders received from the governor of Monfalut. Giacomo accuses De Maillet of having instigated this arrest, but produces no evidence, and it is more likely to have been due to intrigue by the Copts, or been mere brigandage.

Where Joseph was during the early part of 1705 and at the time of Du Roule's murder is a mystery. He may have been in Sennar, and he was certainly not far off. After it, he and his companions took refuge with the holy men of Belad el Fokara, near the junction of the Niles. Bruce[34] states that ' the friars, who were in numbers at Sennar, left it immediately before the coming of M. du Roule ' and returned after his murder. I can find no evidence that at this time there were ever more than

[30] It appears that a mission did actually start for Socotra. De Maillet, in a letter dated 24th November, 1705, states that four Italian missionaries belonging to the ' troupe ' of Father Joseph, had left (Cairo) at that time, with letters from De Maillet to the Pasha of Jedda, who was a friend of his. (Correspondance Consulaire, Le Caire, 1703–6 : *Affaires étrangères*, B1, 315, f. 353). Nothing more seems to be known of this mission.

[31] *i.e.* the name of the writer (probably De Maillet) is not given in the record.

[32] See Beccari I, 180 ; but De Maillet had already told Joseph that he might go to Sennar with Du Roule if he (Joseph) were back in Cairo from Rome by September, 1703 (XIV, 326).

[33] Beccari XIV, p. XXVII.

[34] III, 525.

three friars in this neighbourhood—Joseph and the two others whom he mentions himself. Presumably it was these two who went back from Belad el Fokara about June, 1707, to Cairo where they saw De Maillet.[35] But so far from returning to Sennar after the murder, as Bruce alleges, we know for a fact that they fled in fear of their lives, and remained in hiding for more than a year. That is just what Bruce says one would have expected them to do if they were innocent ; and as they did in fact do so, their innocence may be presumed.

Joseph remained on in ' Nubia ' after the two fathers left ; and in the middle of 1707 De Maillet wrote his candid opinion of him to Father Verzeau and Cardinal Tremouille. The alleged letter of the king of Abyssinia was a forgery ; Joseph was a Roumi and a Chami ; and the seven black scoundrels had been bought in or near Sennar. The Consul was the last person to bring such charges as these, for, (as we have seen), he had ordered his Jesuit protégé to do exactly the same, even providing him with the money to buy the slaves with ! Rome was grieved to hear of Joseph's misfortunes, but worried by his long silence ; sinister rumours were current, and the grave accusations of De Maillet, a responsible official, could not be ignored. S.C. therefore in September, 1707, called upon Carlo Maria da Genova for a confidential report. Was there, it was asked, any real hope of entering Abyssinia or, when there, of obtaining any results ? Joseph himself was told to see to his own safety, and if he could not proceed to Abyssinia, he was to return to Egypt. But he did neither ; hoping, says De Maillet, by remaining in ' Nubia ' to create the impression that some hope still remained. So long as he was there the Mission could not well be closed down, as no doubt he knew. Perhaps he was afraid to return to Egypt and face an enquiry.

Further investigations were instituted as a result of De Maillet's letters, and about the same time grave charges were made by Benedetto da Teano and the Guardian of Jersualem against the Ethiopian Mission in general. Then a letter was received from Joseph reporting the death of Iyasu, the king of Abyssinia and that there was now some hope of being able to enter that country[36] ; he asked for fresh letters (Brevi) for the new king, for the confirmation of his faculty and for new ' provisions.' To all these requests S.C. agreed. But on 7th April, 1708, Joseph wrote that he was still prevented from entering on his mission. Then the deadlock was ended by poor Father Joseph himself, who did the best thing he could possibly have done for himself and his friends ; he died. The news was conveyed to Rome in a letter from Liberato dated Akhmim, 28th December, 1710. S.C. appointed Liberato Prefect of the Mission in his place.

The following year it was reported that the other missionaries in Sennar, whose names are not stated, had been robbed by soldiers (masnadieri)—another version ascribes it to an attack of Arabs—and left with nothing but their lives. Giacomo d'Albano, the Proctor at Cairo, proposed trying the Red Sea route, and in 1712 Liberato went there by Massawa with two companions. Little is known of the events which took place during the next few years, for in 1716 Liberato and

[35] XIV, 381.

[36] A most significant remark, for surely the death of the king whom he claimed to have converted should have made it *more*, and not less, difficult to re-enter Abyssinia. The truth would seem to be that, so long as Iyasu was alive, Joseph, having compromised himself with that king by the forged letter, dared not re-enter that country.

his two companions were stoned to death by the mob. It was plainly useless to go on, and in the same year the mission was suspended. In the process of winding it up various disputes arose in which Benedetto d'Atripalda, Giacomo d'Albano and others were involved. In 1718 the accounts of the mission were still in a state of confusion. The next year Benedetto was ordered to return to his province; but he did not go, and in 1721 the order was repeated and his conduct described as insubordinate.

Thus, one might have thought, had expired the Mission of Akhmim, Fungi and Ethiopia, game to the last. But when Bruce[37] passed through Akhmim on his way to Abyssinia in December, 1768, he found there ' what is called a Hospice or Convent of religious Franciscans, for the entertainment of converts or persecuted Christians in Nubia, when they can find them.' They were ' much favoured by this Arab prince Hamam; and their acting as physicians reconciled them to the people. They told me there were about 800 Catholics in the town; but I believe the fifth part of that number would never have been found, even such Catholics as they are. The rest of them were Copts and Moors, but very few of the latter, so that the missionaries live perfectly unmolested.'

Of Akhmim today Baedeker says, with unconscious irony, that it ' is remarkably free from European influences.'[38]

[37] Bruce was strongly prejudiced against all monks, and his account must therefore be accepted cautiously. It is printed in Vol. II, 9–10.

[38] *Egypt*, 1929, 230. Sonnini, the French traveller, visited the monastery in 1778, but was received ' with the most mortifying incivility ' by the Italian Franciscans there. See his *Travels*, 1799, 116 ff.

CHAPTER XXI

KRUMP'S JOURNEY AND BOOK

ONE of the missionaries who travelled with Prefect's party from Cairo to Sennar was a Bavarian Franciscan, Theodore Krump, who subsequently described his adventures in a book. Although there is a copy in the British Museum, this book has escaped the notice of almost all previous students of Sudanese history. Krump is not mentioned by Budge or MacMichael, and even Beccari's fourteen volumes contain no reference to him. Only Professor Monneret de Villard mentions him and his book[1]; a fuller appreciation was not necessary in that context. Beccari's silence may be accounted for by the fact that Krump was a Franciscan; but it is strange that he should otherwise have been so completely forgotten. His name appears with the wrong date (1701 for 1700) on Stieler's map of Africa on the desert route between the oases of Dungul and Selimeh; and the late Sir Douglas Newbold mentions him,[2] but as he too gives the date 1701 and the French 1/2M map as his source, he probably knew no more about him. My own curiosity was, in fact, aroused by Newbold's reference to a name I did not know; and it was still more stimulated when I found that to Mr Hillelson, who misses very little, Krump was no more than a name. So far as I have been able to discover, the only person who ever studied Krump's book was Dr Gumprecht who, nearly a century ago, published an abstract of it in an obscure German geographical journal.[3] When I first opened the book at the British Museum I could see that it was not going to be an easy task to extract from it such information as concerned my subject. It is written in a Bavarian dialect, and even Dr Maria Bersu, to whom the German language as such would present no difficulties, found some words and passages difficult to understand. The following account is based entirely on her very full abstract, made from photostats; and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for her kind help, without which this chapter could never have been written.

The title-page contains a lengthy description of the contents, the gist of which is that the book was the record of a 'high and fruitful palm-tree of the Holy Gospel, planted (erwisen) in the heart of the High Abyssinian monarch.'[4] It was printed in 1710 at Augsburg, by Joseph Gruber, and published by Georg Schlüter and Martin Happach. Opposite the title-page is an allegorical engraving representing the palm-tree and some of those concerned. The other illustrations are, for the most part, purely fanciful and drawn in a style that was popular at the time in Bavaria. There is no evidence that they were based upon original drawings nor is it in the least

[1] *La Nubia medioevale*, I, 1935, pp. VII, XXVIII.

[2] *SNR*, XI, 140.

[3] 'Die Reise des Pater Krump nach Nubien in den Jahren 1700–2, und dessen Mittheilungen über Abyssinien': *Monatsberichte über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschafte für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Neue Folge, Siebenter Band (Berlin, 1850), 39–88.

[4] For purposes of reference the title may be given as 'Höher und Fruchtbahrer Palm-Baum.'

likely that any such were made. They were probably drawn long afterwards in Bavaria, and they have therefore little or no historical value. Some of them are reproduced here as curiosities[5] (Plates 33 and 34).

Of Krump himself there is little to relate. He himself says[6] that he was born at Aichach in Alt-Bayern. One would like to know what happened to him after his return to Bavaria, but that hardly concerns us here, and in any case would be difficult to discover in the present unfortunate state of learning in Mittel-Europa. He seems to have been on the whole a dull dog, and in interests and intelligence far removed from Brevedent, who, had he not died, might well have written a really valuable book. He was credulous and superstitious, and his medical practice was little more than sophisticated magic. But he seems to have been kind-hearted and likeable. When we read some of his remarks about 'Moors' we must remember that the western world was then divided from them by an iron curtain of implacable hostility. The difference in religion symbolized a deep cleavage still reflected in our Prayer-book and in social life in the east. Krump, a professional missionary of one of the two opposed religions, naturally shared its prejudices. It was not the policy of the Catholic Church to attempt to convert Mohammedans, but concentrate its efforts on schismatic Christians. This was probably a sound policy; and it has been imitated by others in other spheres.

Nevertheless, with all his shortcomings, which were merely normal to his age and creed, we owe him a great debt, for buried in the chaff there are preserved a few grains of elsewhere unrecorded fact relating to the Fungs at the zenith of their power. He must certainly have kept a diary, for one of his greatest merits is that he scrupulously records every date, and often the hours of the day as well. In this he excels many modern travellers (one of whom records the days of the months but forgot to give the year). Thanks to this practice it is possible to estimate closely the rate of travel of caravans and small parties, and thus to locate more nearly the places of other travellers (and Arab writers) given in terms of time only. Though he was no Burckhardt, his status and that of his fellow Franks in the caravan was as humble as Burckhardt's and reflects its daily life and habits as truly though less vividly.

Krump was, of course, merely a member—and by no means the foremost—of the Franciscan mission whose journey was described in the last chapter. The exact itinerary is given in Appendix 5, and I feel therefore free to omit from the present chapter nearly all dates and much other tedious detail. It will be enough here to state that he left Moshaa (Mushu) on 22nd January, 1701; was at or near Dongola from 3rd February to 25th March; at Gerri from 15th April to 17th; and reached Sennar on 1st May, 1701. The missionaries were occasionally separated both from the caravan and from each other; my narrative will follow Krump's movements, for it is irrelevant whether he was with the others or not, or whether the caravan itself had split up, as it often did. Lastly, the places are spelt as in Krump's book, the modern equivalents, or (when missing) those of other travellers being given as well. The spelling of the modern names is that (not always the best) found on the 1 : 250,000 map.

[5] A drawing of the harbour of Candia in Crete opposite page 446 may perhaps have some resemblance to the original subject, to judge from its style.

[6] p. 23.

The part of the journey which concerns us began at Moshaa (Mushu), a village on the west bank of the Nile, 18 miles above the 3rd cataract and a little below the north end of Argo Island. Here in Krump's time the Egyptian caravans ended their long desert trek from Girgeh, the last previous long halt being at the oasis of Selima. The first camp after leaving Moshaa was pitched in the desert. Hardly had they shaken off the sheikh of Moshaa and his attendant company of ' women shouting Gua, Gua, Gua,' when they were met by the ' little king or patron ' of all these villages (probably the king of Argo Island) riding in full splendour on a fine Arab steed and smoking a tobacco-pipe. He was accompanied by four slaves on foot and four mounted soldiers and was wearing a very dirty sleeveless linen shirt. Round his waist was a striped blue-and-white cotton sash, and he wore a pair of ragged blue Turkish trousers. On his head was a cotton cap bound round by a silk ' facilet '[7] instead of a turban. He was quite friendly, and confirmed the news of Brevedent's death (about a year and a half before). Here the travellers first met white ants, and after unloading the camels had to rest their cases on stones to prevent the ants attacking them.

The next halt was at Baenne (Gharb Benna), but Krump carefully explains that names like this and Moshaa apply to riveraine regions rather than to individual villages. Here the Berberines annoyed them by their bad manners and impertinent questions. They halted for 3 days at Zaftie, which seems to be the gubba near Teiti called Saati or Satti Beshir,[8] a name which does not appear on any map (Plate 31). From there they went on to Backhri, 11 miles below Old Dongola. Krump's description[9] of the west bank between here and Mushu seems to show that it was then very prosperous, with an almost continuous succession of houses or huts. It was his first sight of cultivation after a long desert journey and he may have exaggerated somewhat ; but two days later he records a change, the country as they approached Dongola being uncultivated and uninhabited and without any palms. Between Backhri and Dongola they halted at Rolet ; there is no place so named on any map, and I suspect that Krump has got his places out of order.[10] Rolet must be El Guleid (Bahri), midway between Khandaq and Bakri, and 9 miles above the former. (It is called Gôlet by Cailliaud, El Goli by Linant and Gollet by Hoskins). The two ruined churches which Krump visited must surely be those, seven miles apart, whose sites are marked on the map (45E) between El Guleid Bahri and Khuleiwa. He describes them as ' very old but rather ruined ' (uralte, doch zimblich ruinirte) and was told by the Berberines that they had been built some hundred years ago, when the country was Christian. ' We went inside,' he says, ' to look at them and we saw from the altars and paintings (Gemählern) that it must have been so ; and although

[7] According to Ducange, this word appears to mean a small face-towel.

[8] Gleichen 1, 28. I enquired about this name during my bus-ride from Khandak to Dongola on 25th March, 1950. We saw the gubba, whose name was given to me as Satti Beshir, a little north of that of Satti Awnallah (or On Allah), between Urbi and Qasr Wad Nimeiri. I have not been able to discover anything about either Satti.

[9] ' . . . An dem Fluss Nilo ist kein formierte Stadt oder Dorff anzutreffen, sondern es stehet gleichsamb ein Hauss nach dem andern, welche mit denen schönsten Palm-Wäldern umgeben, die einem sehr lustig, ja wie die schönste Gärten vorkommem.' p. 235. This is still true ; but the houses seen by Krump are now reduced to heaps of stone forming an almost continuous succession of ruin-fields, and the existing houses are built beside or between them.

[10] His dates for once are a little confused here (p. 236), and the times excessive for the distances (Backhri-Rolet 16 hours, Rolet-Dungula 23 hours).

we could not make out much, we fancied that S. Antonius Abbas was painted on one of the walls.' The northern church is that given by Monneret de Villard[11] under the name of Fergi ; he records potsherds from the site belonging to the Christian period and now in the Khartoum museum, but it is otherwise unknown and undescribed. From the southern church[12] has come the tombstone of a certain Genseua with a long inscription in Greek, and a small cup ' in ceramica giallastra lucida.'

The caravan arrived at a point opposite Old Dongola about midnight and pitched camp there. It was to remain there for nearly two months, haggling over customs-dues with the king of Dongola, and waiting for an armed escort. We need not follow all the intricacies of the negotiations ; the Franciscans claimed to be exempt, as doctors of the king of Sennar, and ultimately they made good their claim, though not until they had sent to Pasquale in Sennar and obtained from the king a letter and a personal representative. They had to pay the dues, but their baggage was not opened—and it was this that they most feared, for it contained books and chalices which would inevitably arouse suspicion. One may be sure, too, that if the king of Dongola had once seen the Venetian mirrors and other presents, they would never reach those for whom they were intended.

Krump describes[13] the boats then used here to cross the Nile, observing that these are the only ones in use. They ' take two trees one and a half times the height of a man, together with some strong brushwood (Zwerch-holzeren) ; then they fasten in the middle six or eight bundles of dhurra-stalks (Canne, thus explained). The raft then carries 10 or more people and a cargo of several hundred-weight. Having no oars but sticks with a board one span (spann) long attached, they harness to this river-cart one, two or three horses which convey it across by swimming, one or two people also swimming beside the horses to guide them. People young and old cross the river like poodles, with their clothes tried on their heads. Their manner of swimming is quite different from that of us Germans ; they do not extend their legs outwards but work their arms forward alternately, thrusting against the water downwards.' The camels are swum across supported on each side by an inflated sheepskin, a man holding on to the neck to direct it, and sometimes another holding on to the tail so as to cross the river more easily.

Eventually the whole party moved with the baggage to Dungasi, presumably a village on or opposite the island now called Tangasi, some five miles above Dongola, where they awaited the letter of exemption to come from Sennar. The king of Dongola, meanwhile, kept the 50 florins (Gulden) which they had been obliged to pay as a deposit, promising to hand it back if the hoped-for exemption arrived. The missionaries occupied the time cleaning the corn which, having been thrashed in the fields immediately after reaping, was full of sand and earth. Krump remarks that nowhere in Egypt, Nubia or the kingdom of the Fungi are there any watermills. In Egypt corn is ground by two oxen or one horse turning the millstone. In the country of Dongola they ground it with two stones shaped like those on which painters ground their paints, and it was incredibly hard work. There was no wheat, and bread was made of dhurra.

[11] *La Nubia Medioevale* I, 1935, 244.

[12] *Ib. id.*, p. 244 (Haleiwa). For the inscription see also Crowfoot, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* XIII, 1927, 145, 229–30. It is No. 17 in the Khartoum Museum, and the cup is No. 438.

[13] p. 239.

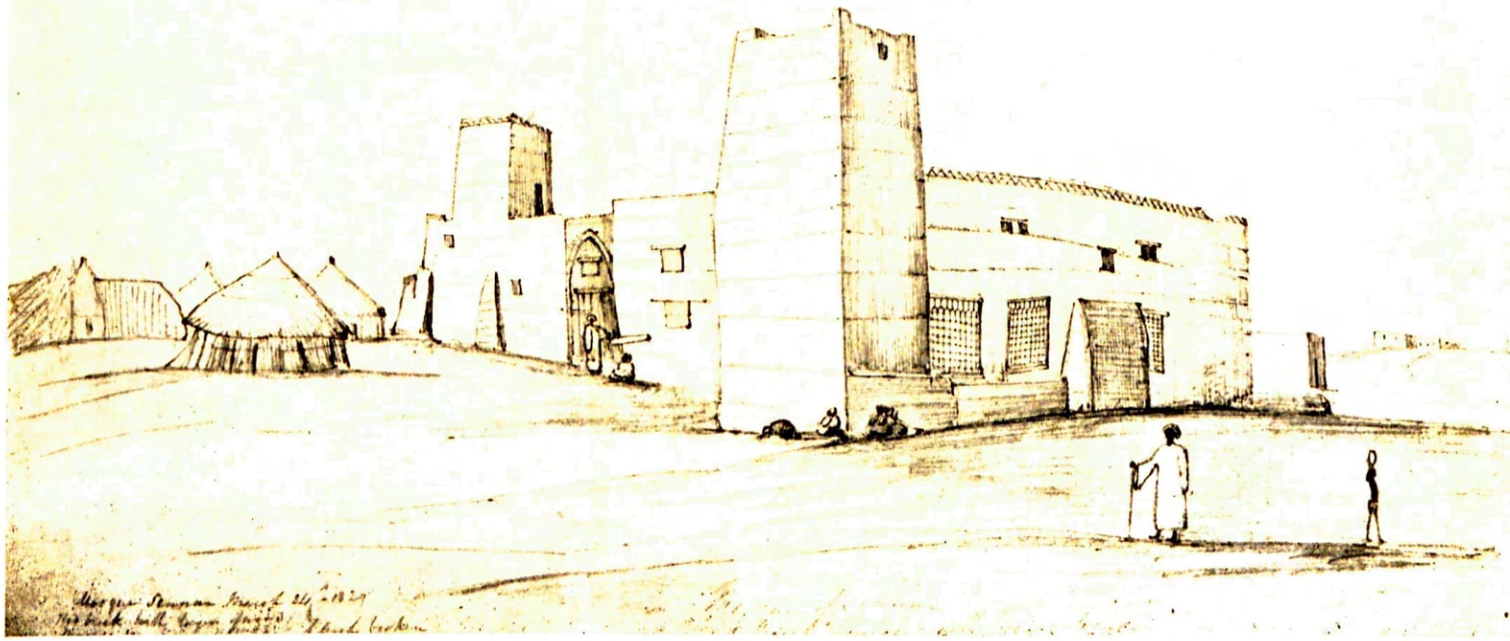
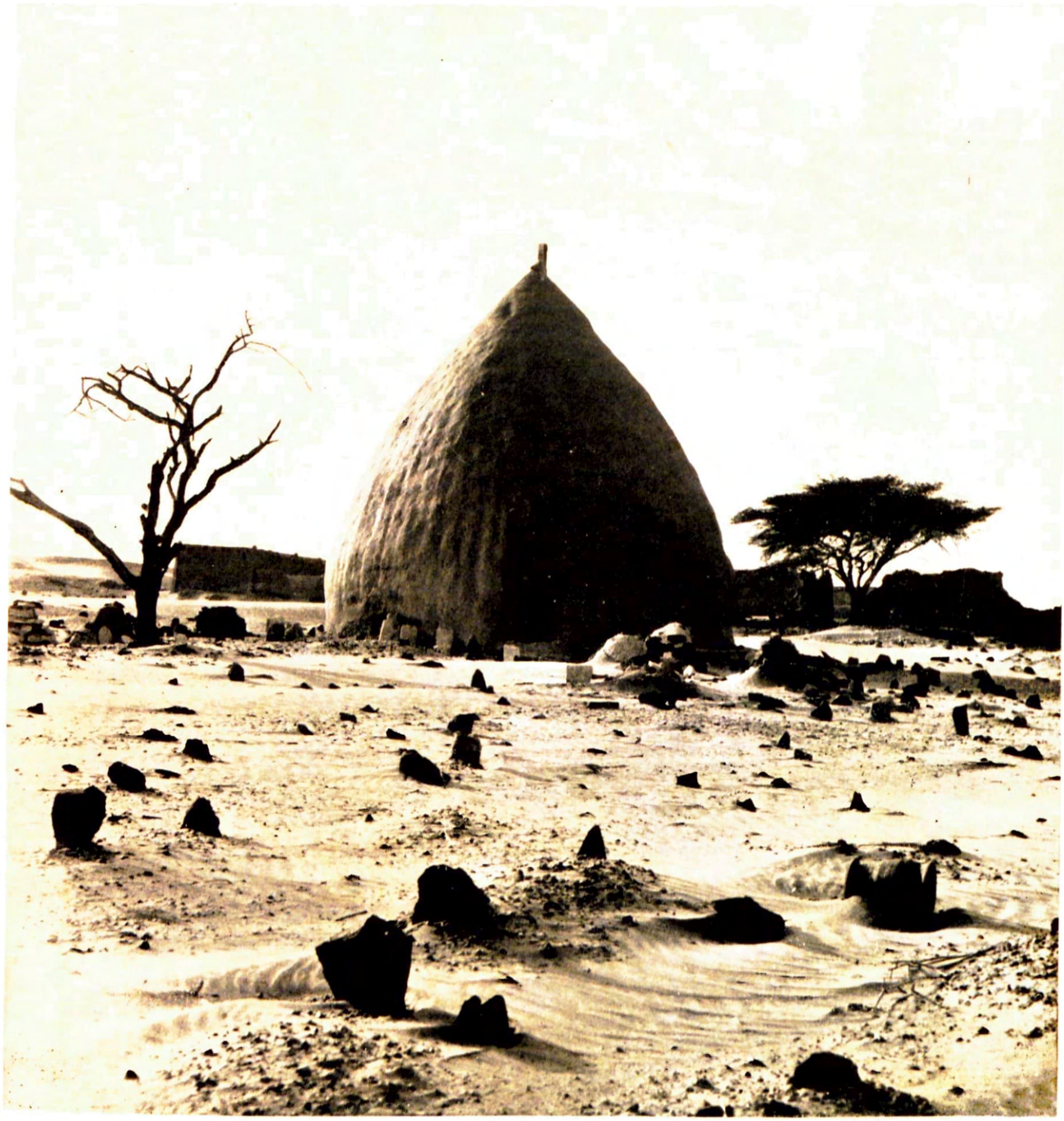


PLATE 30

The mosque of Sennar in 1829, *after* Lord Prudhoe, showing E. and N. elevations. Note the three bronze grills in the N. elevation, and between two of them the back of the mihrab (p. 191 : see also Plate 24)

facing p. 216



The gubba of Satti Beshir between Urbi and Teiti; Krump's Zaftie (p. 215)

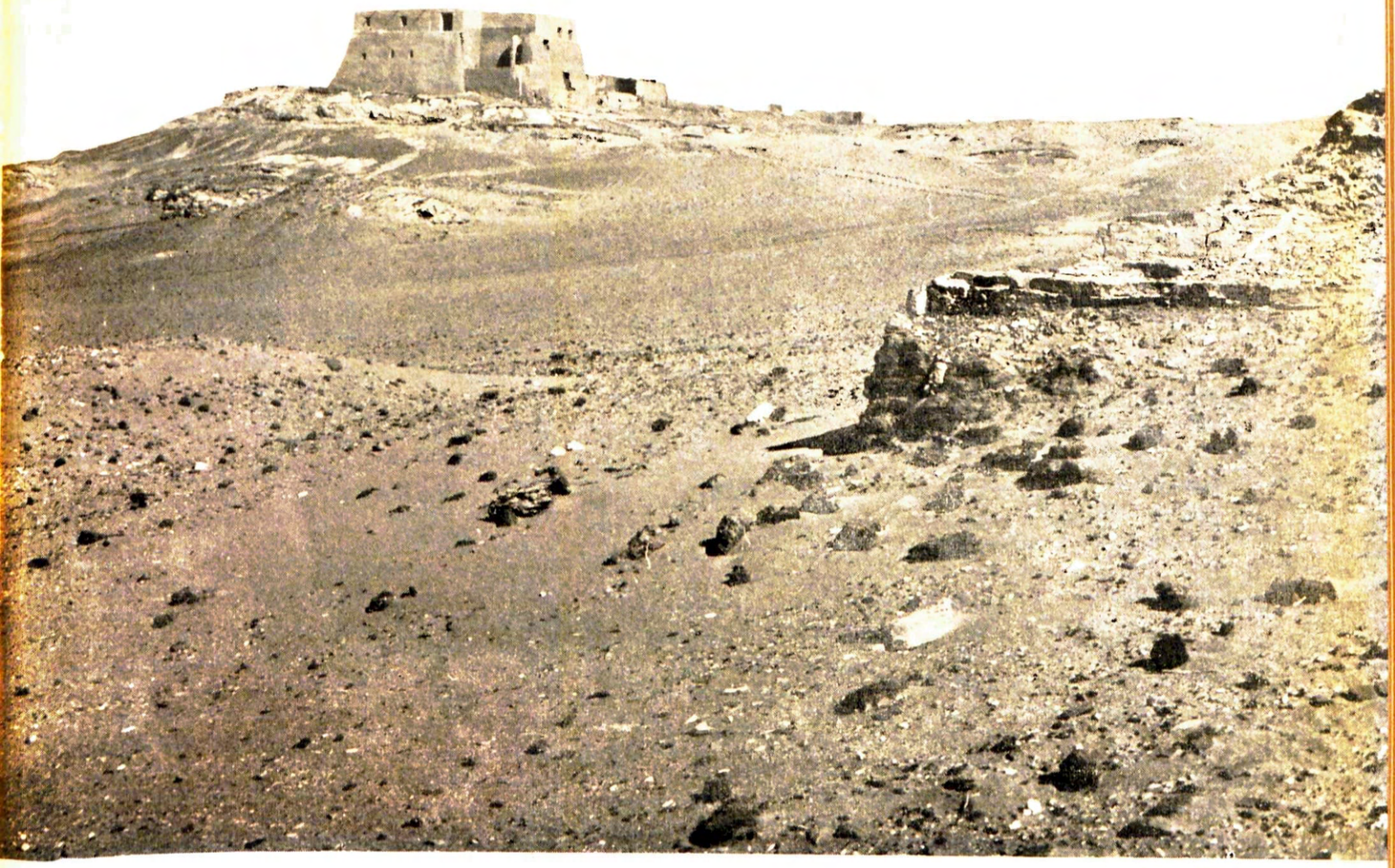


PLATE 32

Old Dongola hill, looking SE.; on the top, the church; on the right, remains of mud-brick house of Turkish period (p. 217: see also pp. 33 ff.)

Krump at the Court of Badi, king of Sennar, in 1701 (p. 220)

The town of Dungula (Dongola) was built on a hill, ' but so that there is always a house built against the slope and joined to the next.' It was the best site for a fortress he had ever seen anywhere (Plate 32). The houses were built of mud, and there was a very old church ' which has not been entered by a Turk since these people abandoned the true Catholic faith ' and became Mohammedans. ' Some have tried, but they all fell dead on the spot, so it is still blocked up today.'[14]

The long halt at Dongola may well have been partly to allow a detachment of the caravan (left behind at Syut in Egypt) to catch them up ; for in crossing the Bayuda desert which ' was full of royal rebels and Arabs '—a reference to the revolted Shaigia—safety lay in numbers. The party arrived on 16th March, led by a ' royal merchant of Sennar ' called (the) Abbtin,[15] and on the 25th (Good Friday) they all set out together. With the Abbtin was an Armenian and a Christian who had become a Turk and whom they hoped to reclaim. After a march of about 12 hours they came to Dabbi (Debba), 20 miles distant.[16] This place and others in the neighbourhood were inhabited by *vagirs* or *santonis*. Being able to read and write they were regarded as teachers and doctors of the Mohammedan law. Debba had the privilege of sanctuary, and no bailiff might enter, or remove an accused person (Ubelthater) : ' which should make blench many a Christian prince, king or potentate, who might dare . . . to violate or even abolish ecclesiastical immunity.'[17]

Krump gives a long description of what he calls ' the other kind of Marabuts '—this is his first mention of the word—namely ' the Kabalists.' They keep strict fasts and have special food and clothes, and are called Vagirs by the Moors, that is, learned scribes (Schrifftgelehrte) ; for anyone who can read and write is thought to be versed in the law. ' They say their prayers at intervals throughout the day and night ; and they carry about with them square wooden tablets (Täflein) painted white, on which every day they write Arabic characters or an extract from the Koran, and they babble and learn them by heart all day long. Their way of living is not so godless and insolent (freches) as that of the Santonis, though they too practise black magic. Some of them gather together in Turkish fashion and shout extracts from their seductive (verführerischen) Koran for half a day. In Sennar and elsewhere I was amazed to see these Vagirs cooing like pigeons in the public square for 2 or 3 hours on end, in the most perishing[18] heat, until they gave out from thirst and exhaustion. They bend their bodies up and down, cooing all the time, sometimes assuming the most abominable and difficult postures (abscheulichist und ungeschicktiste Posturen). There are others from Borno and Fesan (a dozen of whom went with our caravan from Sennar to Egypt)[19] who, besides the tablets, carry a skin tightly stretched on a round bow[20] which they beat like a drum and make a deafening noise '—which is magnified by little bells set on the bows and little metal plates tied together in bunches. While thus playing they sing and jump about as if they had gone mad, and thus acquire the reputation of saints.

[14] See p. 34.

[15] Called on p. 381 ' the Abbtin, a royal zielab and our caravan-leader.'

[16] There is no mention of a halt, but it is unlikely that they marched without one. Allowing 3 hours for such we should get the normal rate of 2.2 miles per hour.

[17] p. 254.

[18] ' . . . Sonnen-Hitz welche einen möchte verzehren,' p. 255.

[19] This passage was therefore written after his return, and is not part of the diary.

[20] Bogen ; *i.e.* the circular frame on which the skin was fastened ; he is plainly describing a tambourine.

On Easter Day they arrived at Caschabi (Goshabi: Waddington's Gooshop) on the left (south) bank opposite the island of El Fung, having marched only 12 miles. The next place Krump calls Dabulet Elgarbij which he explains as meaning in Arabic 'the place' (dab) [of] 'the son' (velet, = walad) of the sunset (Elgarbij). I cannot find any place on any map with a name like this; it should be about midway between Goshabi and Korti, their next halt.

Krump has nothing to say about Korti except that it was 'rather large and the best place in Nubia.' It was here that the caravan assembled for its dangerous desert crossing, escorted by troops under the command of the eldest son of the Viceroy, 'who is colonel of the whole militia of Nubia.' Krump bled him beforehand and (it seems by way of a return) he gave the missionary party a special mounted escort. It should be observed that the armed guard of 100 horsemen for the caravan represented a definite return for the dues exacted *en route*, about which there is so much moaning in all the travellers' books. Krump was much impressed by the beauty of the desert, and interested to see roedeer 'which have inside them the real oriental Bezoar, bigger than a pigeon's egg; I brought several of them with me.' They were not valued by the inhabitants who, being barbarians, were ignorant of their virtues. They reached Bajuda wells two hours before sunset on 5th April, having covered the 56 miles from Korti in 4 days (an average of 14 miles a day). The camels were watered that evening and the soldiers' horses the next morning. From Bajuda to Triera (Dereira) on the Nile they marched continuously night and day with only short halts of a few hours, covering the 84 miles at a rate of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour.[21] They had now left Nubia and entered the kingdom of the Fungi, 'or rather of Garri.' A definite change in the landscape was noticed; it was more fertile and there were no palms—not, as Krump thought, because of the greater heat, of course, but because of the annual rainfall. Meat was very cheap and money was current. The people were as little clothed as those of Nubia, but the women had finer 'jewelry,' of coral, mother of pearl, amber and coloured glass.

On the day after their arrival at Dereira the Jesuits and the Prefect went on ahead to Sennar,[22] Krump and the others kept with the caravan. They were still three days from Gerri, and their halts were at Hambia and Sabagie[23] which cannot be identified. The village of Gerri was at the upper or southern end of the Shabluka gorge, about 30 miles from Dereira. They crossed the river at Sabagie which must have been somewhere near Malaka island. The camels paid a charge of two cakes of soap and ten pfennigs; and their loads were transported in a boat.

Here Krump makes the interesting remark that, not far from Gerri, the river called in Arabic the Black River joins the Nile from the right; it is plain that he is referring to the Atbara which was sometimes also called Bahr el Aswad. He points out that the maps which mark it as joining the Nile near the Egyptian frontier—he means, I expect, at Aswan—are all wrong. Neither here nor elsewhere does he

[21] He himself says that during $4\frac{1}{2}$ days, of 83 hours they marched for 67. According to his own figures they took $3\frac{1}{2}$ (not $4\frac{1}{2}$) days from Bajuda to Triera, or 81 hours. The figure 67 agrees fairly well with his own daily record of marching hours and gives a rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

[22] Krump merely says 'some of the fathers.'

[23] A place called Sabagi is marked on Linant's map, as printed in Mazuel's book, on the w. bank immediately s of Khandak; but it does not appear on Linant's map in the Griffith Institute. This is the only place so called that I can find, but it cannot of course be the place here referred to.

appear to know of the existence of the White Nile, though later he passed within six miles of its mouth. It seems that the two rivers uniting at Aswan, which figure on the older maps, represent, therefore, the Atbara and the Nile and Blue Nile, not the Blue and White Niles. The White Nile was virtually a cul-de-sac ending at El Ais, beyond which lay the savage realm of the Nilotic tribes. It led nowhere, was of relatively little importance and therefore little spoken of or known; whereas the Blue Nile was a thoroughfare throughout history. The correct mouth of the Atbara had in fact been recorded, from hearsay, by Paez; but it was seen by no one before Bruce because all others followed the western route to Egypt.

The caravan did not stop at Gerri, as other caravans did, because the Sheikh was not there but in his town residence at Arbagi. Krump let the caravan go on ahead for a day and followed behind, in order thus to evade the customs duty which the Sheikh would exact. On his way he stopped at a small village on the east bank called Subaichen (Bruce's Suakem), probably represented by the modern village of Hoshab or Ed Dom opposite Kagabi island and between the wadis of Wawissi and Deiri. He caught up with the caravan again at Halfai (Halfayat el Muluk), a fine large place, and went on with it to Helafun (Eilafun). He admired the high and shadowy trees and the fertile black soil, regretting that it was not better cultivated; and this leads him into a long and involved discussion (including one sentence of 26 lines) about the climate. A twelve hours' march from Eilafun brought them to Cotran (Kurtang), 20 miles further on; here the keepers (male and female) of the sheikh's 150 wives begged to be taken back to Egypt on the return journey. At Peschakhre (Bashaqra; Bruce's Bishaggara) Krump crossed the Nile, leaving the rest of the caravan to proceed on the east bank. Thence he went on to Abunaschera (? Abu 'Ushar; Cailliaud's Abo Chera) which he says means 'father of ten,' and from there by Abttiri to Bentria, a place about 5 hours from Arbagi.[24] Here the rest of the caravan crossed the river and joined them. Arbagi, fairest and most historic city of the Gezira, is unfortunately undescribed; Krump's chief concern was no doubt to get away from it quickly without paying the customs duty, and we shall never know what the place looked like—at any rate until some archaeologist has laboriously reconstructed it from the results of excavation. They then continued their march and reached Omsun (Umm Sunt),[25] 6 miles south of Wad Medani, which is not mentioned; Krump contrasts the nucleated Blue Nile villages with the dispersed settlements of Nubia. Here there was a heavy thunderstorm which did much damage to the goods of the caravan; possibly it was in anticipation of such an event that the king had sent them a messenger a few days before, ordering them to make haste. They next came to a village called Hatschabella, which must have been near, or a little above, the mouth of the Dinder; and thence through woods of flowering trees full of birds, monkeys and wild cats to Sennar, which they reached on 1st May, 1701.

At Sennar, Krump's party, consisting of himself, Joseph of Jerusalem and Carlo

[24] Something has gone wrong here; the time-distances are excessive, for he took about 60 hours to cover the distance between Bashaqra and Arbagi, which is less than 40 miles.

[25] Here is an ancient site, found by Mr Balfour-Paul, where potsherds of pre-Christian type occur, together with others of Christian and Fung type, and many much eroded graves.

di Cilento, together with the two Jesuits, Paulet and Grenier, were received by the Franciscan Prefect Francesco, with Pasquale and Benedetto. Lodgings had been secured for all in the same house, the Jesuits having rooms of their own apart. In the evening they had visitors, amongst them a certain Maalem Moses, a Sicilian of Palermo and a famous theologian and teacher. He had had some quarrel with the superiors of his order (which Krump deliberately leaves unnamed) and been sent by his own request on a mission to Babylonia; but at Aleppo he had become a Jew and absconded to Cairo (taking with him the money with which he had been entrusted) where he married and set up as a watch-maker. In 1696 he deserted his wife and came to Sennar, where he was at first held in high favour by the king, but subsequently fell out of favour and eventually died. He was, in fact, a typical adventurer of the kind once common in the Sudan.

Pasquale, who had come to Sennar more than two years before (in February, 1699) with Antonio della Terza (who was now in Gondar) and Benedetto d'Atripalda, gave an account of his doings to the Prefect in the presence of the others. Benedetto had been sent to Abyssinia as the king's doctor a year ago, but had been replaced (on account of illness) by Antonio and he was now back in Sennar, still ill. Pasquale, who had been acting as doctor to the king of Sennar, was going to Gondar to replace Antonio; and Krump was to replace Pasquale.

It seems that there was at Sennar some kind of Privy Council consisting of four sheikhs—Ali, who is called the Viceroy (Vice-König),[26] Arbabadem, Naiel and Ismail. Every visitor had to place himself under the protection of one of these sheikhs, and Krump's party had attached themselves to Arbabadem. (His name was no doubt Adam, the Arbab or prince). Their patron introduced the missionaries to the king who received them in his palace. He was clothed in a white and blue shirt and girt with a red and white sash. On his head was a silk cap of many colours, embroidered with gold, and he had two large gold ear-rings, and on his fingers gold rings set with precious stones. In his hand he held an unsheathed Turkish sword, and there were a couple of pistols lying on each side of him, to display his magnificence. To Krump, however, he looked like a dressed-up monkey (Plate 33). He asked them whence they came and whither they were going and in what they were trading. They replied that they were European Christians on their way to Ethiopia. They gave him a large mirror in which he immediately looked, regarding his coal-black face with gusto. They also gave him other presents, including scented Bologna soap, sugar-loaves, confectionery, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, spicanat-root (?), razors, Venetian glass, and some other things unknown to the dictionary. He was very pleased and gave them permission to stay in his kingdom or leave it, as they wished.

Krump did not go to Gondar with the rest of the mission, but remained behind at Sennar where he had succeeded Pasquale as king's doctor. He was formally presented to the king who assigned him to the charge of Sheikh Ismail. Though offered the use of Pasquale's house Krump declined it, having already secured accommodation in that of Sheikh Diab, whose daughter was one of the king's wives. As a preliminary fee the king sent him a skinful of honey and a large pot (zschära)

[26] Ali Zughoyer, the Vizier, to whom De Maillet sent a present with Du Roule's party; see p. 235. He was later killed by the king, as Cailliaud records. There is a strong probability that this Council of Sheikhs was a Council of Regency.

of lard, containing a hundredweight. But any ideas of repose that Krump may have had were shattered by a Morsal from the Sheikh of Gerri who wanted him to go there and attend him. His protests were of no avail; the king said that a change of air would do him good and promised to send a Morsal with him. On 8th July he set out with the son of the Viceroy Ali as Morsal and ten armed camel-riders. The king also gave him a good camel and his own mule, so that he could take turns at riding on each. Krump was ill on the journey, and when they reached Arbagi he had recourse to some *Panacea solaris* pills given him at Munich by his cousin Johann Baptista Divora. These in spite of their name seem to have had no effect, for his temperature rose, and he had to take ' Bezoar, Orient. Spiritum, Salis Armoni, Elixier vitae et proprietatis Paracelsi.' As these also did no good, he decided to write for Benedetto to come, but the letter was not sent. He therefore tried to return to Sennar, but was forcibly put on his mule and made to cross the river. After this things seem to have calmed down somewhat and he made it up with the Morsal that evening. He thought the scene of his forcible removal worth illustrating.

They reached Gerri at 9 o'clock on the morning of 22nd July, and as they rode into the town they were greeted by the women with the usual Ju Ju cries. They proceeded to the Sheikh's palace, in front of which stood four Moors beating drums each of which gave a different note; another blew on a long curved horn. They passed under the two archways (Schwibogen) of the palace and found the sheikh seated on his throne consisting of a raised clay platform (Laim-Mauer) 20 feet (Schueh) long and 16 feet wide, covered with a fine coloured straw mat. Round it were seated 40 Moors clothed in silk sashes. The sheikh himself was dressed in a red and blue half-silk shirt reaching to his feet but sleeveless; round his waist was a valuable blue and white silk sash, and on his head a varicoloured silk cap, embroidered with gold and silver. There were also in attendance about 50 slaves armed with spears. The Morsal presented the king's letter which the sheikh put on his head and then gave to his secretaries to read aloud. The sheikh then knelt down, as did all the others, and kissed the ground touching it with their heads several times. Krump did not take part in this last performance, which of course was a demonstration of loyalty to their liege lord. Coffee was then served, and the sheikh gave orders for Krump to be conducted to the house of Alli Daud. Soon after he had settled in there, the sheikh sent him a large pot of butter, a skinful of honey and a Munich bushel (Münchener Schäffe) of wheat, together with a live sheep and a male slave as his personal servant.

The next few days were spent in doctoring the sheikh (whose trouble was diagnosed as *retentio urinae*) with various remedies, including the Panacea pills, a purgative called Electuarium Episcop., Termentis potabilis, Spiritus Termentinae Squinans, and lapis Judaicus.

One day Krump attended a public trial. Plaintiff and defendant selected advocates from amongst those present. The plaintiff instructed his advocate and the defendant refuted the charge. ' Then, when the two advocates have come to the aid of their clients, all those present may take part in the proceedings, for and against. The sheikh then gives his decision against which there is no appeal.' The sentence was given by pronouncing the word *utrobo* (*i.e.* adrabu, beat him), upon

which ' all present seized sticks and beat the delinquent until he fell down or until the sheikh said *jekse*, it is enough, which was the signal to desist.'

On another occasion he was present at the appointment of a village sheikh. The person chosen was one of the sheikh of Gerri's slaves ; he was summoned to the presence and had to listen to a ' sermon und Lob-Predig ' recalling his faithful services. He was then invested by the Secretary with a silk shirt and sash and given a sword as an emblem of command (Säbl . . . welches ein Zeichen der Herrschaft ware). The slave then knelt down and did obeisance in the usual manner by touching the earth with his forehead about 30 times. Then, sword in hand, he danced and jumped about. Finally, he called upon one of those present to stand up while he delivered a panegyric on the sheikh of Gerri, asking the audience whether the sheikh was not the mightiest, justest and richest there ever was, and so forth.

Every evening the people of the town came to court, led by one with a long stick, and one after the other saluted the sheikh, calling him ' Maänschell,'[27] the honorific title borne by the sheikh, and adding their names, such as ' Anna Alli—I am, or my name is, Alli ' ; the sheikh then repeated the name. During this ceremony the military drums were beaten all the while. Krump himself took part in it every day, placing his hand on his heart and saying ' Maänschell,' to which the sheikh replied 'Hakhim ' (doctor). There was then a mock battle with swords and sticks and much posturing, but without any utterance. After a quarter or half an hour of this they were dismissed to their homes.

Krump dined with the sheikh one evening. The meal consisted of a wooden bowl of Kessere (or bread soaked in water[28]) on which were placed pieces of meat, the food being eaten with the hands.

Such was life in this barbaric court. The power of the sheikh of Gerri seems to have been despotic. There is no hint of any Council of State such as the king of Sennar had to assist him ; nor of any cadi to administer justice, which was done by the sheikh himself. But it must be remembered that Gerri was merely a feudal castle round which a small village had grown up. We know that at Arbagi, the urban centre, there had been a cadi since the time of Agib I. It is unfortunate that Krump nowhere gives the sheikh's name ; but in the letter of recommendation which he received from the king when he finally left Sennar, the sheikh is addressed as ' Machomet.' The only sheikh in our list bearing this name and possible chronologically is Agib Mohammed el Agail (Agib III), the son of Mohammed el Agail and grandson of Agib I. He is said to have acceded at the age of 65, which is consistent with the nature of the illness of Krump's sheikh, so far as one can infer it. The reign of Agib III is given by the modern representative of the family as from 1698 to 1723. There is however a difficulty ; for the sheikh in 1706 is said by D3[29] to have been Hamed es Simih who precedes Agib III in the lists. We are therefore obliged either to reject the order of the lists or the evidence of D3; but the authority of the king's letter, a contemporary official document, outweighs that of the other sources.

Before Krump had been a fortnight at Gerri he began to ask permission to return to Sennar. The sheikh's first excuse for refusing it was plausible enough ; a

[27] This is, of course, the well known title of Mangil.

[28] This is one of the usual drinks offered to visitors, and was given to us by the present sheikh on our visit to Gerri. It is a drink, not a food.

[29] Nos. 73, 226.

caravan was on its way—it arrived twelve days later—and it was said that there were two Franks in it. It would be an obvious economy to send Krump back with it and save a special escort. The Franks proved to be the Franciscans Antonino da Malta and Carlo Maria da Genova. The former, as a Maltese, spoke Arabic fluently; and he had also been many years in Egypt. He was therefore able to converse with the sheikh quite easily. Later the caravan-leaders came and gave the Sheikh their presents—a cake of soap, a sugar-loaf, coffee, pepper and machleb (a small Indian seed mixed with the camel's fat that was used for smearing the skin with). This done, the caravan was allowed to proceed on its way, but not the Franciscans; for it seems that Antonino had been persuaded by the sheikh not to depart but to wait for an escort. Krump takes the opportunity of setting down some observations for the guidance of travellers in the east and they are still valid; the gist of them is that one should travel light and not become too intimate with one's companions; otherwise ' wird er von ihnen continuierlich mortificiert seyn, was man anfangs aus Gütigkeit thut, wollen sie es das andermahl schon *de jure* haben '—how familiar that sounds still!

Matters were then complicated by the illness, first of Krump and then of Carlo. The diary becomes a brief record of purgings and bleedings until six weeks later when Krump takes a turn for the better and records a ravenous hunger. Perhaps his illness had affected his sight or reason, for it was just after this that he had his vision of ' little men no bigger than grasshoppers ' flitting in the moonlight round the house where a woman had just died. He put the hellish spirits to flight with a fragment of the True Cross given him by His Grace the Baron von Eberhardt in Amberg. The emotion aroused was strong enough to be remembered some years later, and he thought the scene worthy of illustration in his book (Plate 34). The howling of the mourners and beating of drums that followed the death of the ' old crow ' (Raben-Aas) seemed to him to be like a foretaste of hell.

It would be tedious to narrate all the attempts to leave Gerri, which (unlike some of the incidents) throw no light on contemporary society or history. One such incident was the arrival of a messenger from the sheikh's army near the Red Sea, announcing a victory and that the other side were asking for terms. It is tantalising to be told so much and no more. Where exactly were they fighting and who was the enemy? Very probably it was the Hakobat branch of the Hadendoa, who, according to Amarar tribal tradition, killed Musa, son of Gwilai and sheikh of the Amarar, in Khor Ameit, when he was going to Suakin to trade.[30] Musa was the great-grandson of Agib I, who had formed an alliance with the Amarar by marriage. There would therefore be family grounds for interference, as well as political ones. The Hadendoa were obviously endangering the Suakin caravan-route, whose protection (we may well believe) was entrusted by the Agibs to the Amarar—indeed that may have been the political motive of the marriage of Agib I to Miriam. The death of Musa is said to have been avenged by Agim, and that may have been the victory mentioned by Krump. The dates agree, for Agim's son Mohammed is dated *c.* 1730 by dead reckoning back from the Amarar Nazir in 1935.[31] The close connection between the Amarar and the Abdullabs is shown by the fact that the former are mentioned (though not called Amarar) as ' El Atamna

[30] *SNR*, XVIII, 202. [31] *SNR*, XVIII, 203.

(*i.e.* descendants of Otman) in the Red Sea ' in the Abdullab pedigree.[32] Krump here observes that the Sheikh of Gerri's rule extends over the whole of Nubia as far as the Red Sea and to Arbagi, and that he can (with the permission of the king) make war on his enemies. The victory was celebrated by killing and eating six young camels whose blood was sprinkled on the doors of the palace.

Meanwhile another caravan arrived and their hopes of departure revived accordingly. Soon afterwards a Morsal arrived from Sennar, and they decided to take the opportunity of going while they had a friend at court. They therefore set out without obtaining permission, but were overtaken by four soldiers, who wanted to take them back. The soldiers behaved ' with the greatest politeness,' but the missionaries would not go, and eventually one of the soldiers went back to the sheikh. He returned soon afterwards reporting that, thanks to the intercession of the Morsal, they could proceed ; and he also brought with him a present from the sheikh of 30 gulden for Krump and the promise that a Morsal would arrive next day to escort them as far as Arbagi. So, on 8th December, they joyfully started off again with their Morsal, covering 6, 7 or 8 German miles daily. At Arbagi they parted from the Morsal, giving him a present of a Reichstaler, and joined a party of merchants, reaching Sennar again on 20th December, 1701.

We have not, perhaps, gleaned much of value from Krump's account of his four months' stay at the Abdullab capital ; but such as it is it remains the only description in existence of the most important post of command in the empire of the Fungs. The king sent for him immediately and asked why he had been so long absent. Krump, who was no mean diplomatist it seems, pleaded illness, and not altogether without reason ; for he knew that a frank explanation of the cause would prejudice the sheikh of Gerri against any future missionaries (including himself and his party on their return journey). He continued his medical work, treating the king for a wound in the foot caused by his own sword, and curing ' Schiech Tris ' (Idris), the Viceroy's son, of jaundice and fever. His other patients included the Cadi's son and a sheikh who, on recovering from ' die Französische Kranckheit,' gave him a silver-mounted sword. On 24th February he observed a ' dreadful large comet,' which was visible for 9 or 10 days and which he regarded as a bad omen. Then on the 29th March Joseph returned with the remnants of the Gondar mission.

During their last days in Sennar, in April, 1702, there was some idea of sending a mission to the king of Gazofoli whose kingdom is described as situated at a distance of 8 days from Sennar towards the sunset.[33] It had been conquered some 15 years before (that would be about 1687) by the king of Abyssinia and forced to adopt Christianity in place of paganism. The Secretary of the king of Gazofoli used to come to Sennar several times a year, and two years ago Pasquale had given him a letter to deliver to the king, offering to send him two priests, under the guise of doctors, to instruct him in matters of true religion. The king had gladly accepted

[32] See Appendix 24.

[33] ' Acht Tag weit von hier gegen Untergang der Sonnen (dann Sennar und Gondar ligen gegen Mittag),' p. 350. I take this to mean that Gondar was south of Sennar ; actually it is only slightly south of due east, the difference in latitude being a little less than one degree. But the journey from Sennar to it was up the Nile and its tributaries whose course may well have been thought to be from south to north. A region, therefore, that in fact was south of Gondar might well have been described as west of Sennar, though actually lying to the SE. of it.

the offer, and a copy of his reply had been sent to the Sacra Congregatio at Rome. The Secretary happened then to be in Sennar on one of his visits and the matter of the mission was raised again. Krump and Carlo Maria da Genova were to go ; but just afterwards Antonino fell ill and the project was abandoned.

I suspect that Gazofoli is in reality Fazughli, often spelt Fasocli or Fascolo in earlier records. There is, so far as I have been able to discover, no other region with any name at all resembling Gazofoli. It cannot have been west of Sennar if it was conquered by Abyssinia. The early history of Fazughli is quite unknown, and it may well have been ' conquered ' temporarily by Abyssinia during some border raid, for we need not take its conversion seriously. The king-list tells us little, but the earlier names do not seem to be Arabic.

Preparations were made by the missionaries to leave Sennar with the next caravan. One feels that Joseph was impatient to be gone, foreseeing already the sensation which his news would create in Rome. Krump and Pasquale had an audience with the king who gave Krump leave to depart and told Sheikh Ismail to give him one of his best camels. The Secretary was instructed to prepare a letter of recommendation[34] which Krump quoted verbatim, except that, most unfortunately, he omits the most valuable part—the names of the other viceroys and governors besides the Sheikh of Gerri ! In it the king is called the son of Badi the son of Gionsa (an error for ' Badi son of Gionsa '[35]) and king of the Turks, and given a string of empty honorific titles extolling his justice, wisdom and power ; and the recipients are commanded to provide facilities for the Malem Jonas (Krump) and the Malem Soliman (Antonio della Terza) ; and it was stated that he had left with the king his brother Joseph (Pasquale) as doctor. The parting gift of the Viceroy's son, Sheikh Tries (Idris) was the horn of a rhinoceros, three specimens of which (for medical use) Pasquale had already given him. Krump takes the opportunity of giving an account of the Rhinoceros (which he had probably never seen alive).

They left Sennar on 15th June, 1702. At Arbagi, Antonio della Terza died in the house of Sheikh Machmud. The rest of the party had gone on, leaving Krump to tend him ; and Krump had now to hasten on and catch them if possible before they started to cross the Bayuda desert, which he could not safely have done without the protection of the caravan. He left Arbagi with some zielabi (eight in number) on 24th July, crossing the river and camping that night at Mugasha[36] on the east bank. The zielabi had about 20 camels each, loaded with ivory, tamarinds, gum Arabic (Arabischen gummi), ebony, leather, ' squinanten,' tobacco and gold ; and they were also taking with them a number of slaves of both sexes. At Halfaja there was a haboob (described, but not so named) followed by a cloudburst. At Garri they heard with relief that the caravan was still at Triera and hurried on to join it which they did on 3rd August. Before starting on the desert crossing the leader of the caravan (the Abtin) called the zielabi together and made an oration on the dangers ahead and the need of keeping together and of fighting if attacked. Any who were not suitably prepared should announce the fact in public, so that the rest might help them.

[34] Krump states specifically that he still had it when he was writing his book. Is it possible that the document, which of course was written in Arabic, still survives in some Bavarian monastery, or amongst the Franciscan records ?

[35] See p. 165.

[36] No place of that name is marked here on the 1 : 250,000 map.

Meanwhile Krump's importunate friend the sheikh of Gerri had sent three times to summon him to court, but he was ' not at home ' when the messengers arrived, and records the fact with satisfaction. Had it been otherwise he might never have been able to return and write his book.

The desert crossing in August was very different from that of April two years before, when it was covered with flowers, and the losses by death of slaves and camels were severe. They remained only a day at Korti, but took a week to cover the 60 miles thence to Dongola, being obliged to travel by day for fear of ' the enemy,' and to do short distances only—less than 10 miles a day—because of the heat. There Krump crossed the river to pay his compliments to the king, whom he had got to know very well when the king had visited Gerri. (We were told nothing of this at the time, not even his name). The king treated him very well, giving him fodder for the camels and a sheep for himself, and entertaining him and his Turkish friend, the Tubatschi, to dinner.

The caravan left Dongola on 28th August and had to keep well out in the desert, as the Nile was in flood. This meant rough travelling, aggravated by the great heat, and Krump had a fall from his camel, breaking his arm and injuring his head. For the days following the entries are naturally very brief, and no places are mentioned. They reached Moshaa (Mushu) on 20th September. They had to remain there for several weeks, partly to allow the camels to recover their strength, partly because it was uncertain whether the Arabs were still at Luach ; so long as they were it would be impossible to start. The merchants had to buy camels to replace those lost by death on the journey, and they could only do so by selling their goods. The astute people of Mushu, well aware of the situation, were not slow in profiting by these forced sales, and it was for them definitely a buyer's market. There was also difficulty in obtaining food. Finally, after a division of opinion had arisen, it was decided to send spies to discover whether the Arabs were in Luach or not, but no Barbarines would go, fearing to be flayed alive if caught. The problem was eventually settled by the arrival of some Barbarines who had come by the Nile Valley route from Egypt, and reported that the Arabs had left Luach, having made an agreement with the Turks of Egypt for the cession of certain places by way of compensation. An immediate start was decided upon and the camels watered in preparation, but their troubles were not over. The people of Mushu, loath to see the departure of such profitable guests, demanded further tribute. The Governor, clad in nothing but a greasy shirt, arrived on a fine Arab steed, attended by a bodyguard of six slaves on foot, armed with spears, and by a crowd of armed Barbarines and Arabs. He demanded the tribute in a truculent manner, but this was the last straw. The people of the caravan assembled and told them to get out. There was a long palaver cut short by a Janissary of the Tubatschi who, unable to bear it any longer, drew his sword and struck one of the bodyguard. This led to a free fight with 50 casualties on each side. The Tubatschi and the ' royal zielabi ' (of Sennar) mounted their horses, and the Tubatschi took the governor by his shirt, lifted him out of his saddle and threw him on the ground. The battle was thus decided by single combat, and ended in victory for the caravan.

Here we may also end our account of Krump's adventures, for he now passes out of our ken.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EMBASSY OF DU ROULE

'JACQUES LE NOIR, better known by the name of Du Roule'[1] was sent to Abyssinia at the age of 40 as ambassador of France, with the mission of inducing the Emperor to open up diplomatic relations between their two countries. To the material obstacles encountered on such a journey were added others of human origin, originating from the intrigues of the different sects which coveted the honour of converting the schismatics of Abyssinia; into this maze we need not enter.[2] Du Roule left Cairo on 19th July, 1704, accompanied by his French servant Gentil, an interpreter, M. Macé, a botanist called Lippi, and an engraver—a young man of good family called Bayard, who alone escaped massacre. On 12th September they left Assiut; they were at Kharga on the 24th, and on 18th October they arrived at Moscho (Mushu) where they were obliged to stay for a long time. It is not known when Du Roule reached Sennar; but 'indirect news' of his arrival there was received by M. de Maillet, the French Consul at Cairo, about the 10th July, 1705[3]; and it seems that the Consul had received a letter from him; for he says that Du Roule had been obliged to give to the King of Sennar the large mirror intended for the King of Ethiopia. For everything that happened at Sennar we are dependent ultimately on De Maillet whose sources of information were threefold. The first was a Nubian, who may be called the Dongolawi, engaged by Du Roule at Dongola and still in his service at the time of Du Roule's murder, which he claimed to have witnessed. This Dongolawi was cross-examined by De Maillet on four separate occasions in June, 1706,[4] not less than seven months after the murder. The second source was a Capuchin friar called Justin whom De Maillet sent to Du Roule in November, 1705, with some goods[5]; Justin heard of Du Roule's murder when he had reached Khandak, and returned thence to Cairo where he arrived on 7th September, 1706. In Dongola province the Capuchin found some letters from Du Roule addressed to De Maillet, one of them being dated 18th June. All these letters were (so he says) stolen from him on his return journey to Cairo, but he had read them, and he gave the consul an abstract from memory of the letter of 18th June. He also claimed to have interviewed a Nubian called Ahouad who said that he was a witness of the murder (though this was contradicted by the Dongolawi).

[1] Le Grand, 168.

[2] A very fair statement of the case, written (in Latin) from the Jesuit point of view, will be found in the introduction to Beccari's 14th volume.

[3] Beccari XIV, 370. De Maillet's letter should be dated 16th August, 1705, not 1703, as in the manuscript, nor 1704, as emended by Beccari. This date is confirmed by the statement, in the letter, that he is sending 'un capucin laïque françois' [*i.e.* Justin] with the 'commissaire du roy d'Ethiopie' [*i.e.* Agi Ali]; in a letter dated 1st November, 1707, he says that he had sent them two years ago, *i.e.* in 1705 (Beccari, p. 396).

[4] Most of what follows here is based on De Maillet's *Memorandum*, dated Cairo, 1st October, 1706, and printed by Le Grand, pp. 436–50.

[5] 'Divers argens, étoffes et coreaux de la dernière beauté.' Beccari XIV, 396.

The third source of De Maillet's information was certain trustworthy persons who were at Sennar at the time of the murder.[6] The evidence of these people caused De Maillet to revise his conclusions based on the earlier sources.[7]

Justin's story is preserved in the form of a deposition dated 14th September, 1706.[8] He left Cairo in November, 1705, taking with him 233 Venetian sequins, 200 piastres de Reaux, 2000 medins and some presents. In Upper Egypt he was joined by Hadji Ali, whom he calls ' marchand du roi d'Ethiopie.' Arriving at Mocho [Mushu] in March, 1706, he divided his possessions between Hadji Ali and the latter's brother-in-law, Hadji Abdo. At Kandac [Khandak] he heard the news of Du Roule's murder ; and as it was generally known that he was on his way to join Du Roule's party, he feared that orders for his death might be sent from Sennar, and he therefore decided to proceed no further but return to Cairo. With this object in view he offered the Governor of Khandak a sum of money[9] to conduct him back to the land of the Grand Seigneur. The Governor, who at first had treated him well, then put him in prison, in consequence it seems of some intrigue between Hadji Ali and the Governor of Dongola. However, he managed to get out of prison and secured a guide ; but four days after leaving Khandak (which would be somewhere near Argo Island) he was nearly killed by the orders of the Governor of Dongola, and only escaped through a lucky encounter with ' un Janissaire de l'isle de Say, premier lieu apartenant au Grand Seigneur,' to whose intervention he owed his life. After other persecutions by the Governor of Dongola, he proceed from Say along the Nile valley through the barbarous peoples who dwelt among the rocks (Batn el Hagar) and few patches of cultivation, reaching Cairo on 7th September, 1706.

We have, therefore (1) the first-hand evidence of the Dongolawi, given from memory about 7 months or more after the murder took place : (2) the evidence, relating to events that occurred before, and may have contributed to, Du Roule's murder, contained in this last (?) letter of 18th June, 1705, as recalled from memory after an unspecified lapse of time by the Capuchin friar, Justin ; and his version of the evidence of Ahouad : (3) the later evidence of certain persons from Sennar. Such evidence is not impressive, and as we might expect it does not all hang together But some of it seems, from its nature, to be authentic or at the very lowest not incredible. We may safely discount the Dongolawi's denial of Ahouad's presence at the scene of the murder, for he was no doubt anxious to discredit in advance one whose version might be found to disagree with his own.

In the lost letter of 18th June Du Roule is said to have described his reception by the King of Sennar, and he was full of praise of the vizier Ahmet [Sid] el Kum. Ahmet inspected his luggage which had been reported as including 20 boxes full of money. He was shown everything except seven bales alleged to contain presents for

[6] Beccari 395, 400 (De Maillet's letters of 1st and 4th November, 1707).

[7] A fourth possible source, if it still survives, would be ' a manuscript on the botany of Nubia partly extracted from the letters of M. du Roule and those of M. Lippi,' which was in the possession of a certain M. de Jussieu, who supplied Cailliaud with some information derived therefrom (Cailliaud II, 306, note). It is much to be desired that this manuscript should be recovered.

[8] Archives Nationales (Paris) : *Affaires étrangères*, B1, 314 (1699–1702) Tom. 2, ff. 413–5.

[9] The manuscript (a copy of the original) says : ' Une somme d'environ une piastre '—an obvious error, perhaps for ' mille.'

the Emperor of Abyssinia.[10] The vizier told Du Roule that he had received information from Cairo, sealed and signed by ' persons of consideration,' charging Du Roule with the intention of trying to persuade the Emperor to seize the ports of Massawa and Suakin and to attack the Turks, in conjunction with the Franks (les Francs). The vizier, however, professed (one suspects insincerely) to regard these letters as forgeries. (They may have come from the Copts, who, says De Maillet,[11] but without producing any evidence, had written ' les lettres les plus terribles ' to the ' pasha ' of Dongola and the King of Sennar). He wanted to accompany the ambassador to Abyssinia and had been encouraged to do so by him. Du Roule added that he did not feel safe ; he had never come across so barbarous and untrustworthy a people as the Nubians (*i.e.* the people of Sennar ?), and he advised De Maillet to dismiss at once all those who were in his service. He asked for money but not in the form of Venetian sequins which were at a discount. And he reported the death of his French servant who had been a great help to him.

The date of Du Roule's murder was given as the end of November, 1705, by the Dongolawi at his first examination. De Maillet at first satisfied himself that this was incorrect and that it happened at the end of August or the beginning of September that year. Subsequently, however,[12] he stated, after receiving fresh evidence, that it took place at about 3 p.m. on 25th November, 1705.

There is a conflict of evidence about the predisposing motives which led to the murder ; there may well have been more than one, as we shall see later. According to the Dongolawi, Du Roule failing to obtain permission to leave Sennar had sent a letter to the Emperor of Abyssinia asking for his assistance. Both the Dongolawi and Ahouad stated that a reply was received, addressed to the King of Sennar ; and the Dongolawi actually affirmed that in his letter the Emperor asked the King to kill Du Roule. De Maillet at first believed this to be true and reported it in his official memorandum ; it does not seem to have occurred to him to wonder how the Dongolawi obtained his knowledge of the contents of the letter ! Actually the Emperor had sent an officer to Sennar about the middle of the summer of 1705[13] ; but having business to transact on the way he did not reach Sennar until three days after the murder, *i.e.*, on 28th November, if De Maillet's final opinion is correct. There is no evidence that any messenger from Abyssinia arrived in Sennar before the murder, and therefore no evidence to implicate the Emperor. But the letters which he did send, though they never reached their destination, have survived and been published.[14] They are in the most friendly terms and completely clear him of

[10] An official list of these gifts has survived, with another giving the cost of each item (Beccari XIV, 237–42, from Archives Nationales [Paris], *Affaires étrangères*, B1, 314 [1699–1702], Tom. 2, f. 349). Amongst these were portraits of the Court, mathematical instruments, maps, globes, books, six thousand needles, candelabra packed in bran, crystals, mirrors, pistols, silver rings, copies of the New Testament, devotional books and ' 3 livres d'immages morales d'hommes et 3 de femmes.' This crazy consignment left Paris on July 12th, 1702.

[11] In his official report of the murder, Le Grand, p. 444.

[12] Beccari, 400 (De Maillet's letter of 4th November, 1707).

[13] Elias stated that this officer was despatched, unknown to him, by Yasous ' six months before,' meaning presumably before his second departure for Sennar, which was after, probably soon after, the end of January, 1706. He may well have been sent in response to a request from Du Roule.

[14] Le Grand, 470–2 ; Bruce (after Le Grand) IV, 2–6. There are two letters, one for the King and the other for Du Roule, and they are both dated the 10th of Zulkadé, in the year 1118, which is given by the French translator as equivalent to 21st January, 1706. If this is correct, the dates given for the deposition and death of Yasous I by Budge (I, 11) must be wrong.

the charge. It seems a little strange that news of the murder should still not have reached Abyssinia nearly two months after it occurred, but it is not incredible.

De Maillet, by implication, casts much of the blame upon Du Roule himself. He entertained no one except the King and his vizier, thereby alienating the court. He consistently refused requests for trifles, of which he had plenty to give away. So the courtiers spread reports that he had immense sums of money; and when a search of his luggage failed to reveal them, they said he had buried them.[15] Ahouad in his evidence stated that the King blamed Du Roule for having, by his magic, caused a low Nile; and that he was set against him by a renegade Greek. Du Roule was also said (in a letter written by M. Macé to De Maillet) to have offended the vizier by shaving before the vizier's visit, ' pour le reçevoir tout à la Françoise.'[16] The last gaucherie appears to have occurred at the beginning of November, when a week's rejoicing was ordered to celebrate a victory and everyone had to decorate his house. The fatuous ambassador used this occasion to have an exhibition of curios, which was visited by everyone (tout ce qu'il y avoit de monde dans la ville), and merely served to revive the stories of his riches. Prompted by ill-wishers the King sent him a demand for 3000 Spanish piastres. This was conveyed to M. Macé by the King's artilleryman (canonier), doubtless the renegade Greek,[17] who returned to the charge on fifteen consecutive days, without any success, though covert threats were added. As De Maillet observes, the courtiers, if properly handled, could easily have turned aside these demands of the King ' parmi quelques petits régals,' which I take to mean if they had been judiciously bribed. But the poor man lacked all the qualities necessary for his difficult undertaking, and reaped as he had sown.

De Maillet attributed the murder, probably correctly up to a point, to the intrigues of the Copts, whose Patriarch had once had the appropriation of the Abyssinian patriarchate. For this reason alone the Patriarch would naturally be jealous of Frankish intervention, which would certainly be followed by a spate of Frankish missionaries. De Maillet had wanted to buy the Patriarch's goodwill or neutrality by giving him some of the presents provided for the Emperor of Abyssinia, as he had been authorized to do. But Du Roule would not agree; he wanted to be himself the bearer of an imposing array of presents, and had for the same reason rejected another proposal to send some of them under Turkish protection by the Red Sea route. Disappointed of the expected bakshish, the Patriarch at first tried to get Du Roule's ' exit permit ' countermanded by the Turkish authorities; failing to achieve this, he wrote letters to Ethiopia and Sennar; and through the Coptic establishment at Assiut, ' et par le canal d'un Pêre Italien,' stirred up opposition along Du Roule's route. De Maillet quotes the Governor of Assiut as his authority for this accusation. He acquits the Turks themselves, who were not the sort of people to carry their opinions to such extremes, but says it was the intrigues (pratiques) of these people with the Turks which were responsible for the troubles on the journey and ' le malheur qui lui est arrivé à Sannaar.'[18] In view of De Maillet's opinion (later abandoned) that the Emperor of Abyssinia had asked the King of Sennar to kill Du Roule, he should rather have said that all these intrigues were a

[15] Beccari XIV, 400–1; letter of 4th November, 1707.
[16] Le Grand, *loc. cit. supra.*
[17] See Beccari, XIV, 341.
[18] Le Grand, 444.

contributory cause, as I think they may have been. But at this time he was still a little incoherent.

There is a conflict of evidence about the exact circumstances of the murder. The Dongolawi said that it took place when Du Roule was moving out of his house into another, at the King's request. Ahouad said that it was when he was starting on his third attempt to leave Sennar. De Maillet's final opinion[19] was that Du Roule and his party were seized in their house (at about 3 p.m. on 25th November, 1705) by 300 slaves, who took everything, including the keys of the trunks, conducted Du Roule and his friends to ' a place '—presumably the market place is meant—where they were massacred. Du Roule called upon his friends to meet their end with fortitude. The other accounts say that M. Macé alone offered any resistance, killing two men with his pistols before he was run through the back by the spear of a man on horseback. But another version has it that he was spared for a month and killed on his way back while in the desert.

Three days after the murder there arrived in Sennar an ' officer ' of the Emperor of Abyssinia with an escort and ' voitures '[20] to convey Du Roule and his party into Abyssinia. They were detained for a long time at Sennar before being allowed to return. Eventually—it is not known when—the news reached Abyssinia. But by this time Tekla Haimanout had succeeded his father Yasous I whom he had deposed and then murdered. The new emperor, full of righteous indignation at so foul a crime against the law of nations, sent a messenger called Michael with a letter to the King of Sennar ; but his chief desire seems to have been to obtain the presents destined for him and stolen from Du Roule, which he demanded with threats. Michael was last heard of in detention at Sennar in April, 1707,[21] having barely escaped death, and his ultimate fate is unknown. The Emperor blustered about making war upon Sennar ; but the army, less interested perhaps in the presents, killed him.[22] The retention of these presents was alleged to be one of the causes of the 2nd Abyssinian war.

There is a curious and rather pathetic sequel.[23] Amongst those who accompanied Du Roule was a certain Frenchman called Bayard, whom De Maillet describes as ' très bon graveur et médailliste.' He had fallen ill on the journey and had been left behind at Dongola, thus escaping death. On the 2nd May, 1707, he wrote a letter to De Maillet which he entrusted to a young Turk named Sultan, who came from the neighbourhood of Assiut. This letter reached De Maillet in October. In it Bayard

[19] Beccari, 400.

[20] De Maillet presumably meant by this word horses or camels. Unfamiliar though he obviously was with the world beyond his Cairo office, he could hardly have been so ignorant as to imagine that one could drive from Sennar to Gondar in a carriage.

[21] Beccari XIV, 401.

[22] Le Grand, 473 : letter of Elias the Maronite to De Maillet, dated from Moka, June, 1718. The following largely conjectural table may help to make clear the sequence of events from the Abyssinian end :—

1703 : 15th September (after) : Poncet and Elias sent by De Maillet to Abyssinia by the Red Sea route, to prepare the Emperor and his court for Du Roule's reception.
1705 : *c.* June (6 months before Elias's second departure ?) : officer of the Emperor departs for Sennar, but delays *en route*.
,, *c.* 21st October (?) : Elias departs for the first time.
,, *c.* 28th November (?) : officer arrives in Sennar.
1706 : *c.* 21st January (?) : Elias departs for the second time.
,, *c.* October : Michael departs.
1707 : April : Michael still in Sennar.
1718 : (before June) : Elias leaves Abyssinia.

[23] Beccari XIV, 381, 392–400.

states that he had already sent letters by a certain Father Ambroise of Rome, but these do not seem to have arrived. Bayard was living at Elefous, 'pays des Fondjis,' five or six days' journey below Sennar, where he had taken refuge with a *marabout*, or holy man. The region was known as Belad el Fokara and was inhabited by 'santons' (*i.e.* marabouts) whose 'cabanes' were sanctuaries.[24] Elefous seems to have been not far from the junction of the White and Blue Niles, where Father Joseph of Jerusalem and his party, who were shadowing Du Roule,[25] had also taken refuge, after the murder, with a sheikh. Father Joseph was a Franciscan, and it is known that there was a feud, arising from jealousy, between the friars of this order and the Jesuits, whom De Maillet supported. The Franciscans, indeed, have been accused of complicity in the murder of Du Roule ; and though evidence is lacking, the suspicion remains and has never been dispelled. It is most unfortunate that the relevant documents in the Franciscan archives have not been published,[26] for they would probably remove this suspicion. I cannot believe that it was justified, or that even so poor a specimen of Christianity as Father Joseph would have sunk so low as to instigate the murder of an ambassador ; and I think that at the most the Franciscan may have spoken indiscreetly about the mission. Such a crime would only close yet more securely the land route to their missionary field of Abyssinia, and in fact it did so, for fifty years ; De Maillet himself pointed this out.[27] Moreover, after the murder, the Franciscans were themselves in great danger and obliged to seek refuge with Mohammedan holy men.[28] Surely their shadowing of Du Roule may have been partly for the purpose of slipping into Abyssinia in his wake ?—just as did the Recolets who accompanied Poncet and Brevedent. There was in fact a 'pact of mutual non-aggression' between the Recolets and Father Brevedent, though the latter, as a Jesuit, was their deadly rival.

But to return to Bayard. For the reasons aforesaid he was, as a member of Du Roule's party, *persona non grata* to Father Joseph, who refused to let him join his party after his (Bayard's) recovery, so that he was obliged to follow in a caravan, though he did not know a word of the language. The father accused Bayard of being a Turk, which De Maillet says was quite untrue. Probably the accusation was based upon Bayard's friendly association with the marabout, which would of course be regarded with disapproval by his Christian compères. Bayard says that it was reported in Sennar that he read the Koran, which even missionaries have been known to do. The King of Sennar kept sending messages to him asking him to come to Sennar, offering him accommodation 'dans sa maison.' The vizier (chancelier) had invited him three times, saying he would be allowed full liberty. Bayard wisely declined ; so long as he remained with the marabout he was probably safe, even from the King ; but it meant that he was not safe elsewhere, and was

[24] The sanctity of the region near the confluence of the Niles may possibly go back to Christian times. Abu Salih (*c.* 1208) states that there were many monasteries round Soba (Quatremère, *Memoires*, 33). On the other hand the foundation of four sanctuaries at Eilafun (probably Bayard's Elefous) is attributed to the famous Sheikh Idris, to whom the place owes its reputation in modern times (*SNR*, II, 288 and Plate 19 in this book).

[25] Beccari XIV, 372.

[26] I have been informed that the third volume of 'Etiopia Francescana,' edited by Father Antonio M. Montano, is still unpublished. It should cover the period of Du Roule's murder.

[27] Beccari XIV, 382.

[28] 'Presso un santone turco' : Beccari I, 180. Bruce (III, 525), without the documentary evidence we now have, says that they returned to Sennar, and that, if not guilty, they would surely have taken flight at once—which is just what they did !

virtually imprisoned there. Not long before he wrote ' the person whom the King of Sennar sent to Garri to replace the rebel Sheikh Ahmet '[29] passed by and greeted him on behalf of the King and his brother and upbraided him for not coming to Sennar. Bayard concludes his letter with a proposal that he should replace Du Roule as ambassador. All the news about Abyssinia, which he has just given, strengthens his determination to go on to the end : ' si je ne puis pas aller en qualité d'envoié, je suis résolu d'y aller [*sc.* to Abyssinia] comme particulier ; la dépence qui a été faite à ce sujet demande quelque fruit.'

De Maillet fell in with Bayard's suggestion and sent him a letter in Arabic to give to the King of Abyssinia. He also gave him instructions on recovering the goods, intended for Du Roule, which the Capuchin friar Justin had left in Dongola. To add, as he fondly imagined, legal force to the demand, he enclosed a writ of attachment, though of course the goods and the parties concerned were far beyond the grasp of the Turkish administration ! Finally he warned him that he might meet Father Joseph in Abyssinia, though he hoped not. Father Joseph would oppose him (vous traversera) and lose no opportunity of ruining him. Bayard was to avoid contact and controversy with him ; one day the holy father would meet at Rome with the punishment he deserved—if he ever got there, which was doubtful. (He never did.) Bayard was urged to write a full account of what happened to Du Roule, of the kingdom of the Fundji and the adjacent countries, and to send more than one copy by different routes. How valuable such a document would be now ! But we do not know that it was ever written. Bayard disappears from the scene and is no more heard of.

In conclusion a few remarks may be made about the objects of Du Roule's mission and the extent, if any, to which these may have contributed to his death. We have already seen[30] that Ahmad, the vizier of Sennar, claimed to have received information from responsible quarters in Cairo, charging Du Roule with aggressive intentions. He hoped, it was said, to persuade the Emperor of Abyssinia to undertake a joint attack by sea and land upon the ports of Massawa and Suakin. This would not have been the first time that such a joint attack had been concerted. In 1428–9 a Persian merchant had acted as a go-between for negotiating just such an attack, and had gone from Abyssinia by the oases to a port of North Africa and thence to ' the Francs,' returning to Alexandria with a ship-load of uniforms. He was arrested, tried, and beheaded at Cairo. In this plot the ' Francs ' were to attack by sea and the Abyssinians by land.[31] In 1705 Suakin and Massawa were largely controlled by the Turks ; but Suakin was then the natural outlet of the kingdom of Sennar, which had once had partial control of it and may still have had some

[29] See p 333.

[30] p. 229. The information was derived from Justin's recollection of the contents of Du Roule's lost letter of June 18th, 1705. De Maillet's words are :—[Du Roule] ajoutoit que ce Ministre [Ahmad] lui avoit déclaré avoir reçu du Caire, avec le cachet et le nom de diverses personnes de consideration, qui lui disoient que Mr du Roule n'alloit en Ethiopie que pour engager le Roi de ce lieu à s'emparer des Ports de Messoua et Suaquem, et attaquer les Turcs de ce coté-là, pendant que les Francs les attaqueroient de l'autres.' Ahmed's statement that he regarded the letters as forgeries may be discounted. That the Turks knew about De Maillet's secret instructions to Poncet (probably through a leakage in Cairo) is proved by the fact that Poncet was accused by them at Jeddah of going to Abyssinia to teach the people there to make cannons and other weapons of war (Beccari XIV, 404 : Poncet's letter of 31st August, 1708).

[31] Makrizi, trans. by Quatremère, *Mémoires*, II, 1811, 277–8.

share in the customs there ; and Massawa was the natural outlet of Abyssinia, which likewise still retained some measure of control, at any rate over the adjacent mainland port of Arkiko and of the hinterland. An offensive conducted against these two ports would therefore be calculated to restore to Abyssinia the complete control of the natural outlet of that country, and to deprive the Fungs of any hold at all upon their only port. Any such designs would be regarded, therefore, with equal hostility by both Turks and Fungs. Was there any basis for these suspicions ? There most certainly was.

We have a copy of the instructions issued by the French government for the guidance of Du Roule[32] ; they are mainly concerned with religion and commerce. But right at the end is a provision authorizing Du Roule to promise to send the Emperor, if pressed, ' des ouvriers qui ne peuvent nuire au commerce du royaume [de France] tels que des fondeurs de canons s'il en demande ainsi qu'un le dit, et autres de cette espece.' Du Roule was also instructed (in a postscript) to report on the military strength and organisation of the states he visited.[33] The preceding paragraphs show that the French government regarded Abyssinia as a potential market for disposing of its own surplus manufactures[34] ; and that it had no intention of spoiling this market by sending artisans who could teach the inhabitants how to make the goods for themselves. It is a beautiful early example of that colonial exploitation which, in the 19th century, was the normal policy of the capitalist empires of Europe. But, as De Maillet evidently realized, if there was to be commerce, there would have to be control of a port of entry ; so he amplified (as it appears) and perhaps exceeded the policy of his government in the instructions which he himself composed for Poncet and Elias, who were to go to Abyssinia by the Red Sea route. These instructions were to be communicated to no one, and in case of emergency Poncet was to burn them or throw them into the sea—a procedure amply justified, as we shall see, by the nature of the contents. After stating various good reasons for admitting Du Roule to Abyssinia, De Maillet says[35] : ' Intercourse with Europeans is likely to be of advantage to the Emperor of Abyssinia in preparing him to withstand the attempts of the King of Sennar, who is preparing to attack his kingdom in considerable force, and in an entirely new manner. The King of Sennar has this year sent several people to Cairo who have made considerable purchases of cannon, powder, lead and other munitions of war, and I am informed that another caravan of the same kind is expected shortly. The Emperor will certainly learn of this (and particularly of the arrival of the cannon at Sennar) from some other source, and be suitably impressed, and also his ministers.' Poncet is to point out to the Emperor that, unless he makes similar preparations, he will be unable to resist and he is to say that the King of Sennar has recently taken into his service certain European officers, *e.g.* a Portuguese cannon-founder, who claims also to be able to make powder; and a renegade Greek who is a good artilleryman (canonier) and is teaching his art to others ; and that there is another Greek who is an engineer and is teaching the prince's soldiers how to drill and use fire-arms ; that the Emperor must do likewise, get cannon and people who know how to use them ; and that this can only be

[32] Beccari XIV, 245–50.
[33] Lhuillier, 1890, 291, note 1.
[34] This is in fact stated explicitly on p. 246.
[35] I have abstracted the gist of his remarks on pp. 341–2 (Beccari).

achieved by admitting Europeans and treating them well (en les caressant). He is further to be told how to mollify his priests, and that their foolish prejudices must not be allowed to count against the safety of the state. Moreover the people who will be admitted will not be, as formerly, religious but lay persons, who will undertake not to discuss matters of religion or meddle in anything that does not concern them professionally. The Emperor is to be told that the King of France is kindly disposed towards a fellow-Christian who is directly descended from King Solomon; and he is much worried when he thinks of the dangers to which the Emperor is exposed by reason of the armaments of the King of Sennar. The person whom he is sending [Du Roule] is a military man (homme de guerre), and has with him people who understand war[36] and will be most useful at the present time. Du Roule would have brought more with him if he could have been sure of a favourable reception for them; but he did not like to do so for fear of giving umbrage to the King of Sennar, through whose kingdom he had to pass. It could be added, if Poncet thought necessary, that, if not admitted, these persons might attach themselves to the King of Sennar, who endeavours to retain foreigners.

It is instructive to compare with this the letters addressed by De Maillet to the King of Sennar and his vizier 'Aly Zagoier.'[37] The military strength of France is emphasized and its distance from Cairo mentioned. 'There is nothing in the universe which is not to be found in the country of my Emperor.' The rest consists of insincere platitudes couched in obscure language.

The instructions to Elias are much concerned with religious affairs and the Abyssinian 'minister' Demetrius; the military character of Du Roule is again emphasized, together with his independence of religion, with which military men 'en nos quartiers' do not meddle. The rest concerns Abyssinia, about which he is ordered, in effect, to write a book. One is amused to read that he is on no account to start an argument with Poncet, who is quick to anger, or to contradict Murat (the self-styled ambassador of Abyssinia)[38] even if he complains of De Maillet or abuses his country.

Du Roule's murder frustrated all De Maillet's cherished plans of vicarious aggression. His critical faculties (if any) were blinded by impotent fury. On the hearsay evidence of a couple of Nubians (one of whom he had never seen) he solemnly accused the Emperor of Abyssinia of responsibility for the crime, although a year later he himself recanted.[39] He even attempted to incite the Turks to intervene. In a letter [40] of 30th November, 1706, addressed to Omar, the Pasha of Suakin, he suggested that the Pasha should recognize the 'Governor of Garry,' that is, the Abdullab sheikh, as the true king of Sennar. A mere pronunciamento by an aga sent to Garry should be enough to depose the king (and recover the stolen goods), but if not, the Pasha could strangle the King's trade by closing Suakin to him, which would surely bring him to reason. If he can achieve this, the Pasha is assured of 'une glorieuse récompense' from the Emperor of France. (No doubt this would be

[36] One wonders whether De Maillet was thinking of M. Macé, the interpreter, M. Lippi, the botanist, M. Bayard, the engraver or perhaps his valet Gentil: or were they all camouflaged army officers?

[37] Beccari XIV, 120–3.

[38] For whom see Le Grand; his history is entertaining, but does not concern Sennar.

[39] Beccari XIV, 395.

[40] Beccari 375–9.

derived from the 200 ' bourses,' the 30,000 Spanish piastres and the 4,000 Venetian sequins which Du Roule carried in his luggage—and for which no doubt the vizier Ahmed was looking when he searched it ; were they hidden in the bales of presents for Abyssinia ?)

Bruce has given us an account,[41] in his own racy style, of Du Roule's mission and its background of intrigue. ' A minister,' he says, ' was to be sent to Abyssinia, to cement a perpetual friendship and commerce between two nations that had not a national article to exchange with each other, nor way to communicate it by sea or land.' That was a superficial view ; for the French government proposed to be paid in gold, and mentioned Massawa and Suakin as the ports of entry, in view of the difficulties of the land route through Egypt. De Maillet proposed to implement this project, and his method of doing so was to instigate a war between Abyssinia and Sennar—with perhaps a *coup de force* at the ports when an opportunity occurred. One can hardly be surprised, therefore, that the King of Sennar, who had got wind of this scheme from Cairo, suppressed it (and Du Roule) in his own barbaric but effective manner.

[41] III, 517 ff.

CHAPTER XXIII

OUNSA III, NOL AND BADI IV

BADI EL AHMAR reigned for quite a long time—certainly not less than 25 years. The compiler of the Chronicle, lacking our sources, obviously knew very little about him for he says that he died ' honoured and respected.' He had murdered his son at the age of 16, his vizier and the French Ambassador before he was 30 ; and he was about 36 when he died. He was followed by his son Ounsa who ' gave himself up to frivolous amusement and the practice of immorality, until the news of his doings reached the Fung in the South, namely the troops of Lulu, and they determined to depose him ; for it is they who depose and appoint whatever king they choose without any slaying.'[1] Advancing northwards to El Kabush near Sennar they sent to inform Ounsa that he might retain his throne if he would put his vizier to death. Ounsa agreed to the terms and did so, but was deposed nevertheless ; his life, however, was spared, and he and his family granted immunity. He must have been well under 30 at the time of his deposition.

Ounsa was the last of the line of Fung kings who belonged to the royal family. He was succeeded by Nol, a connection of the Ounsab family on the mother's side. He was made king because he was sensible and regarded as a suitable man for the post. It appears that he justified the choice ; his reign, at any rate, was uneventful, and he himself was called El Nom (Sleep) ' because he was so just.' The connection is not obvious, but that is what the Chronicle says. He died in the 8th month of 1135 (about May, A.D. 1723).

His successor Badi IV abu Shelukh[2] enjoyed a long reign of nearly 40 years (1724–62). Some dates in his reign are securely anchored by contemporary evidence. The manuscript AB, written in 1853, contains[3] a copy of a grant of privilege made by Badi son of Nul in A.H. 1145 (A.D. 1732–3) to the feki Bishara. According to Bruce's list Badi IV came to the throne on July 8th, 1724, and was deposed on 27th March, 1762. The precision of the dating is itself evidence of authenticity, and we are now so near the date when the list itself was written down that we may accept it unreservedly.

A further contemporary check is provided by two original grants of land published by Arkell[4] and dated A.H. 1146 and A.H. 1147, equivalent to A.D. 1733–4 and 1734–5 respectively.

[1] D7, § 44.

[2] This sobriquet, as MacMichael points out (II, 409) has nothing to do with the Shilluk, as Westermann and others have imagined, but ' refers to the cuts on the face used by most Sudanese Arabs.'

[3] MacMichael II, 70.

[4] *SNR*, XV, 248–50.

The deeds themselves tell us something about Sennar in the early 18th century. The land in question was granted by one sheikh to another, but was backed by the authority and seal of the king: we are reminded of the custom in medieval Southampton and elsewhere of attaching the town seal to similar deeds of transfer. The boundaries of the land included a tundub tree and two hafirs (reservoirs). Amongst the witnesses were two Arabs, a Sheikh of the Guard (el Harras), a Mugaddam of the Escort, and lastly—exactly as in our own medieval documents—the clerk who wrote out the deed. The second deed mentions Sheikh Ismail, maternal uncle of the King, and the Arbab Aidu,[5] his grandfather, ' Sheikh Sha el Din Derwish, Sheikh el Bahr,' and the Groom of the Carpet (Mugaddam el Sigada).

[5] Was he Krump's Arbabadem ?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND ABYSSINIAN WAR

DURING the early part of the 18th century Abyssinia and Sennar maintained an attitude of mutual non-belligerency. The murder of Du Roule in 1705 had created a momentary ruffle on the surface, but this soon died away. Tecla Haimanout professed to regard the murder as an affront to his dignity, and threatened to make war on Sennar; but he got no further than writing a blustering letter to 'the basha, princes and lords governing the town of Great Cairo'[1] threatening to cut them off from the Nile by diverting its course, and accusing them of violating the law of nations by arresting the French ambassador at Sennar! He probably thought of Cairo as a place like Sennar, only further away. It seems unlikely that he would have been able to attack Sennar, and it may have been partly to prevent him from initiating an unpopular and hazardous war that he was killed soon afterwards by his own people.

His successors confined their activities to the hunting of animals, Catholic missionaries or their own 'rebels'; and it was not until the reign of Yasous II (1730–55)[2] that Sennar was attacked. Yasous was only seven years old when he came to the throne,[3] and it was not until the twelfth year of his reign that he set out, on 11th February, 1742, to attack 'the Balaw.'[4] He began, like his ancestor Susenyos, in the border country in the extreme south-west, at a place called Asib, which is now the name of a small tributary of the Upper Dinder, between Abu Ramla on the west and Abu Wendi (Wogeni ?) on the east. The inhabitants fled, and the king killed four buffaloes in the land called Galagu, a larger tributary of the Dinder a little further to the north.

Next year, on the 6th of Yakatit, 7235 (9th February, 1743) the king set out towards that part of the Balaw territory called Gallabat. At the time the *bagrond* called Nail was there, in Sennar, but he fled; presumably by 'Sennar' is meant the kingdom of Sennar. The king's horse fell into a marsh, but he himself managed to escape, returning to Gondar with booty on the 2nd of Magabit (7th March). On the 25th of Miyaza (29th April) he went by way of Baghen to the Balaw of Dabayna, son of Hamid. This means no doubt the tribe of that name. 'Son of Hamid' is a

[1] Bruce IV, 10.
[2] Chaine, *Chronologie*, 1925, 247.
[3] Bruce VII, 399 (Editor). He was born on Friday, the 12th of Sane, 7215 (15th June, 1723).
[4] *Corpus Scrip. Christ.*, Series Altera, Tom. VI, 119. These Annals give the Abyssinian version of the march on Sennar and of the raids before and after. Bruce's narrative is partly based on these, but gives additional facts not to be found in the version translated in the *Corpus*. He may have had access to another version, and he may also have drawn upon oral information, for the events occurred less than thirty years before his time. The short account in the Fung Chronicle (D7, §§ 50–56) is consistent with the Abyssinian version, and its accuracy is confirmed by the date assigned to the chief battle which it states was in Safar el Khayr, A.H. 1157 (=March-April, A.D. 1744). Bruce's editor states, on the authority of Bruce's 5th volume of original Abyssinian annals, that the battle was on the 3rd of Miaizy, 7236 (=7th April, A.D. 1744).

reference to the Hammada tribe, and the meaning is that this was one of the sub-tribes of the Dabayna Arabs.[5] Baghen is Bagena, 14 miles NW of Gondar on the road to Gallabat ; so that this second raid of 1743 would appear to have been over the same region as the first. The ruling chief submitted, on hearing of the king's approach, promising tribute, and peace was concluded. On his way back the king killed a rhinoceros.

On the 3rd of Magabit, 7236 (8th March, 1744) Yasous started from Gondar on his ill-fated exhibition to Sennar itself. His route thither is not given in the annals, which naturally record the whole campaign very briefly ; it is merely stated that he ordered the habitations of the Balaw to be burnt, the people to be killed, and their camels and oxen taken. This went on, it is stated, for eight days, and there was a victory in Holy Week (18th–24th March). From Bruce[6] we learn that the army was commanded by the king's uncle, Ras Welled de l'Oul, as he calls him—his editor corrects this to Welled Leoul (son of the highest) ; and that Kasmati Waragna was *fit-auraris*. The king himself led a picked body of troops that was to act as a reserve ; he seems to have formed the design of leading them to victory after the brunt of the fighting had been borne by the main forces. Bruce states that the Abyssinians were joined *en route* by Arabs, amongst whom was ' Nile wed Ageeb ' ; this was the same Muhammad wad Ideghim whom Bruce met nearly 30 years later at Ras el Fil (Gallabat) ; and it is possible that from him Bruce obtained some of the facts not elsewhere recorded. The first engagement according to Bruce was on the Dinder, where the Arabs made a stand, to give their cattle time to pass the Nile ; they were defeated by Kasmati Waragna and the king. This is probably the victory in Holy Week mentioned above in the Annals. Kasmati then went on ahead, accompanied apparently by Welled Leoul[7] and the main forces, thus dividing the army in two parts—a blunder which cost them the campaign. The king followed advancing to Basboch[8] ; but finding ' the current too rapid and the river too deep for his infantry ' he sent a message to Welled Leoul asking for reinforcements

The Fung Chronicle states that the army of Sennar was commanded by El Amin, probably the Abdullab who as Mismar II ruled for two months in 1747.[9] The cavalry was commanded by Muhammad abu el Kaylak, the chief of the Hameg. But the most effective commander was Khamis, the chief of the Fur troops, who had been banished from Darfur and fled to Sennar.[10] The Abyssinian annals called him Amis, the *dagasmac* of the king of Sennar. Badi was about to evacuate Sennar and had, it seems, already begun to do so, when Khamis proposed to him that he (Khamis) should cross the river below Sennar and attack the main force under Welled Leoul. This manoeuvre was successfully carried out. Khamis caught the Abyssinian army

[5] See MacMichael I, 254, note 11. Mansfield Parkyns (II, 404) calls Abu Jin, the head-sheikh of the Hammada, the ' great chief of the Daveinas.'

[6] IV, 123.

[7] Bruce's account is not quite clear. He states that, after the engagement on the Dinder, Kasmati went on ahead ' by a forced march to the Nile, to take a view of the town of Sennaar ' (IV, 124), leaving Welled Leoul with the king and his main body to encamp. But it is plain from what follows that Welled Leoul and the main body had subsequently left the king and gone on ahead.

[8] This village was on the east bank opposite Sennar but slightly lower down the river ; see p. 74.

[9] See D3, No. 58, *SNR*, XVII, 70.

[10] Bruce states that it was with his aid that Badi had subdued Kordofan ; that may well be correct, but it occurred in 1747.

in the angle between the Nile and the Dinder and completely defeated it. The site of this decisive battle is said by the Fung chronicle to have been *east* of the Dinder near a place called Agib. Cailliaud[11] gives A'gyb as the fourth in his list of villages on the *west* bank of the Dinder, starting from its mouth, and states that it was opposite Dicheyn.[12] The date of the battle would appear to have been the 7th of April, 1744.[13]

Yasous had heard of Khamis's crossing from ' Wed Ageeb,' who had heard of it from an Arab informer. He decided that it was already too late to do anything to save the situation and that there was nothing to do but retreat homewards. He was joined two days later by Welled Leoul, who had managed to escape from the battle. They reached Gondar on the 10th of Miyaza (14th April).[14]

The Fung chronicle records the capture of a large amount of booty, consisting of rifles and cannon[15] and tents and horses. The Abyssinians also lost all the sacred relics which were carried with the army to bring victory—a piece of Christian magic which had its counterpart in early Ireland.[16] These consisted of a picture of the Crown of Thorns, fragments of the True Cross, and a ' speaking crucifix ' (which, says Bruce sarcastically, ' spoke not on that day '). One might have thought that this ' precious merchandize ' would have lost face through its failure to secure success to the army, but it appears not to have done so, for it was at once recovered—the fact is recorded in the Annals,[17] and Bruce adds that it was for a huge sum of gold.

The Annals[18] record a comic sequel that occurred two years later. An embassy was received from the king of Sennar, bringing a grovelling letter in which he states that he has been carefully guarding the mules and baggage unavoidably left behind by Yasous on the occasion of his visit, and that he is ready to return them—no doubt for a consideration !

The battle of Agib (or Tekiya or Zekyat) was decisive, and never again did Abyssinian forces penetrate so deeply into the kingdom of Sennar. It was the only time in recorded history that they had got so far. More than a millennium earlier Aizanas had reached the Nile near Berber and reduced the cities on its upper reaches. but since then there had been no such success, the war of Susenyos consisting merely of frontier-raids. Aizanas succeeded because he saw (as did the Italians in the Second World War, but too late) that the way into the Nile valley led along the Atbara, not

[11] III, 370–1.

[12] In what appears to be a condensed version of a variant version of the Fung Chronicle the decisive defeat is said to have been at Tekiya on the Dinder, which I cannot locate (Gleichen I, 229). Robinson calls the place Zekyat: *American Anthropologist*, 1929, 240.

[13] See p. 239, note 4.

[14] This is the date given in the Annals, but seven days from Sennar to Gondar is impossibly quick, even for such a flight as this. The distance in a straight line is 280 miles, giving 40 miles a day.

[15] Possibly it was these which were found in Sennar at the Turkish conquest. They had been thrown into the river on the approach of the enemy, but were recovered by divers. English, Ismail's American artillery-man, reported them to look like ships' guns ; they were of iron and had no name or marks on them. He thought they were of Portuguese origin, and was told in Sennar that they had been got from the Abyssinians ' in some ancient war between the two kingdoms ' (*Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 170–1). Cailliaud, who also mentions their recovery from the Nile, says that besides these four there were three others like them in the environs of Sennar, and that all seven had been brought there by the Mamluks, from whom they were bought by Badi's ancestors (II, 232).

[16] See for instance *Antiquity*, VIII, 171. Both accounts may have been correct, for De Maillet says that Badi had been buying cannon in Cairo (see above p. 234).

[17] p. 126.

[18] pp. 131–3.

along the Blue Nile. The strength of Sennar lay partly in its remoteness, partly in the fact that it had the Nile between it and any enemy who came from the south-east. Khamis could cross that river because there was another army left behind on the other side; but if Yasous had crossed, he would then have had the Nile between him and his far-off base. Moreover, his army would certainly have been dissipated in Sennar and his fate thereby sealed. He had the advantage of fire-arms, and with correct strategical planning he might well have won the war.

The Abyssinian version does not conceal the failure of the expedition, but attempts to cover it by moralising about the fortunes of war—sometimes to win, sometimes to lose; and by recalling previous defeats—such as that of Minas by Zemur Pasha at Dahono (the Adicono of the Portuguese) near Massawa.[19] Bruce tells us that Yasous entered Gondar in the guise of a victor, but the pretence can have deceived no one.

Yasous made several other raids into the border territory of Sennar during the last decade of his reign. On the 24th of Magabit, 7238 (=29th March, 1746), he set out for the Atbara by way of Zanfaqara, Warq Medr, Gamfa (?), the Angarab. Thence he went through the country of Gambalo, and by Dangal, Zalasa of Sagid Mammo, Das near Dabra Harya, and Saraqua to Kazamakazo. There he was joined by the Defālā. Thence he went by the Guangue to Medema, the rivers Gabo and Atbara, where he found the Balaw and the Tehrur. Finally he reached Derki, where the inhabitants fled. On the way back he stopped for a night at the upper house of Yasuf, returning thence by the same route. A second expedition along this route is also recorded.[20] The whole of it can be followed quite easily on maps.[21] From Gondar to its northern limit—about where the Setit enters Kassala Province—is a distance of some 130 miles. The land of Gambalo is now called Gombolo; Kazamakazo is Kaza on the Mekatse; Medema is Metemmeh; the river Gabo is Munzinger's Mai Qabah, joining the Royan about 30 miles above its junction with the Setit (Takazze). Derki recalls Bruce's Derkin, and, if the identification is sound, shows that that region extended south of Kassala.

Amongst the people mentioned as the objective of the raid are the Balaw and the Tehrur. The latter must have been some of those Darfur negroes described by Burckhardt,[22] who travelled with them on his journey to Suakin. He derives the name (*Tekayrne*, pl. *Tekroury*) from the Arabic verb *takorror*, to multiply, renew, sift, purify, invigorate (' *i.e.* their religious sentiments, by the study of the sacred book, and by pilgrimage '). The name, he says, was given to all negroes who came from the west. But this explanation is improbable, and the name is to be derived from a region of this name in West Africa. Burckhardt himself, in another passage (p. 45) makes a similar suggestion, which is inconsistent with the other. Werne[23] calls them Tokruri from Darfur and says that there was a group of them settled at Kalabat and on the Abyssinian frontier. Mansfield Parkyns marks ' Tokrowris ' on his map near Mek Nimr's people between the Tacazze and the Angareb. Baker[24]

[19] This was in 1562; see Basset, 1882, 267.

[20] *Annals*, pp. 133, 158.

[21] The places mentioned can all be identified either on the 1/M map (Asmara Sheet), the map in Munzinger's *Ostafrikanische Studien* or on that in Mansfield Parkyns's *Life in Abyssinia*.

[22] *Travels*, 406–14.

[23] *African Wanderings*, 1852, 75 (*Feldzug von Sennaar*, 1851, 76).

[24] *Nile Tributaries*, 1867, 274.

calls them natives of Darfur, and engaged some of them to accompany his hunting expedition. If the Tehrur of the Annals are these Tekroury, it is the earliest mention of them in this region.[25]

The other raids do not call for detailed description. One in 7243 (A.D. 1751) was directed to Sarké, a place of the Balaw, and resulted in the capture of ' un grand homme gigantesque Balaw, appelé Gabal Mousa, avec ses chameaux, ses fils et ses femmes.'[26] After submission he was decorated and sent home. In 7245 (A.D. 1753) there was a successful raid on the Balaw called Asim.[27] In what appears to be the 23rd year of his reign (1753)[28] there was a raid down the west side of Lake Tana by Dangal Bar (Dengelbar) into Achifer, across the Balas, along the Ayma (upper Dinder) to Asib and thence by the Shenfa (upper Rahad) back to Gondar. The objective seems to have been Zengheris, a Shangalla town. But this raid belongs rather to the history of Abyssinia. Yasous II died on the 21st of Sane, 7247 (24th June, 1755), aged thirty-two.

[25] See also pp. 92-3.

[26] *Annals*, p. 163: see also Bruce IV, 143 (a slightly different account).

[27] Compare *Annals*, pp. 119, 171.

[28] But the entry seems to be recorded out of its place, pp. 170–2.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CONQUEST OF KORDOFAN[1]

BADI abu Shelukh was the last king of Sennar who really ruled ; his successors were merely puppets appointed by the Hamag viziers. He himself was lucky, first in being saved from defeat by Khamis and then in having a good vizier who managed his affairs well. He also had for nearly twenty years the services of Muhammad Abu el Kaylak, ' probably the greatest man that the Sudan produced in the 17th and 18th centuries,'[2] who ultimately deposed him.

It must have been Khamis who egged on Badi to launch an attack on Kordofan, and no doubt his knowledge of the country contributed largely to its success. He himself had had to leave Darfur after an unsuccessful war, and he was probably anxious to revenge himself upon those who had rebelled against him. Previous Fung attacks had been little more than slave-hunting forays from El Ais. This was a more ambitious undertaking. The Fung vizier, Walad Toma, was placed in command, but we may be sure that the Abdullab sheikh, Abdulla, Khamis, and Abu el Kaylak were the chief directors. The first engagement was with the Musaba'at at Kihayf in 1747. The Fung troops were defeated, the vizier and the Abdullab were killed and the army was put to flight. It was reformed by Abu el Kaylak, whose great ability is here first in evidence ; for the rallying of a defeated army anywhere is one of the most difficult of all tasks. At the next encounter the new Abdullab leader, Shammam, and his son El Agayl were killed. Things began to look bad, and Abu el Kaylak was formally appointed commander in place of the vizier. We are merely told that he succeeded in turning the Musaba'at out of Kordofan.

The Abdullab chronicler[3] gives a somewhat similar but slightly more detailed account of the campaign. He claims that it was directed by Abdullabs ; actually, as is plain from his own account, it was not until two of them had been defeated and killed in two separate engagements that a competent commander was appointed—and he was neither an Arab nor a Fung. If the Abdullab account is trustworthy it seems that the Kordofan troops adopted precisely the same tactics as did the Mahdi against Hicks Pasha. The Fung troops were allowed to advance but continually harassed, and all the wells were destroyed. The Sudan was allowed to provide its own defence—sun and sand, and mere distance.

These events are described by both authorities as if they took place in rapid succession over a short space of time, but it is more likely that they were spread out over a period of years. (This telescoping is a regular feature of primitive annals). The sequence of events, is however, fairly clear. After an initial set-back, Kordofan

[1] For a further account of the fighting in Kordofan, see Jackson, 1912, pp. 50 ff. According to the Mek of the Gima-ia tribe it was the *father* of Muhammad abu el Keilik who won Kordofan for the Fungs.

[2] MacMichael II, 411.

[3] *SNR*, XVII, 70.

was formally added to the Fung Empire. But the empire itself evolved in the process from monarchy to military despotism. That is the usual fate of empires, which contain within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution. Hitherto the Fung kings had had their eyes fixed only on their Abdullab rivals, against whose attack they felt secure within the ring of Nuban barrack-villages. The conquest of the rich province of Kordofan, however it was set in motion, had created a new factor in the Fung dominions—a standing (instead of a sitting) army. The commander of that army had the wretched little mek at Sennar completely in his power; and Mohammed Abu el Kaylak certainly knew this. He not only had an inexhaustible source of man-power but also a good reservoir of horses—which in military matters were equivalent to tanks today.

The mek Badi probably did not realize that this was, historically speaking, where he got off. During the Kordofan war he seems to have alienated the affections of his subjects; and when Kaylak reached El Ais on his homeward journey thirteen years later he was met by a deputation from Sennar, headed by Nasir, Badi's son. (The Chronicle says that he sent for Nasir inviting him to come and promising to make him King). Advancing to Sennar they besieged it; Badi surrendered and was given a safe-conduct—to Soba, of all places.[4] He 'left Sennar in abasement'; and, if he ever reached Soba, he would have found there little but the ruins of another kingdom.

The chronicle dated Badi's deposition in A.H. 1175 (A.D. 1761–2). Bruce's list puts the date of the deposition on 27th March, 1762, and Bruce himself gives some account of his last days, which he appears to have learnt from Abyssinian sources. The former conqueror of an Abyssinian army (albeit vicariously and from a safe distance) betook himself to the Abyssinian chief Suhul Michael, who promised, if the King would allow him, to march in person to Sennar and reinstate Badi by force. When received in audience by the King, Badi kissed the ground and declared himself a vassal, thereby acquiring such favour that the King assigned him a large revenue and made him governor of Ras el Fil. There he was advised to wait in patience until the dissensions at Court should have subsided. 'This,' says Bruce, 'was a wise counsel; but he to whom it was given was not wise, and therefore did not follow it. After a short stay at Ras el Fil, he was decoyed from this place of refuge by the intrigues of Adelan, and induced to trust himself in Atbara, where he was betrayed and taken prisoner by Welled Hassan, Sheikh of Teawa, who murdered him privately . . . two years after his flight from Gondar.'

Badi was killed by order of Adelan, and it would appear from what Adelan himself said to Bruce,[5] that he was definitely involved in preparations for an attack on Sennar—or at any rate had compromised himself. The execution of Badi would therefore have been regarded at Sennar as a legitimate act had the correct ritual been observed. But the manner of his exit was thought unseemly; being evidently aware of his danger, he was always armed and on his guard—he was also stout: 'and Welled Hassan found no way of killing him but by thrusting him through the back with a lance,' while he was washing his hands.[6] That was all wrong; the

[4] D7, § 64. Probably because it was close to Eilafun, where he would find sanctuary.

[5] Bruce VI, 355.

[6] Bruce VI, 375.

regulations laid down that it should have been done with a sword, and not by Hassan but by the officer appointed for such tasks (Ahmed Sid el Kum). The unfortunate Hassan was therefore himself put to death, though he acted by express orders—an early victim of bureaucratic red tape.

Nasir, Badi's son and successor, was a mere puppet in the hands of the king-maker, Mohammed Abu el Kaylak, who soon grew tired of him—we are not told why—and deposed him. He was sent to the village of Bukera[7] near Sennar, but started to intrigue against Mohammed, who promptly sent a detachment of Fur troops to kill him. He was found with his Koran in his hand, and the Chronicler remarks, rather pathetically, that he was a learned man and his handwriting was beautiful. It would be hard to find a more uncomfortable seat of learning and calligraphy than the throne of Sennar in the year 1768.

[7] Described as ' beyond el Tamayn ' (D7, § 67). Bukera is probably Cailliaud's El Bougrah, a village a few miles north of Sennar on the west bank. There is a modern place called Wad el Bokhari 7 miles NW of Sennar, marked on the 1 : 250,000 map, edition of 1904, Sheet 55 K, which may be the same.

CHAPTER XXVI

BRUCE'S JOURNEY

IN 1769, Nasir was deposed and succeeded by Ismail, the King whom Bruce met at Sennar in 1772. Thus we emerge once more from the twilight of meagre annals into the bright sunlight of Bruce's narrative. During his 2½ years in Abyssinia Bruce entered fully into the life of the country and has become a part of its history; but at Sennar he was a mere traveller anxious only to depart homewards, who employed the ample leisure of his enforced residence to record something of its history. Little did Ismail think that, by thus detaining Bruce, he was earning the gratitude of future historians![1] For of all the travellers who passed through Sennar during the days of the Fungs, Bruce was one of the ablest. Reubeni was a crook and (one suspects) slightly mad; Poncet was in no way distinguished and Brevedent died prematurely; Krump wrote a book but missed much; Du Roule has naturally left no record but he too seems to have been a dull dog. Cailliaud was a far better observer and recorder than Bruce, and altogether more trustworthy but he came on the scene when the Fung empire was crumbling.

Bruce landed at Massawa on 19th September, 1769. He left Abyssinia in January, 1772, stayed nearly two months in the frontier-province of Ras el Fil, and reached Sennar on April 29th. He was at Sennar the whole summer, leaving on 5th September. He passes out of our ken with his departure from Hassa, just beyond Berber, on 11th November. Thus he was in the kingdom of Sennar not far short of a year, of which just over four months was spent at Sennar itself.

So much that he has recorded is woven into the fabric of this book that a laborious abstract of his own, so far as it concerns Sennar, would be uncalled for. I shall therefore confine myself to describing those of his adventures which do not find a place elsewhere, recommending his travels to all who enjoy reading a good story well told.

Bruce did not follow the usual caravan-route from Ras el Fil to Sennar, which went due west to Debarki on Latitude 13°N., but kept to the trans-Butana route as far as Gedaref, which he calls Teawa, the capital of Atbara province and residence of its sheikh, Fidele (the Arabic name Fadl). He had been warned that Fidele was a murderer and a thief and had taken elaborate precautions to ensure his own safety.

[1] We owe much to the ignorant suspicion of these barbarian rulers. It was the seven terrible years that Paez spent in the Hadramaut and Yemen that were responsible for the first European description of SW Arabia (a fact hitherto overlooked); Barradas' *Tracts* were composed while he was in prison in Aden; and some of our knowledge of the Red Sea ports was obtained during the involuntary detention of missionaries there. The murder of Du Roule brought into existence many documents that amplify the history of Sennar, and they have enabled one important event (the Horsemen Mutiny) to be dated with some assurance. History has thus profited by acts which at the time seemed merely obstructive and fruitless. So too has Slatin's captivity given us the inside history of the Khalifa's regime. How many good books have been written in prison—from the time of Marco Polo to that of Bunyan!

The sheikh lived in a group of cane houses ; ' near the street, at entering, there was a large hall of unburnt brick, to which we ascended by four or five steps.'[2] In the middle was an empty chair, the symbol of the throne, to which obeisance was made—a primitive custom not confined to Teawa or the 18th century. The Sheikh was seated near by, reading, ' or pretending to read,' the Koran. The usual courtesies having been exchanged, Fidele ' introduced some loose hints about Abyssinian women,' which Bruce adroitly countered by complaints about the extreme fatigue of the journey. Later on a friendly voice whispered in his ear that Fidele was Satan. From this and other indications Bruce realized that he was in a trap.

For a few days no trouble arose. Bruce treated Fidele for what he diagnosed as a hangover ; the Sheikh told him it was not safe for him in Sennar, begged him to turn Mohammedan and stay in Teawa, offering him his daughter Aiscach in marriage, and the succession to the sheikhship. This made Bruce laugh heartily ; but when personally conducted round Fidele's harem he met the daughter, and ' was astonished at the sight of so much beauty.' The girl's mother was a daughter of Adelan, the vizier of Sennar, whom Bruce met later and liked. One of the women present (she was a slave who had been captured in the 2nd Abyssinian war) called out to Bruce, in Amharic, to go and fetch his troopers and carry off Aiscach to Ras el Fil.

Then came the inevitable demand for bakshish ; but coming from a paramount Sheikh it was naturally in the form of ' big money '—50 ounces of gold. This being scornfully refused, matters rapidly reached a crisis. An attempt to murder Bruce by a drunken Jehaina ' sheikh ' was frustrated, and Fidele resolved to do the job himself. He aroused suspicion by sending for Bruce on a Friday evening ; for it was to obtain medical advice, and medicine was not taken on a Friday. Bruce went armed with ' a small Brescian blunderbuss,' folded double and concealed under his left arm. Fidele was alone, and either drunk or pretending to be—a sure sign of trouble coming. He demanded the money, told Bruce he was at his mercy and pointed to the blood of the late Badi on the floor, killed there by his father. Then he drew his sword and tucked up his sleeves. Bruce drew back a step and got out his blunderbuss. No more was needed. Fidele said he was only joking and called for help. Instead, Bruce's servants (who had been warned beforehand) came rushing in, all armed, ' and a very confused desultory discourse followed.' A Turk, seeing the scabbard of Fidele's sword lying on the floor, broke out laughing, and made some pertinent remarks about drunkards' courage and scabbards. Bruce told the Sheikh to go to bed and not try any more experiments, and so they parted, after saying good-night to each other.

It is a good story, and one hopes that it all happened as narrated. One cannot help remembering those days at Airth when the traveller lived again ' as in a dream ' the days of his romantic youth. But one is reassured by knowing that he left a great name in Abyssinia. In any case he got out of Teawa with his life. Would the wretched Du Roule have done so ?[3]

[2] Bruce VI, 283 (Book VIII, Chapters 5 and 6 : ' Transactions at Teawa ').

[3] Bruce's diaries, which might have helped here, were only very incompletely printed by his editor. After a long hunt I succeeded in discovering their former place of custody, only to learn that ' unfortunately the original letters were in the course of years inadvertently destroyed by damp.'

There were three people at Sennar who, thanks largely to the hazard of Bruce's visit, have a place in its history—the king Ismail, the vizier Adlan, and Ahmed Sid el Kum.

The king received Bruce in his palace on the day after his arrival in Sennar. He was seated on a mattress, clothed only in a blue cotton shirt, of Indian make with white silk trimmings. His head and feet were bare ; his hair black and short, and his colour ' white as an Arab.' He seemed to be about 34 years old, and ' had a very plebeian countenance, on which was stamped no decided character, I should rather have guessed him to be a soft, timid, irresolute man.'[4] Credentials were presented and Bruce was questioned by the king. His patriotic claim that George the Third was the greatest king on earth was contradicted by one of the holy men, who averred that there were four such, the kings of Turkey, Persia, Bornou and Abyssinia. Ismail dismissed them all contemptuously as ' Kafrs and slaves ' ; the only kings were those of Turkey, England and France. Pressed to give the reason for his journey Bruce posed as a dervish or wandering scholar, one of those who renounce the world on account of their sins ; he had been roaming for 20 years. The king was rather surprised at this and presumed that his sins ' must all have been with women,' a charge which Bruce partly admitted but with a quibble. After this the king sent for a cushion and told him to be seated. The talk then turned to Hagiuge Magiuge—the Gog and Magog of our medieval tales—and the time of their coming. Bruce could not throw any light on this problem until he was told about them by the Cadi. They were ' little people, not so big as bees—that come in great swarms out of the earth '—rather like white ants in fact. Bruce scored off the Cadi and the king laughed heartily. The audience ended, but not before discreet enquiries had been made about the inevitable ' present.' The time for this was after dinner the same evening. The king was being greased[5] and the odour was overpowering. He asked Bruce if he ever greased himself ? Bruce replied, diplomatically, that he very seldom did, as he thought it would be very expensive. The particular grease then being used was elephant's, which made people strong—*shedid* (virile) was probably the word used. After being anointed with civet from a horn he was ready for supper, which he had in his harem.

A few days later the king sent for Bruce to attend his wives, who were ill. 'One of these, who, I found, was the favourite, was about six feet high, and corpulent beyond all proportion. She seemed to me, next to the elephant and rhinoceros, the largest living creature I had met with.' She was a negress, and heavily loaded with gold rings. ' Her ears reached down to her shoulders, and had the appearance of wings,' and in each was a large ring of gold. With regard to their ailments, which were legion, Bruce maintains a professional silence. They were bled and, on another occasion, given emetics. We are spared details, but can imagine the scene ; ' it was most prodigiously hot, and the horrid black figures, moaning and groaning with sickness all around me gave me, I think some slight idea of the punishment in the world below.' The ladies insisted on an inspection of Bruce stripped to the waist;

[4] Bruce, Vol. VI, Chapter 8. The pagination of this chapter is at fault ; after p. 352 comes p. 345, continuing to p. 352 *bis*. I have called these pages (345–52 *bis*), pp. 352 a to h.

[5] A process known as the delka. There is a full account of it in Trémaux, *Le Soudan*, Chapter XI.

and he says he would rather take his chance in a battle than undergo it again. The whiteness of his skin filled them with amazement and horror. Their royal master might not have approved of these goings on, but could have had no grounds for jealousy. ' Ours was a mutual passion, but dangerous to no one concerned ' ; and he returned home with very different sentiments from those he had felt after the interview with the beautiful Aiscach of Teawa.[6]

The interview with Adlan was a more pleasant one, and comes like a breath of fresh air after these fetid scenes in the harem. He was in his camp at Aira[7] with his horses. In the middle of a large zareeba of fascines and dhurra, each side at least half a mile long, were two or three very considerable houses of one storey. Outside the gate were six houses of a slighter construction than the rest. ' Close upon the fence were sheds where the soldiers lay, the horses picqueted before them with their heads turned towards the sheds, and their food laid before them on the ground ; above each soldier's sleeping-place, covered only on the top and open in the sides, were hung a lance, a small oval shield, and a large broad-sword.' These were the Arab couriers. Within the enclosure was the main body of cavalry and the barracks. The Scotch laird was lost in admiration of the scene ' one of the finest sights I ever saw of the kind.' The horses ' were all above sixteen hands high, of the breed of the old Saracen horses, all finely made, and as strong as our coach horses, but exceedingly nimble in their motion.' This was the famous Black Horse of Sennar, upon which the strength of the kingdom rested. In each man's quarters hung a steel shirt of mail, and beside it an antelope's skin, made soft as chamois-leather, with which it was covered from the dew of night. ' A headpiece of copper, without crest or plumage, was suspended by a lace above the shirt of mail.' The broad-swords had red leather scabbards, ' and upon the pommel hung two thick gloves, not divided into fingers as ours, but like hedgers' gloves, their fingers in one poke.' There were 400 horses and armed troopers, all slaves of Adlan. With unconscious irony Bruce concludes : ' no body of horse could ever be more magnificently disposed under the direction of any Christian power.'

Adlan was sitting upon a palm-trunk contemplating the scene with pleasure and surrounded by his friends. ' He had on a long drab-coloured camblet gown, lined with yellow sattin, and a camlet cap like a head-piece, with two short points that covered his ears.' This was the famous horned cap. He was over six feet high, rather corpulent, and about sixty years old. He had the colour and features of an Arab, large piercing eyes, and a determined, though, at the same time, a pleasing countenance. His first words to Bruce were not the usual insincere and formal words of greeting, but to ask what would ' your King of Habesh ' give to have such horses as these ? One feels that Adlan was a man of a different calibre from the slimy sheikhs and the disgusting king. This impression received confirmation from the Fung Chronicle[8] which says that Adlan was a ' continent and temperate man, honourable and pious.'

Bruce gives us an account of a long conversation with Adlan, who referred to the

[6] VI, 352–65.

[7] The name has disappeared, but the place must have been on or very near the site of the modern Sennar beside the dam.

[8] §§ 70, 72. Its praise of Ismail is discounted by the statement that he treated the men of religion well ; one is reminded of the Book of Kings, where similar moral criteria are used.

2nd Abyssinian war as a ' mad attempt on Sennar,' and said that relations with that country were strained but not hostile. Bruce pressed his request for a safe-conduct home, which Adlan promised as soon as he had disposed of the ' confusion of these Arabs,' whose tribute he was collecting. His good character is shown by his indifference to the proffered present. He was not, he said, a man to ransack strangers. He had a low opinion of the king and expressed it openly. He couldn't govern and wouldn't be advised ; he couldn't make war, and wouldn't stay quiet ; and Bruce ought to see him in order to be able to tell his friends at home what sort of a king he was. Bruce left him very favourably impressed.

On his way out he had a long conversation with the Arabs, who told him about ' the situation of the different clans, or tribes, in Atbara.' They were now on their annual migration northwards to get away from the deadly fly that, during the rains, would otherwise destroy their flocks and herds and camels. At this time of year they found thin grazing on the sands east of Berber and of Mendera,[9] which he placed much too far north. The tax laid upon them was a heavy one, and one can readily believe Adlan's remark that they would all eat him alive if they dared. One has a vivid glimpse of the basis of the strength of Sennar, protected, as it was, by the Blue Nile against any sudden raids from the Butana, yet so situated that from it could be launched a squadron of armed cavalry against any recalcitrant clan, and any evasions or arrears collected on the return journey southwards.

This tax was partly paid in kind and the camels subsequently sold to Dongola merchants (who supplied Egypt for the Mecca caravans), partly in gold and slaves. The camels were also eaten, camels' flesh being very commonly consumed in Sennar.

Ahmed Sid el Kum was a very different sort of person, the scholar rather than the man of action. He wrote out with his own hand the list of kings which is now in the Bodleian. (Unfortunately he folded the pages before the ink was dry, so that a confusing double impression is left). His chief duty was that of killing the king, if it was decided by the council that such an action was for the advantage of the state. Ahmed had already so killed two of his grown-up sons and an infant one. Bruce calls him ' very much my friend ' and one of the very few who showed him any attention or civility while he was at Sennar. This was due to the fact that Bruce had treated him for ' the gravel ' by giving him soap-pills, thus much relieving his pain. He was, in spite of his profession, ' one of the gentlest spirits of any that it was my misfortune to converse with at Sennar.' He came from a Fazuclo village and was in reality a pagan, and attended by Nuban priests whom he regarded as powerful sorcerers. Bruce often talked to them when they understood Arabic. He reproached them with their inability to cure Ahmed of his complaint, but was told that this, being caused by a Christian devil, was beyond their power—a palpable hit !

It was from Ahmed and his sorcerers that Bruce obtained much of his information about the ' country, religion and government.' To this he has added his own observations of the city of Sennar. It was then still very populous and contained many good houses, those of the ' great officers ' having two stories—an advance achieved, as Bruce notes, since the time of Poncet. In the neighbourhood of Sennar

[9] Jebel Mundara, 112 miles NE of Sennar, on Lat. 15° N.

were two grain depots, at Shaddly and Well Aboud, where corn, bought when cheap, was stored in pits called matamores and sealed up against a time of scarcity. Thus when the Arabs destroyed the crops, the tribes attacked did not starve to death. Such foresight is remarkable and unexpected in a barbarous community. The cynic may suspect that the motive of profit, even of profiteering, was not absent, though Bruce expressly states that this was not so.[10] Perhaps one should regard the storage as a means of disposing of surplus capital; in normal times there may have been more grain produced than could be consumed. In any case this procedure illustrates very well the interdependence of the Fung and Arab economy—of farmer and shepherd.

Once, when crossing the great square before the palace at Sennar, Bruce had recalled with a shudder 'what had happened in that spot to the unfortunate M. du Roule and his companions'; and one feels that the shadow of that tragedy hung over him throughout his sojourn there. But the Scottish traveller was a more adroit diplomatist than the Frenchman, and he cleverly played off the king against Adlan, and by a wholly justifiable deception obtained the king's leave to depart, and was off within a few hours of receiving it. Ostensibly he was going to visit a Adlan at Shaddly; but he never really intended to do so, and the entreaties of his fellow travellers to continue northwards through Atbara[11] were quite unnecessary. It was a flight from 'the horrors of Sennaar and its king,' and one thinks of other northward flights from even worse horrors—Slatin's famous escape from Omdurman, and Father Ohrwalder's. But it was a curiously leisurely flight; it was a week before they reached Wad Medani, and they only arrived at Arbagi, 80 miles from Sennar, on the eleventh day after their departure. On the way Bruce noted several gubbas, or sheikhs' tombs, and near Kamlin (and again near Halfayun [Eilafun]) he saw the people gathering grass-seeds to make a very bad kind of bread—an interesting survival, enforced by famine, of a practice that must have preceded, and probably fathered, the invention of agriculture. At Arbagi he interviewed the Abdullab sheikh,[12] and learnt that Moorish troops from Ras el Fil had burnt Teawa and forced his old enemy Sheikh Fidele to fly to Beila. From there he sent a letter of thanks to Adlan, learning with relief that it would not reach him until he was well beyond his reach. He crossed the Blue Nile near Gedid, opposite Eilafun, and eventually reached Shendi. Here he met 'Sittina,' the sister of Mohammed the Abdullab sheikh, whom he calls the queen of Shendi. The first interview was through a grill, and the conversation turned on a familiar topic in all ages, baldness. The lady wore 'a kind of round cap of solid gold upon the crown of her head, all beat very thin, and hung round with sequins.' He advised here to give up wearing it as it might well cause the hair to fall out.

The whole account is very amusing and bears the stamp of truth reflected, perhaps a little distorted, in the mirror of a vivid imagination. Cailliaud[13] recited it to Mek Nimr, who was much amused, and he frankly regarded most of the account as fictitious ('arrangées à plaisir'). His chief objection was that there never was

[10] VI, 384. On any prospect of corn growing dearer the matamores were opened and the contents 'sold at a low price to both town and country.'

[11] Bruce calls the Gezira by this name.

[12] See p. 257.

[13] II, 302–3.

a queen of Shendi—and certainly no lady of this name is mentioned in the king-list.[14] But that is an unworthy quibble. Bruce, it is true, treated her as a queen, but he makes her speak of her son Idris as the ' King of this country,'[15] and it is perfectly obvious that she was only a queen-mother. We must remember that Bruce was a Scotsman, and that Cailliaud wrote in the decade after Waterloo ; but we can agree with him that Bruce's intrigues and adventures lost nothing in the telling.

The party left Shendi on the evening of 20th October, 1772. The next day they passed the ruins of Meroe and Bruce duly became the discoverer of the ancient capital of Ethiopia, which earlier travellers missed by following the Bayuda-Dongola route. He correctly identified the site, forgetting apparently that elsewhere in his book he had argued at length in favour of a site further south. He does not mention the famous pyramids which he must have seen in the distance ; and he has nothing to say about the ruins of Wad Ban Naga which he must have passed a little earlier. There can be little doubt that he was both tired and preoccupied with thoughts about the long desert journey ahead ; for although less interested in such things than in people and horses, he had plenty of intellectual curiosity.

On 22nd October he reached Ed Damer ' a town belonging to Fakir Wed Madge Doub, who is a saint of the first consequence among the Jaheleen. They believe that he can work miracles, and can strike whom he pleases with lameness, blindness or madness ; for which reason they stand very much in awe of him, so that he passes the caravans in safety through this nest of robbers, such as the Macabrab are, and always have been.'[16] The Saint is No. 123 of the Tabaqat ; his full name was Hammad ibn el Maghdub, and he lived between 1693 and 1776. His tomb was at Damer, and he was the friend and contemporary of the author of the Tabaqat.[17] (The word Maghdub is a Sufi term meaning ' rapt ').[18] Bruce's mention both confirms the dates given by the Tabaqat and its description of him as a Ga'ali.[19]

Berber was reached a few days later. It was then a collection of villages of which Bruce mentions Gooz and Cailliaud El Mekheyr. It had lost much of its former trade, but still had the pick of the caravans coming from Egypt by the long desert route to the north, for it was the first stopping-place after the desert crossing. From Gooz they went to Hassa, and here, under the Hill of Thirst, Bruce bathed ' with infinite pleasure for a long half hour in the Nile ; and thus took leave of my old acquaintance, very doubtful if we should ever meet again.'[20] Then began the long desert trek, where we also part company with him.

No lengthy appraisal of Bruce's character is called for here because that will have become evident from the numerous passages quoted in this book. One reads and rereads his book, with enjoyment, and one cannot do so without coming to like him. To me he seems to bear a close resemblance to that other traveller, the hero of the Odyssey. Both were men of action, full of resource and cunning, not over-scrupulous nor, let us frankly admit, over-truthful. But that is a common failing

[14] The list which Cailliaud gives (III, 106–7) is regarded by MacMichael (I, 232) as ' hopelessly incorrect in its earlier stages.'

[15] VI, 441.

[16] VI, 451.

[17] D3, Nos. 123, 194.

[18] MacMichael II, 282.

[19] MacMichael II, 282 and D3, No. 15.

[20] VI, 455.

of those who carry their life in their hands every day. Forty years later his name was still famous in Abyssinia. Like many other explorers, he deprecated the achievements of his predecessors and magnified his own. He was unjust to Paez—a great man who was the first to discover the sources of the Blue Nile ; and his treatment of Balugani is quite indefensible.[21] Bruce liked to dramatize himself as the discoverer of the sources of the Nile. He tried to ignore the river we now know to be the real Nile, which he refuses even to call the Nile, referring to it as the Bahr el Ais or the Bahr el Abiad. But when all has been said we owe him a great debt, for he has recorded a mass of information about the Kingdom of Sennar that would otherwise be unknown ; and all this, had he not possessed those other qualities, might well have perished with him in that inhospitable land.

[21] For Abyssinian recollections of Bruce in 1810 and some criticisms, see *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, by Henry Salt, 1814, 334–44. For the way in which he composed his book, see Appendix 9.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE FUNG DOMINION

BETWEEN 1772 and 1821 no European visited Sennar. Burckhardt did not go beyond Shendi and Browne travelled only in Kordofan and Darfur. The former has left an admirable record of conditions in the outlying provinces, but there was then no effective central administration, and the sheikhships were sold to the highest bidder.[1] The Chronicle is therefore our only source, and it records a dismal series of feuds and quarrels, which are often hard to disentangle and seldom based on anything but private dissension. The kings were mere puppets, appointed and deposed by their viziers. Conditions were not unlike those in Egypt under the Mamluks ; and just as there the anarchy ended with the Turkish conquest by Selim, so in Sennar it ended with the conquest of Ismail. For this collapse it is difficult to discern any but a personal cause. The kingdom was a union of incompatibles, of nomad Arabs and settled cultivators, some of whom were also Arabs. The king was the unifying factor, and so long as he was strong enough to exercise his power in person, some sort of equilibrium could be maintained. But, as we have seen, Badi, by creating an army of conquest in Kordofan and relegating its command to a subject, had thereby dug his own grave. Had he commanded it himself he might, on returning to Sennar, have found a rival usurping his throne, but he would at least have had an army to recapture it.

There was another disruptive element present. The annual tribute exacted from the migrating Arabs was, in 1772, collected by Adlan, who had a powerful force of cavalry at his disposal and was called Sheikh of the Khashm el Bahr. His command extended from south of Karkoj to Roseires, and he was at Aira (well beyond his province) as deputy.[2] This office would appear to have been an innovation, for we do not hear of it before Adlan's tenure, and he is the first in the list of successive holders of the office given in the Chronicle.[3] His successors were continually at feud with the Vizier, nor could the existence of what was virtually a private army have had any other result.

The new order of the rule of Viziers was inaugurated by Muhammad Abu el Kaylak, who founded what was in effect a new dynasty and whose nephew and descendants ruled Sennar for half a century. MacMichael[4] calls him ' probably the greatest man that the Sudan produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.' Browne[5] says that ' a king of the name of Abli Calik is the idol of the people of Kordofan where he reigned about 14 years ago and is renowned for probity and

[1] Burckhardt, *Nubia*, 211, 278.

[2] For the vizier Kaylak who was in Kordofan, and not of his own right as I infer.

[3] D7, §§ 200–205.

[4] II, 411. He gives a page of description and (on p. 412) a genealogical tree.

[5] p. 307, written in 1793.

justice.' Adlan, himself a man of high character, as testified by both Bruce[6] and the Chronicle,[7] spoke of Abu el Kaylak in terms of regard and admiration. But for the rest his ' greatness,' a question-begging term, can be inferred only from a meagre record of accomplishments. In barbaric society, any man of good character who could win support and hold it by force for nearly thirty years was entitled to be called great. None of his successors maintained their position for more than a decade.

The puppet kings were, of course, not resigned to their roles. Being, it would seem, unsupported by any effective armed force, they were obliged to intrigue, playing off the Abdullabs against the Viziers, and taking full advantage of any convenient vendettas that arose. These, as always, formed a vicious circle, until they became so numerous and involved that it is very difficult to disentangle them When at last Ismail led his Turkish rabble up the Nile, they were opposed only by the independent Shaigia ' rebels.' Had the country been united he would certainly never have got beyond Dongola province, for an Abdullab army could easily have crossed the Bayuda and attacked him in the rear while he was engaged with the Shaigia.

Muhammad Abu el Kaylak died in 1776 and was succeeded as Vizier by his nephew Badi walad Regeb.[8] His first act was to depose Ismail who subsequently died in exile at Suakin. Badi then appointed Adlan as king.

During the viziership of Badi (1776–80) there occurred a struggle with the Shukria which is recorded both in the Chronicle[9] and in the historical traditions of the Shukria tribe.[10] The traditional account is much longer and more detailed than that of the Chronicle, and tells of an initial success followed later by a treacherous massacre. (The brevity of the Chronicle may perhaps be regarded as substantiating the tribal account). The trouble arose, as so often, from a quarrel at the wells, near Mundara, between Shukria and Rikabiyin, during which a son of the Shukria sheikh was killed. The Rikabiyin controlled all the wells in that part of the Butana, and Abu Ali, the Shukria sheikh, considering that his forces were inferior, forbade retaliation. Matters came to a head, however, when the slayer of Abu Ali's son was killed by a party of Shukria. The Shukria war-drums were beaten and a challenge sent to the Rikabiyin who accepted it, but also retired eastwards to the Atbara and called on the Hamaj at Sennar for help. The Hamaj collected their forces at Abu Haraz—the Chronicle says at Rufa'a—and marched in three divisions, under the command of Khamis wad Abu Rida (whom we shall come across again), ' Ardeb and Krenka (of both of whom nothing else is known). When they heard from the Rikabiyin that the Shukria were encamped in the wadi of Al Jarad (Abu Garad, E. of Mundara) they went forward to the attack ; but warning of their approach was given by a Shukria woman called 'Aishab, wife of one of the Rikabiyin. Thus the plan for a joint surprise attack from two sides failed, and when they arrived the Hamaj found the Shukria ready. Krenka and Abu Ali's son Hassan engaged in single combat on horseback ; Hassan split Krenka in two, one half

[6] VI, 356.
[7] § 72.
[8] This Regeb, brother of Kaylak, must not be confused with Badi's successor, Regeb, son of Kaylak.
[9] D7, §§ 75–6 : Hillelson's version is slightly longer, and is taken from Shuqair's *History* ; but that is obviously derived also from the Chronicle.
[10] Recorded by Hillelson in *SNR*, III, 44–55.

falling to the ground and the other returning on the horse to the Hamag ! Dismayed at this disaster the Hamaj took flight and were pursued to the pools of Al Kurrati.[11] The chief outcome of the victory was the capture of horses, coats of mail and horse-armour, which gave the Shukria military predominance in the Butana.

Badi, so the Shukria story goes, then tried guile. He persuaded the Shukria chiefs to come first to Sennar and then to Abu Haraz for a conference. At Sennar Ali wad el Nur overheard a remark revealing a plot to kill the sheikhs, but they refused to believe him. He then bribed the Vizier to give him warning, undertaking not to pass the information on to the others. He was duly warned and escaped on a stolen camel to the rest of the tribe, who were then encamped near the Blue Nile north of Rufa'a, some 40 miles away. They hastily decamped with their cattle, leaving the donkeys and goats and heavy loads behind, and took refuge at Geili. At a subsequent meeting of the tribe Awad el Kerim abu Sin, though still a boy, was elected sheikh at the instance of Ali wad el Nur, who was regarded as the saviour of the tribe. In spite of some obscurities[12] the story is probably correct in the main facts.

The Abdullabs were at this time ruled by Muhammad el Amin Mismar, under whom they seem to have acquired a considerable measure of independence. El Amin was obviously a man of character and ability. He had obtained the sheikh-ship, apparently by force, from his uncle Omar,[13] and although nominally deposed and superseded by another uncle, Agib el Fil and then again in 1784 by his brother Badi, he seems to have been the effective ruler of all or part of the kingdom for the best part of 20 years. When Bruce visited him in 1772 at his headquarters in Arbagi he was about 30 (which is consistent with a story related by the Abdullab chron-icler[14]), and it would appear that he was then recognized as the legitimate sheikh by the Sennar government[15]. ' He spoke contemptuously of the King of Sennaar, but very respectfully of Adelan and Abou Kalec.' Even at this time he was on friendly terms with the Shukria, whose revolt he may well have instigated. All accounts agree in describing him as a doughty warrior ; his future greatness was foretold at his birth by Sheikh Khogali,[16] and Sheikh Badi had a healthy respect for his prowess.[17] This proved to be only too well founded ; for in 1780 when El Amin joined in a ' revolt ' against Badi, the latter was unhorsed by El Amin in single combat. Badi was then slaughtered on the ground by Ahmad walad Ali, a former

[11] *The Sudan Gazetteer* mentions wells (Lat. 15° 35′ : Long. 35° 59′), a khor (Lat. 15° 34′ : Long. 36° 07′) and a ' locality ' (Lat. 15° 28′ : Long. 36° 16′) called Garatit, W by N of Kassala ; but, apart from the different spelling (a plural form ?), the place is a hundred miles from the site of the battle, and beyond the Atbara. ' Karad ' is applied on the Blue Nile to ' stony land with some mud on it, uncovered at low Nile, on which bushes, etc., grow.' *SNR*, IV, 19.

[12] A certain Ibrahim (of Sennar) was one of those killed and his daughters are represented as calling for vengeance ; but he is not mentioned in the account of the battle of Mundara. In the account of the beheading of the sheikhs it is said that Gilbos was spared because he was only a child ; but in the previous episode Hassan was said to have married his daughter and used the sword of El Nena, a son of Gilbos, with which to kill Krenko. (Was the latter the same person as Ibrahim ?).

Shuqair's version adds that, in spite of the loss of their sheikhs, the Shukria retained a sort of independence up to the time of the Turkish conquest. When Badi sent the Abdullab sheikh Agib el Fil to Taka to fight the Halanka Arabs, he was killed by the Shukria on his way back. A few years later they helped the dissident Abdullab El Amin to destroy Arbagi.

[13] *SNR*, XVII, 70.

[14] *SNR*, XVII, 70.

[15] Bruce states that he was the lieutenant of Sennar according to treaty ; VI, 414.

[16] *SNR*, XVII, 70.

[17] D7, § 81.

Sheikh of the Khashm el Bahr, whom Badi had deposed. The battle seems to have confirmed El Amin in his position which, since the King himself was openly backing him, would appear to have been quite legitimate. Regeb, Badi's cousin and successor, took himself off to Kordofan, whence he sent his brother Nasir to fight El Amin, but the latter eluded him.

For a short time, therefore, Adlan, King of Sennar, seems to have regained some of the authority wielded by his predecessors. But it was conditioned by the support of the Abdullab Sheikh, with whom the real power rested, as appeared plainly from subsequent events. Regeb had left his brother Ibrahim in charge at Sennar, no doubt to watch the king. In 1785 Ibrahim was accused of concocting a plot against the king; and at the instance of El Amin, both he and his associates were arrested and killed, and his sisters distributed amongst the soldiers. News of this was taken to Regeb by his 'poet' Na'isan; Regeb returned, but was defeated and killed in the ensuing engagement—at El Teras according to D7 and at Remeila according to the Abdullab Chronicle.

In the previous year (1784) El Amin had perpetrated one of those acts of savage barbarity which characterize military rule in all periods of history (including the present). He razed to the ground Arbagi, his own city, 'the fairest town in the Gezira,' slaughtering its inhabitants. This he did, the Chronicle says, because he learnt that it was through the influence of the people of Arbagi that he had been superseded in the nominal sheikhship by his brother Badi.

After the battle of El Teras the vizier's army was dispersed, and the remnants collected at the village of Abud, SW of Wad Medani. For some time the surviving brothers of Regeb 'were all of different minds'[18]—which probably means that they were quarrelling and intriguing about the succession. Eventually, in 1787, the feki Hegazi abu Zayd rallied them, and Nasir, brother of Regeb, was made Sheikh (Vizier). At first they resided at a place called Tomat, perhaps near the Abyssinian frontier[19]; later Nasir moved to Taiba Kandalawi,[20] near Sennar. A battle was fought in 1788 at Intarahna, west of Rufa'a, in which Nasir was victorious; he followed up his success by marching south to Sennar and besieging it. Adlan the king was there, for he had not led his troops in person, and he is reported[21] (most improbably) to have died of grief there during the siege. After some show of resistance by the king's army Nasir entered Sennar, where he made great havoc. The defeated army was pursued to El Sali, NW of Sennar. Nasir appointed Awkal king, but soon afterwards[22] replaced him by Tabl II.

Though thus apparently successful, Nasir had failed in his main objective—the suppression of El Amin, who had escaped northwards and was with Muhammad walad Khamis abu Rida, one of the Fung commanders at the battle of Intarahna.[23]

[18] D7, § 100.

[19] The Abdullab chronicle says that the remnants of the army escaped 'towards Abyssinia' and began to extract gold from the mountains, with which to corrupt the King of Sennar's army. There are many places called Tomat, both near Abyssinia and elsewhere. *SNR*, XVII, 73.

[20] On the W bank, 13 miles N of Sennar, opposite the point (Wad el Abbas) where a road from the SE ends at a river crossing. Here Cailliaud marks the two adjacent villages of Taybah and Qondal.

[21] D7, § 105. The Abdullab Chronicle (p. 73) puts his death before the march on Sennar. He was probably murdered.

[22] Cailliaud gives his reign as a year and a half.

[23] Presumably the son of that Khamis of Darfur who fought for the King of Sennar in the 2nd Abyssinian war. See Bruce IV, 124 and p. 240 above.

It seems[24] that Abu Rida had been sent by Nasir to kill El Amin, but he had decided instead to transfer his allegiance to him. Abu Rida had become the leader of 500 ' black horse ' who had deserted their masters, and had become a terror to all, plundering villages and robbing caravans. They sold their services as mercenaries to the highest bidder.[25] Nasir took Tabl with him northwards and a battle was fought near Shendi at which King Tabl was killed and Nasir's force decisively defeated. Badi V was then made King, but he too died soon afterwards, being killed at Halfaya at the same time—presumably in a battle—as a certain Mek Rubat, the nominee of the Abdullabs. Nasir then appointed as King a certain Hassab Rabbihi, but he too died. ' All this occurred in 1204 (A.D. 1789-90), and in the same year Sheikh Nasir returned to Sennar.'[26]

El Amin met his end in 1790 at the hands of his cousin Abdulla Agib, with whom were Abu Rida and a certain Sheikh Muhammad Nimr, probably the father of the famous Nimr who killed Ismail. The nominal cause of the quarrel between Abu Rida and El Amin was a dispute over the armour of a slaughtered Fung chief ; but one suspects that the usual web of intrigue lay behind the alleged cause, for one of the murderers succeeded to El Amin's sheikhship. It happened in this way.[27] Abu Rida had been sent to Dongola by El Amin with a force and with El Amin's sons. At Jebel el Gilf, halfway across the Bayuda desert, Abu Rida turned back and went to Wad Banaga[28] where he helped Abdulla Agib and Muhammad Nimr to escape from prison, and the three swore to kill El Amin before his sons could return. ' When they reached his house at night none of them durst enter, but Abu Rida Khamis bade the Nuba slaves climb up on the roof of the house, which they did, and piercing a hole killed him with spears as he lay quietly asleep. On the point of death he motioned to his cousin Abdulla Agib, and handing him the sword said " Let not the slave [Abu Rida] take it from you." ' Thus ended the life of the man who destroyed the ' fairest city of the Gezira.' He was about 48, and was buried near the village of Sheikh Saleh Wad Banaga.

The murder naturally initiated a feud between the sons of El Amin and their cousin, Abdulla. The latter had gone off immediately afterwards to the Atbara, while the sons, returning too late, took refuge in the sanctuary town of Eilafun, where Bayard and Father Joseph had also taken refuge at the beginning of the century. There were the usual raids and counter-raids, followed by an attempt at reconciliation by Fiki Barakat[29] and another Fiki called Samaha, but it failed. Later Abdulla attacked them from the south, from the village of Umm Gahaf and drove them out. But they went to Sennar and started an intrigue with Adlan, brother of the vizier Nasir, which ended in the murder of Nasir, according to the Abdullab chronicle.

The story given by the Fung chronicle is rather different. After the murder

[24] According to the Abdullab Chronicle ; but the account there is confused, mixing the events of 1789-90 with the earlier episodes of 1780.

[25] *SNR*, VIII, 106.

[26] D7, § 111.

[27] The Abdullab account agrees in essentials with that of the Fung Chronicle and gives additional details. See *SNR*, XVII, 76 : D7, § 112.

[28] Walad Ban el Nuka in D7.

[29] Probably not Barakat but one of his sons. Bruce mentions one such, ' Wed Baracut, Shek of Alifoon ' as ruling there when he passed through in 1772 : VII, 103.

of El Amin, Abu Rida had gone to live at El Turfaya, east of Sennar,[30] which he used to visit secretly at night, to intrigue with his friends. In 1796 Nasir crossed the river, killed Abu Rida in a fight and devastated the surrounding villages. Eventually he resigned his power to his Vizier, El Arbab Dafa'alla, devoting his time to frivolity and amusement. In 1797 his brothers rebelled, probably assisted by the sons of El Amin who camped at Abud. Nasir made overtures to them from El Sabil, but when these failed he returned to Sennar. The brothers followed to El Bukera, upon which Nasir collected his treasure and fled southwards, pursued by Adlan to Siru where it was learnt that Nasir had gone on to Debarki on the Dinder. Despairing of catching him Adlan returned to Sennar while Nasir took refuge with Abdulla Agib at Halfaya. From there he in his turn went to Abud—apparently the jumping-off place of aspirants for Sennar. The brothers then went to Abu Haraz. At this point Nasir's troops appear to have mutinied; at any rate his vizier Dafa'alla deserted him and surrended to Adlan and Nasir was captured without a fight. At Abu Haraz (1798) he was handed over by Adlan to Subahi walad Badi who killed him in revenge for the killing of his father 18 years before.[31] He was buried there near the tomb of Sheikh Dafa'alla el Araki.

The author of the Fung Chronicle seems a little uncertain about Nasir's character. After eulogizing his generosity he adds that he was nevertheless an oppressor and his generosity exercised at the expense of others. His rule lasted for ten years and he was succeeded, not as we should have expected by Adlan but by another brother, Idris.

But the shadow of El Amin's murder still hung over the distracted kingdom. His sons had not yet achieved their revenge, and as soon as Idris became Vizier they reminded him of the fact that Nasir had been protected by Abdulla, their enemy.[32] In 1800 Sheikh Idris led his army to Halfaya and fought with Abdulla and killed him and routed his army. Peace was then made and El Amin's son Nasir appointed Sheikh. He lasted until the Turkish conquest when he was in his dotage.

The confederation of principalities known as the Kingdom of Sennar had now long ceased to exist, and all that remained was a group of warring rebel feudatories. No effective central administration remained. There was even discord within the groups. The little Ga'ali state of Shendi was distracted by a quarrel between two ruling families. The nomads were similarly divided, and in 1802–3 there was war between the Batahin and the Shukria. In the same year Sheikh Idris died and was succeeded by his brother Adlan who lived to enjoy the power he had so long expected for 3 months only. Regeb's son Muhammad succeeded him, but the real power was with Muhammad walad Nasir abu Rish. The usual quarrels ended in 1808 with the ascendancy of Muhammad walad Adlan who promptly killed all Regeb's sons except, by an unlucky oversight, the one who was destined ultimately to kill Walad Adlan himself—Hassan, who survived the Turkish conquest.

[30] Russegger's Darfaia, now called Wad Tarraf. This remark of the Chronicle is confirmed by the independent and contemporary evidence of W. G. Browne (*Travels in Africa, etc.*) who states (p. 454) that 'the slaves who have usurped the government [of Sennar] reside in Terfeia, on the opposite side of the river. Between them and the people of the city have been perpetual skirmishes for the last six years (1794).'

[31] For the details of this complicated feud see MacMichael's note, II, 416.

[32] This seems a legitimate inference from D7, § 138.

In 1809 there was an epidemic of yellow fever (called El Kik) in which Feki Muhammad Nurayn, author of the Tabaqat, died.[33] The following year Walad Adlan set out to attack the Abdullab Sheikh Nasir and entered Halfaya. Nasir fled to Shendi, and Walad Adlan returned to Sennar.

And so it went on right up to the end. The convulsive struggles of the dismembered kingdom are recorded in the Chronicle, and there is therefore no need to continue the monotonous catalogue here. The shadow of an even greater calamity was approaching, inaugurating nearly a century of tyranny and oppression that exceeded anything experienced even in the troubled years leading up to the Turkish conquest.

[33] D7, § 185.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TURKISH INVASION: ASWAN TO KORTI

HISTORY is indebted to an archaeologist for composing an account of the conquest of the Sudan by Ismail Pasha. Cailliaud, who accompanied Ismail, was a remarkable man, to whom Sudanese archaeology owes a great debt; but he was also a historian, and had he not recorded contemporary events we should have had to be content with the bare but remarkably accurate annals of the Chronicle, and some rather amateurish narratives.[1] He had boundless enthusiasm and energy, and not content to remain in idleness while the army halted at Berber, he obtained leave to go on ahead, thinly disguised as a Turk. His enterprise was rewarded by the effective discovery—for it belongs to him more than to Bruce—of Meroe and its pyramids.

Cailliaud travelled up the Nile valley some distance behind Ismail's army, which he joined at Guerf el Hamdab, between Merawe and the 4th cataract, on the 9th February, 1821. There he obtained from Abdin Bey, one of the Turkish cavalry commanders, an account of the campaign up to that moment.

The army of Ismail Pasha left Assouan in August, 1820, and marched up through Nubia to Wadi Haifa where it halted for three weeks.[2] Accompanied by a fleet of boats it followed the west bank to Maraka (now Dongola), where the Mamluks[3] had had their headquarters, and beyond it for 5 days' march. The meliks of this region, comprising Argo Island and its dependent feoffs, submitted without a fight, together with their attendant Shaigia sheikhs; but the Shaigia in their own country up river were preparing to resist. There was a temporary shortage of supplies at Ismail's camp, owing to delays caused by the passage of transport through the 3rd cataract; and at the end of October, possibly to relieve the pressure, Ismail took with him a body of cavalry[4] and advanced along the west bank to a point opposite the town of Old Dongola. Here he halted and sent an envoy across to the Shaigia, who returned with several Shaigia ulemas and the negotiations began. Ismail told them that his father wished to make them become cultivators, and that if they would surrender their arms and horses, he would only impose a light tribute. They replied that they did not object to the tribute, but that they would fight rather than

[1] Together with a few original documents preserved in the archives at Cairo and used by Douin in his history. This chapter was written before I was able to consult Douin's excellent book, but has been revised in the light of it. There is in places some uncertainty about the exact dates, but the difference seldom seems to amount to more than two days.

[2] English states that Ismail left Wadi Halfa on the 26th of Zilhadge. This seems to have been the 4th October, 1820; see *Narrative*, 1822, 80. Douin, *Pénétration*, 90.

[3] These were the survivors of the Cairo massacre of 1811 who had escaped southward into the Sudan. Some notes on these by A. E. Robinson are printed in *SNR*, v, 1922, 88–94.

[4] For its composition, see Douin, *Pénétration*, 96.

yield up their arms and horses.[5] He accordingly prepared for an engagement and sent forward a hundred Bedouin horsemen to reconnoitre. These were surrounded and only twenty-five succeeded in fighting their was back to the camp.[6] The two forces were on a wide plain immediately above Korti, on the left bank of the river.[7] Here, well away from cultivation, the Turks camped for the night, and the foolish Shaigia missed a golden opportunity by failing to deliver a night attack, in which the advantage would have been with them in hand-to-hand fighting. For whereas the Turks all had fire-arms, it was only the mail-clad chiefs of the Shaigia who had them, the rest fighting with swords and spears. The next day, the 4th November, 1820,[8] a cloud of dust was seen advancing. It was the Shaigia chiefs advancing behind a rabble of peasants, mostly unarmed, thrust forward by those ersatz warriors as a shield. ' Now for the first time,' says Cailliaud, with veiled sarcasm, ' Ismail was making war.' His account of the battle is from a Turkish source and therefore suspect. It follows the usual lines—telling how Ismail rejected the advice of his Kashifs (thus acquiring sole credit for the result), how he made all the dispositions himself, and how ' alert and full of ardour he marched through the ranks, urging each to do his duty and raising the courage of his troops.' The Shaigia were supposed to have been four times as many as the Turks—which would gives them over 3000. They advanced with loud cries and the beating of drums. The signal to charge was given by a girl mounted on a richly caparisoned camel and warbling in the usual Arab fashion. The Turks were at first forced slightly back, but Abdin Bey (Cailliaud's informant) saved the day by three heroic charges, and the Pasha of course ' gave proof of rare courage and presence of mind.' The Shaigia cavalry, said to have been about a thousand strong, was dispersed and escaped under cover of darkness. Its losses had been insignificant, for the Turks had only the almost unarmed rabble of peasants on which to wreak their fury ; and it is therefore not to be wondered at that their casualties too were slight.[9]

The wretched peasants had been duped by a religious maniac who assured them that bullets never killed true believers, and they had rushed on the Turks with ropes ready to bind them. Their credulity was such that they actually believed themselves to be rendered invisible by their talismans, and trusting in these they had gone on after the battle was over and penetrated into the Turkish camp, where they were at first mistaken for ' gellabes ' (traders) and friendly. They were found (so it was said) outside Ismail's tent whither they had gone to garrotte him. When

[5] English gives a slightly different account of the interview. The Shaigia began by asking Ismail why they were being attacked. He replied that it was because they were robbers. They protested that they had no other means of livelihood. Ismail then told them that they should set to work and cultivate ; to which they objected that they had been born and bred to practise ' what you call robbery, and *we will not work.*' Ismail said, ' Then I'll make you ' *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 109.

[6] Ismail's own report of this encounter is slightly different and of course more favourable to his own side. See Douin, *Pénétration*, 98.

[7] The site of both this, the first, and of the second battle are marked on Linant's map and mentioned in his diary. Linant visited the battlefields twice, and saw the bones lying on it, and his evidence is therefore to be accepted rather than Cailliaud's who puts the battlefield above Ambukol.

[8] The exact date is confirmed by Finati (II, 374) on the authority of Mengin, and by Ismail himself, who also states that the Shaigia advance began at 9 in the morning. For details of the battle see Waddington and Hanbury 97–102 and Douin, *Pénétration*, 99 ff. Waddington states that the Turks were in fact taken by surprise.

[9] Cailliaud gives the Turkish losses as 30 dead and 80 wounded; Waddington (p. 101) as ' one officer and 16 men wounded ' ; both statements are from Turkish sources and completely untrustworthy.

taken and questioned they said that they intended capturing him and sending him to his brother, of whom they thought highly as being the conqueror of the Wahabys! Most of them were drunk and clutching a bottle. Some threw lumps of earth at the Turks, and others hailed them as brothers in Islam. Eight hundred of them died in battle—about 36 per cent; and of the cavalry 50—about 5 per cent.

But the trouble of the Shaigia had only begun. The Turkish soldier, says Cailliaud,[10] does not rest content with the glory of victory; looting and destruction alone can satisfy his greed. (But in this respect the Turkish soldier differs only in degree from the soldiers of other nations). Houses were burnt and the inmates slaughtered. Ismail had offered a reward for the ears of Shaigia; and even if a Turk, out of a feeling of humanity, might spare the life of his victim, he was never so sentimental as to leave him his ears. 'These shameful trophies, together with a number of heads, were sent back by the prince to his father [in Cairo], as evidence of his brilliant achievements.'

The Pasha informed the inhabitants of Korti that those who fled would be regarded as rebels, and their houses burnt; no doubt he needed their services for his army. In consequence of this order practically the whole town was destroyed by fire. About 600 survivors were transported, earless and bleeding, to the island of Shatrab, and the Nubians of Dongola who had been forced into the ranks of the Shaigia were set free and sent home.

The next day twenty prisoners, taken near the camp, were led before the Pasha who gave them each a sequin and sent them back in the hope of persuading the Shaigia to surrender. He also sent to them the tame ulemas whom he had in his army for use on such occasions. But their exhortations were unheeded. The remnants of the Shaigia forces swam across the river and took refuge in a castle on Mount Dager (now Ed Deiga or J. Ibn Auf) where, after being bombarded by cannon they gave up the struggle.[11] The heroic cavalry, however, again got away and were pursued all night. This was the end of armed resistance, though not of atrocities, of which Cailliaud gives a horrible description. It appears that the Shaigia chief, Melik Zibert [Zubeyr], reached the decision to surrender when Ismail returned to him his daughter, intact. Peace was restored, the meliks were reinstated, and one form of misgovernment was replaced by another. The peasants had now two parasitic classes to support instead of one. The Shaigia horseman had failed in the only task which justifies the existence of feudal lords—the protection of their serfs from outside aggression.

Had the Shaigia possessed even one man of moderate military ability, they could easily have exterminated Ismail's force. 'A very small body of resolute men,' says Waddington[12] who accompanied the army, 'might, by a well-timed attack, have destroyed the whole of us.' One obvious manoeuvre would have been to send a detachment down stream to cross the river and come up behind Ismail. While a few men were left to cover the opposite bank and prevent him crossing, the

[10] II, 58.

[11] It seems not unlikely that this bombardment took place on 2nd December, 1820, on which date 'a heavy cannonading was heard from above,' *i.e.* up river, by Waddington, who was then a few miles below Korti. An interval of nearly a month may well have elapsed between the first engagement and the attack on the strong hold. [M. Douin has reached the same conclusion from the same evidence: p. 113, note 1].

[12] p. 80.

main body could have crossed higher up ; and while his attention was diverted to the detachment approaching from the west, they could have attacked with every prospect of success. Or they could have wiped him out by a night[13] or day attack while he was camping in the desert before the final engagement. It was the Turkish artillery which decided the issue ; Melek Zebeyr told Linant that he would have won the second battle but for this[14] ; why did he not force a battle during the month of November, while Ismail was still awaiting its arrival ? In either case a victory would have been decisive, and the subsequent mopping up of the main forces lower down would not have been difficult ; for without their commander the Turks would have been demoralised, and their retreat down stream towards Egypt could easily have been blocked. Some such tactics would probably have been adopted had there been on the other side a commander of the calibre of El Amin, Kaylak or Khamis. But the Shaigia had cut themselves off from the Fung federation and were now paying the price. They had reduced the Abdullabs to impotence by years of aggression carried even to the walls of their new headquarters at Halfaya. Otherwise it would have been easy to send a call for help to Gerri or Shendi, and within a week a force could have crossed the Bayuda desert. Faced by attack from two directions, Ismail would have been obliged to fight a hopeless battle or retreat. The Fung federation had saved him the trouble of ' dividing and conquering ' by performing the first act itself. There had, indeed, been some vague tripartite agreement between the dissident ruler of Metemmeh, the Abdullab Sheikh of Halfaya, and the King of Sennar, to resist Ismail's advance, but it came to nothing.[15] The battles of Korti decided the fate of the Sudan for nearly a hundred years ; and the horrors of the 19th century—the atrocities committed by the Turkish army, the organised slave-raids, and the consequent revolt led by the Mahdi—were the inevitable result. Critics of British imperialism should remember that it was this that came to the rescue and gave the Sudan the best government it has ever had ; and pacifists should be reminded that this task was accomplished by force.

[13] Incredible as it may seem, it is certain that the Turks posted no sentries to guard their camps at night, ' so that they could have been taken by surprise a thousand times, if the inhabitants had had more military skill and knowledge.' Douin, *Pénétration*, 199, quoting Brocchi. Waddington says, in effect, that a few sentries were posted, but in the wrong places (p. 80).

[14] Douin, *Pénétration*, 115.

[15] Douin, *Pénétration*, 111.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE TURKISH INVASION: GUERF EL HAMDAB TO HALFAYA

ISMAIL left his boats, which could not then navigate the 4th cataract, under a guard of 300 Moghrebins at Guerf el Hamdab. The infantry was ordered to proceed along the river valley to Berber, while he himself, accompanied by Cailliaud and his friend and protector Abdin Bey, led the cavalry across the desert, taking with them twelve cannon. They left Guerf el Hamdab on 21st February, 1821, and proceeded at first up the valley along the left (SE) bank. After 7 hours they reached Moutouel at the bottom of the 4th cataract, having covered about 10 miles. The next day (22nd) the army made a short cut across a bend in the river, while Cailliaud proceeded along it to view the cataract. He was duly impressed by the vast solitudes where (in spite of the waterfalls) eternal silence reigned ; and his soul was penetrated by the mingled emotions of melancholy and wonder proper to the occasion in the early 19th century. At the upper end of the cataract he observed the ruins of two ancient fortresses with well-built walls of dry stone masonry, probably those marked on the map [1 : 250,000, 45 F] at Jebel Kalidob.[1] He rejoined the army at midday near Kandi Island. The geological formation here consisted of felspathic granite with grains of mica that sparkled like silver. Some of these were collected by the ' miners ' whom the infatuated pasha took with him in the hope of discovering precious metals. They assured him that the mica was merely silver that had not reached maturity, and that it heralded the discovery of rich mines. Near Kandi they saw the expedition's boats, sent on ahead two months ago, but unable to navigate the rocky shallows above the cataract and compelled therefore to await the rise of the river next summer. They camped at El Gammra.

Next day, 23rd January, they passed Doulga Island, where the Shaigia had achieved their independence in the 17th century.[2] It is a high flat-topped hill, on which Cailliaud saw the remains of an earthen castle, doubtless the stronghold in which the rebel Othman was besieged by the Abdullab sheikh. After a seven hours' march, covering at least 12 miles,[3] they reached El Kerbekan, where the ground did not permit the tents to be set up and they had to sleep in the open. Cailliaud and his companion Letorzec did likewise (' on dort bien partout, quand on est fatigué '), mixing with the rest of the army without attracting undue attention ; for they were dressed in the Turkish fashion—a fact which the English traveller Waddington recorded without comment but (one suspects) with disapproval.[4]

[1] The Kubinat ; see *SNR*, XXII, 269 ff.

[2] See p. 194. It is marked on the maps of Cailliaud and Hoskins, but not on the Government maps, unless it is the one there named Dirbi Island.

[3] El Gammra, where they camped on the night of 22nd–23rd February is not marked on any map, but seems to have been to the SW of Birti Island, in the Amri district ; but the two names are distinct, and both are marked on the ' stolen ' map in the Griffith Institute (see p. 49, note 87).

[4] Waddington and Hanbury, 257.

They started on the desert journey at 3.15 on the afternoon of 24th February, Ismail remaining behind with some troops so that the wells should not be exhausted. They followed up the Wadi el Argou (or Argoul), now called on the map Wadi Kirbekan. A halt was made at 7 o'clock, and the soldiers, having no houses to burn, amused themselves by setting fire to the dom-palms. The march continued all night, and a halt was made at 8.45 on the morning of the 25th, after a total marching-time of twelve hours. They started again at midnight (25th-26th), and often walked for fear of falling asleep on their camels. At midday on the 26th they reached the wells of Djiora (now Jura), after a march of twelve hours, and camped there. But Cailliaud could not sleep during the day time, on account of the fierce light and the camp noises, and he thought regretfully of his quiet leisurely progress through Nubia and Dongola, before he caught up with the army. At 7 o'clock some rifle-shots announced the Pasha's arrival and at 9.30 they started again, so as to leave the wells free for the oncoming troops. They were obliged, in crossing the watershed, to negotiate some difficult country, which delayed the camels. Moreover the fires lit by the idiot soldiers endangered the powder supply and did actually damage the tent of Abdin Bey. There was a two hours' halt at midnight to await moonrise, and at 2 a.m. on the 27th they went on again. At dawn Cailliaud found that, during the short halt, some of his provisions had been stolen while he slept. At 11 o'clock the vegetation changed, as they got nearer to the Nile, which they reached at El Baqeyr at about 1.30 p.m. on the 27th, after a march of 14 hours from the wells of Jura. The desert crossing had only taken three days, the distance being 80 miles. (The direct route from Merawe to Berber via Sani is 130 miles). The total of marching hours being 38, the average speed was a shade over 2 miles per hour ; but the average daily distance done was very high—nearly 27 miles. The next morning (28th) Ismail arrived ahead of the rest who, with 200 horse, followed on 2nd March.

On 27th February, therefore, the Turkish army, whose total strength was only 4000 (1600 horse and the rest infantry and artillery) was divided into five parts, distributed over a stretch of country 140 miles in extent. At Korti were 300 Moghrebins guarding the equipment and sick ; at Guerf el Hamdab had been left ' a third of the army ' (? 600 infantry) guarding the transport boats ; somewhere in the Nile bend between there and El Baqeyr was the rest of the infantry (? 1500) ; at El Baqeyr were 400 cavalry ; while somewhere in the desert between there and Jura were the guns and the rest of the cavalry, from whom the Commander and 200 horse had detached themselves to ride on ahead ! Ismail had ' divided and conquered ' in a new way. Every one of these detachments would have been cold meat for an enterprising and mobile force, which could have annihilated each in turn with the utmost ease, operating from Shendi or Berber: but the Shaigia had emasculated and estranged those once warlike states, to which the Turks came in the role of deliverers from Shaigia oppression, and nothing was attempted. It is true that a Turkish commander, Divan Effendi,[5] of whom we hear now for the first time, had somehow already reached Berber with some Ababde (Plate 35),[6] but he could not

[5] The name, like Abdin Bey, is a title of rank, but is used as if it were a proper name.

[6] Seven hundred of these, commanded by Sheikhs Kalif and Daoute, were mentioned in the army list given by Cailliaud, II, 51.

have survived a determined attack; and that such an attack was a real danger is proved by a rumour, started on 28th February by Ismail himself to encourage the troops, that he was in fact threatened by a force of 2000 Shaigia allied with Shendi troops. No doubt Ismail was aware of the lack of any real opposition, and the risks taken were justified by success. But that success was due rather to the stupidity and indolence of the enemy than to any positive military skill on the part of the Turkish command, which consistently failed to observe the rules of warfare in hostile territory. This failure later on cost Ismail his life, too late however to save the Sudan from the horror of Turkish rule.

Ismail's false rumour produced the desired effect, for the soldiers, who well deserved to be called brutal and licentious, did not wish to be deprived of the opportunity of looting by a peaceful surrender; and now they could gloat on the prospect of an orgy of killing, ear-cutting, looting, burning and rape as good as, or perhaps even better than that they had indulged in at the expense of the Shaigia.[7] The advance began on 2nd March. On the way one of Cailliaud's camels died, and he found some fossil bivalves like oysters. As the army approached Berber, on the opposite bank, Ismail formed it up in order of battle, to impress upon the inhabitants its grandeur and magnificence! The cavalry and artillery went first, their leaders resplendent in gold braid and mounted on curvetting steeds, followed by Osmanlis, Bedouins, Moghrebins, Ababdehs, camels and donkeys. The picturesque effect was enhanced by the infantryman, who carried, besides their guns, a curious assortment consisting of long pipes and tobacco pouches, fiddles and sabres glancing in the sunlight. This army, says Cailliaud, that would be laughed at by anyone acquainted with European troops, excited the admiration of the people of Berber. The Mek, Naser-A'dyn, the sheikhs, fakirs and other notables hastened forward to meet Ismail and congratulate him on his victory over the Shaigia, and to submit to the yoke of him whom they called their liberator. The words have a strangely familiar ring nowadays.

The army reached Qoubouchi, opposite Berber, on the 5th March, 1821, and pitched their camp there, preparing for a long halt, to organize the new province, obtain transport camels, and open up negotiations with Shendi. Cailliaud regretted this because the place had already been examined by no less a traveller than Burckhardt, to whom he pays a tribute of grateful admiration. He accordingly asked for, and obtained, an interview with Ismail. The conversation began in Italian, but the Pasha's stock of Italian words being soon exhausted, it was continued in Arabic. Then Ismail's interpreter arrived and Cailliaud's had perforce to retire. It seems that the former was the instigator of all the intrigues against Cailliaud, who was thereby severely handicapped. But he was an astute diplomatist and began by applauding the magnificent spectacle of the previous day's performance. 'I might have added,' he says, 'that never had the theatres of France or Italy presented so varied and diverting a scene; but I refrained.' Probably he had intended asking Ismail's permission to go ahead and explore the surrounding country—he obtained it a fortnight later—but decided not to do so for fear of being double-crossed by the interpreter. Anyhow, no business was then done, and he had to content

[7] Cailliaud II, 92. His dislike of these barbarians is subtly apparent throughout his skilfully told narrative.

himself with exploring Berber, whereby we benefit. In the town, two days later, he met Ismail's Italian doctor, and together they went to call upon Mek Nasr ed Din (Plate 36). The mek had regained his throne through the help of Ismail's army. Some years before it had been seized during his absence in Arabia, by his nephew Ali wad Timsah. Hearing the news, Nasr ed Din had gone to Mohammed Ali, then also in Arabia, and obtained a promise of restitution, on the condition of becoming a vassal of Egypt. He had returned with Mohammed Ali to Cairo, and was now duly reinstated.[8] His residence was just like all the other houses, only much bigger, with large courtyards. The Mek was lying on his bed, recovering from some wounds incurred in the wars with Mek Chaouss of the Shaigia. He seemed more inclined to sleep than to converse, and the only remark recorded was the usual demand for 'remedies.' They were offered low stools to sit on (resembling that illustrated in Cailliaud's Plates, Vol. II, LVII, 2). The Mek's angareb was ornamented with a chequer-pattern of mother-of-pearl, and had elegant well-turned legs. The floor was covered with attractively designed straw mats and Aleppo carpets, and on the walls were a dozen guns. Five other chiefs were present and Cailliaud observed how much taller they were than their attendants. It reminded him of the ancient Egyptian custom of representing the King much bigger than the other persons in the scene; and he says that the idea still persisted in those countries that both physical and moral qualities were proportionate to the size of the body that contained them.

At Qoubouchi he found a fakir who could write Arabic, and got him to make a list of the place-names of the provinces of Berber and Shendi. This he made a point of doing whenever he could, for, as he says, it is impossible for a European to get the spelling correct merely from oral transmission. (These lists are printed in his Vol. 3, 349–72, and are of the greatest value).

The famous Dongola horses were more common at Berber and in the Shaigia country than at Dongola itself. Finati[9] found them scarce at New Dongola; they 'more properly come from Shageiah; they are rather serviceable than handsome, and are almost always black with white legs. There is another species of horse also still rarer, and much more costly, which stands of a prodigious height, and which is fed on camel's milk during many months of the year.' English[10] says that Nimr, mek of Shendi, presented two horses, evidently of the latter kind, to Ismail, which were 18 hands high. They were bred for strength—necessary to bear the load of a warrior clad in armour. Burckhardt[11] says that Dongola horses were more numerous at Shendi than at Berber; but in the middle of the 19th century Berber was still the chief horse-market.[12] They had white feet, and Burckhardt says that much importance was attached to the exact arrangement of colour on the feet by the Turks, who thought that if only one foot on each side was white, the horse was given to stumbling. It is interesting to note that this white coloration is a very old trait, for the ancient Nubian horses are so represented on the walls of Christian churches.[13]

[8] *SNR*, VIII, 109.

[9] II, 370.

[10] *Narrative, etc.*, 117.

[11] *Nubia*, 285.

[12] Munzinger, 576, where there is a good description of them; see also Hoskins, p. 50.

[13] See for example *AAA*, XIII, Nos. 3 and 4, Plate LVIII, fig. 1 (Riverside church, Faras): *ib. id.* XV, Nos. 3 and 4, Plate XXXV (St. Mercurius), XLIII (St. George), XLV, in the church of Abel-el-Gadir near the 2nd cataract, dated by the excavator probably after A.D. 1000. See also p. 114 above, note 43.

The Turks were well received in Berber, coming and going as they wished. 'A woman accosted by a soldier stopped without fear in the road and conversed with him.' It was very different in Barâbrah and Upper Egypt where the inhabitants knew the Turks and fled from them at sight. Cailliaud at first adopted the costume of a Bedouin, but changed it hurriedly when he found that here the Bedouins had a well-earned reputation for thieving.

On 12th March the news of the submission of Nimr, king of Shendi, was received; and on the 22nd he came to Berber, escorted by Divan Effendi and bringing with him a present of two fine horses.[14] On approaching the Pasha he prostrated himself several times, then kissed both sides of Ismail's hand and placed it on his head in token of submission. The Pasha gave him to understand that his visit was somewhat tardy, and offered him neither a pipe nor coffee. After ten minutes' conversation, or rather silence, he withdrew, visibly upset and received his pipe and coffee outside. Later on he had his revenge for this deliberate and stupid insult. The Arabs also came to make submission, but the tribute promised was not forthcoming and had to be fetched and taken by force. Reinforcements of 800 men arrived from Egypt, on 5th or 6th April, and Abdin Bey was able to leave for his province of Halfa and Dongola, taking with him his men and 400 families who had been driven into exile by the Shaigia. Cailliaud's good opinion of him was evidently well founded, for as Governor of Dongola he was popular with Turks, Europeans and fellahin, and his murder, in 1828 by mutinous soldiers was universally regretted.[15]

On 19th April Cailliaud was with Ismail and they were talking about the gold-mines which Ismail hoped to find. It was Cailliaud's supposed knowledge of such matters that induced Ismail to allow him to accompany the expedition. Ismail showed him a diamond sent him by his father and asked in what country such precious stones were found. Cailliaud replied that most of them were situated on the 18th degree of latitude. Ismail asked what latitude they were on now, and Cailliaud said that it was precisely this one (which was correct); but that the soil here was not favourable, though it might become so further on. To find out, however, it would be necessary to explore the country on either side of the route. He could do this very well at the same time as he was looking for antiquities, and it was as much for this reason as in his own interest that he had asked for permission to go to Shendy. 'I saw the Pasha's face light up; till hitherto he had dreamt of gold only; now diamonds had begun to tickle his imagination and I saw that I had won a victory! But my joy was short-lived. The damned Greek doctor who was interpreting said a few words to the Pasha, and he suddenly changed his manner.' Cailliaud went away to fetch a book (by Louis Patrin) and Bruce's map, by means of which he tried to make the Pasha understand what degrees of latitude were. He seemed convinced, said that owing to the near approach of the rains the army would not remain long at Shendi; and that Cailliaud could go on ahead there with an escort of two soldiers, to see if the soil were right for diamonds, and that for the rest he could indulge his scientific tastes as much as he liked. Cailliaud asked to be spared the company of the soldiers who would have been embarrassing witnesses of

[14] *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 117, adding the information that he was ordered by Ismail to come and make his submission in person.

[15] Prudhoe's *Diary*, p. 41 (typescript in Griffith Institute, p. 37).

his activities, ' for the reader will have gathered that in fact the search for diamonds was not my chief preoccupation.' It was thought best for him and Letorzec to adopt the Turkish names of Mourad Effendy and Abdalla el Fakyr and they were so named in the credentials which they received on 21st April.

They set out on the next day at 7 o'clock, delighted to be going on alone into an almost unknown land. It was in fact a most remarkable journey from every point of view. Field archaeology is always an exciting pastime, even in peace ; and those who pursue it in war usually have their own forces around to protect them. But Cailliaud did his field archaeology *in front of* the advancing army, refusing armed protection because it would upset his plans ! It is true that the country he entered had formally submitted ; but the fate of the Turkish commander, burnt alive at Shendi on his way home, shows that there were considerable risks. They followed the west bank, and at the mouth of the Atbara entered the little province of Dar Djahl, the region of the Ga'aliyin, subject (he alleges) to Shendi (Plate 37).[16] The Nile was crossed at El Baqir, between Zeidab and Alyab, the latter being the S. boundary of Dar Djahl. Cailliaud was now approaching the ruins of Meroe, ancient capital of the kingdom of Ethiopia, and he questioned his guide about the existence of pyramids, reports of which he had heard at Berber, but could get nothing from him except a request to share the gold if he found any. Cailliaud professes to have been puzzled at the failure of Bruce and Burckhardt to report the presence of pyramids, if there really were any there, and to have been afraid that he might have been chasing a chimera. But Bruce does actually mention the ruins of Meroe, which he saw, though he forgot to mention the pyramids, which he cannot fail to have seen also.[17] Starting from Sagadi (now Mutmir) on 25th April at 1 a.m. after waiting until the hubbub of Mek Nimr's departure had subsided, he proceeded southwards until his sight was gladdened by the points of a ' crowd of pyramids,' lit up by the rays of the rising sun. It was, he says, the happiest day of his life. His delight was enhanced by the prospect of now being able to take a scholarly revenge upon the intriguer Waddington who had robbed him by a few days only of the discovery of that other great site at Barkal—which the foolish man pretended was Meroe ! His first act on arriving was to climb the highest pyramid and carve on it the name of the famous d'Anville, to whose geographical research he pays frequent tribute in his book. He also carved his own name which Mr Shinnie tells me he has seen there, together with those of Francis Galton and the undergraduates of Trinity College, Cambridge, who accompanied him on a vacation tour in 1846. Their names were M. Boulton and H. Barclay, and they are on the north outer wall of the chapel attached to the pyramid of Ergamenes. (I have to thank Mr Shinnie for this information). He made a thorough survey of the whole area, and his plans (published in the Atlas) are of the greatest value ; but all this belongs rather to the history of archaeology than to history itself, with which alone we are now concerned.

On 4th May Cailliaud was told, by the Sheikh of the neighbouring village of

[16] Here were the Mukaberab (Megabari) whom Burckhardt describes as independent. The tribal conditions here were complicated and are dealt with elsewhere.

[17] ' We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the dog ; some pieces of obelisk, likewise, with hieroglyphics . . . The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive . . . It is impossible to avoid risquing a guess that this is the ancient city of Meroe . . . ' VI, 445.

Djebel, of a conspiracy against him and Divan Effendy who was still at Shendi, but it collapsed on the arrival of the Turkish vanguard. Cailliaud packed up and proceeded on his way, keeping to the SE bank, while the army advanced along the NW.[18] He reached Shendi at 6 p.m. on 9th May, having covered the 25 miles from the pyramids in 12 hours, and was followed during the night by the army, which had left Berber on 5th May and camped near Metemmeh on the opposite bank. The next day (10th) he crossed thither to see Ismail who told him that he ought not, for reasons of safety, to separate himself from the army, which was leaving again in two days' time. On the 12th therefore he went on again, crossing the river to join the army. On the 14th news was received that four Turkish soldiers had been killed in a neighbouring village; probably they had been looting and raping there and richly deserved their fate—for by his act of submission Mek Nimr might reasonably have expected to be spared such acts, and he did in fact protest in person against them. The offending village was looted and burnt by the Moghrebins in the approved military fashion and 80 persons were killed. Another detachment had to be sent after the first to bring it back to order.

On the 15th the Shaigia Mek Chaouss came to submit with 200 of his followers. At some unrecorded date not long before, Chaouss had tried to stimulate Nasir, the aged and infirm Abdullab Sheikh, into resistance; but failing in this he had swum the river with his cavalry and sacked Halfaya.[19] Chaouss was favourably received by the Pasha, and told him that he had an irresistible desire to continue his military career. Such an appeal would be understood by a Turk, and he was accordingly fitted out with arms and equipment and put in command of a hundred and forty Shaigias. Chaouss was forty years old, and English adds that he was black, and a 'large stout man, of a pleasing physiognomy.'[20] He became devoted to Ismail, accompanied him throughout the campaign in Fazughli, and it was said to have been he who, after Ismail's murder at Shendy, boldly came forward and gave his body decent burial. The army marched at 3 p.m. the same day, their next objective being Halfaya, the seat of the Abdullabs, whose intentions were still uncertain. The ramshackle force was now short of transport, and had to live largely on the country. Seeing on the opposite bank the large village of Wad Ban Naga, the Pasha sent some officers across to commandeer corn, but the inhabitants refused it and threatened armed resistance. Without boats soldiers could not be sent to take the corn by force (another example of the military value of rivers) and Ismail had to swallow his anger and proceed. The troops ate the fruit of dom-palms and laid their hands on anything else they could find. As they approached the Shabluka gorge the route became rocky and difficult, with deep ravines to be crossed. There was no regular track, and the camels began to suffer. At midnight on the 19th-20th they camped at a spot called Wadi Bichar, within sight of Gerri. What an opportunity for an attack! A small force posted opposite the Abdullab stronghold could have stopped the Turks and turned them back; the rest could have been left to

[18] Not, as might be gathered from Mengin, along the SE bank. This is quite clear from the *Narrative of English*, edition of 1823, 104–5. The army did not cross the Nile till it reached Khartoum.

[19] *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 141–2, 158.

[20] *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 141.

PLATE 34

Krump exorcising evil spirits at Gerri in 1701 (p. 223)

facing p. 272

Sheikh Sayd, chief of the Ababde Tribe, *after* Hoskins, 1833

'Melek Nasr e Deen, formerly melek of Berber,' *after* Hoskins, 1833 (p. 269)

'Sheikh Besher, the present mek of Shendi' (in 1833), *after* Hoskins

PLATE 38

The castle of Tinari, 30 miles above Sai island, *after* Linant de Bellefonds, 1821

Nimr and the long succession of insulted sheikhs and outraged villagers they would have had to pass on the way home.

Gerri is described as a scattered group of huts inhabited by the Hassanyeh Arabs, who collected rock-salt and sold it in cakes to Shendi and Sennar. An island a little further on is called ' Manati.' Opposite on the west side was Wady el Halfay. On 24th May the army arrived opposite Halfaya, whose ruler had signified his willingness to submit some days earlier.

The next day Cailliaud crossed in a leaky boat to Halfaya. His account of it is valuable, for we have besides only Bruce's of 50 years before, when the place was not yet the Abdullab centre, and a few lines of Krump's. It was, says Cailliaud, much less important (considérable) than Shendi, and was almost deserted, many of its inhabitants having fled and the rest hidden their provisions, feigning extreme poverty. Being unable to find a boat to recross the river he was obliged to pass the night with ' Lod-A'guyb,' that is Wad Agib, whose proper name was Nasir walad el Amin.[21] During the night two messengers (kaouas=kavass) came from Ismail noisily demanding immediate payment of the tribute, of camels and corn, which the mek had promised. These were taken down to the river next morning accompanied by the mek, who sat down on the sand awaiting the ferry and conversed with Cailliaud about Ismail's doings and the probable date of his return to Cairo. ' The policy of Ismail was to come in the guise of a liberator from Shaigia oppression; and his treatment of the provincial rulers, to whom he gave robes of honour and arms, and his exaction of only such tribute as was necessary for his troops' subsistence, had led people to believe that the Turkish army would not delay its return, always supposing that it did not perish in Sennar. That was also the opinion of the melik, and I refrained from disillusioning him.' At length they embarked in the Pasha's boat (cange) which he found very comfortable and regarded with interest. He told Cailliaud that it was the first sailing-boat he had ever seen.

The population of Halfaya Cailliaud estimated at three or four thousand persons, so that it would seem to have increased since Bruce's time, when it contained about 300 houses.[22] But it seems to have been even larger in the interval, before the Shaigia raids began, having then attained to a population of eight or nine thousand. The houses stood in large enclosures so that the total area covered was a league and a half in circumference (nearly four miles). The houses were of mud (argile), only those of important people having an upper story with a flat roof and palm-trunk rain-spouts. The doors were socketed on pivots ' like those of the ancients.' Formerly subject to Sennar, it had been independent for about fifty years. The right bank was the more fertile throughout the province, but was infested by the troops of Chaouss who had roamed at will there for two or three years, leaving only to rob caravans in the desert and returning like locusts.

[21] D7, § 140.

[22] Bruce VI, 423. Cailliaud gives its coordinates as Lat. 15° 44′ 20″, Long. 30° 22′ 15″; Bruce as Lat. 15° 45′ 54″, Long. 32° 49′ 15″, which is very close to the correct ones which are Lat. 15° 42′, Long. 32° 33′.

CHAPTER XXX

THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF SENNAR

ISMAIL'S army remained opposite Halfaya for two nights only, resuming the advance on 27th May. The river was rising, the rains were expected at any moment, and news of civil strife was reported from Sennar. There was no time to waste while the going was good.

For[1] the last thirteen years the Vizier Mohammed walad Adlan had managed to remain in power. It will be recalled that, on succeeding, he had liquidated all the sons of his uncle Regeb except the one who really mattered—Hassan. The following years were spent in senseless feuds with the King (Badi VI), the Abdullabs and the Sheikh of the Khashm el Bahr (Kamtur). In 1814 Walad Adlan had set out to attack the Abdullabs, but when he got to Abud he had heard that Badi and Kamtur had seized the chance to unite against him and were following on his track. The Vizier had therefore to abandon the expedition and turn back and settle with this more dangerous combination, which he did, without bloodshed. But the feud was not dead, and in A.H. 1235 (A.D. 1819–20) Walad Adlan suddenly fell upon Kamtur, who was almost undefended, and killed him. The Kamatir, Kamtur's brothers, appointed Derrar as their Sheikh and waited their opportunity, which came in the following year when Walad Adlan was out collecting the Arab tribute. They attacked him in his house at night, but he managed to break through the wall and escape, with his women. His followers continued the fight, however, and were victorious.

In April, 1821, Walad Adlan was residing at the village of Mouna when reports of Ismail's advance were received. The Chronicle states that, as a result of this news, ' each man began to look after his own interests, and the soldiers scattered in the attempt to prepare themselves for eventualities, so that Muhammad walad Adlan was left at his village with only El Arbab Dafa'alla walad Ahmad and a few men.' Cailliaud, however, states that Walad Adlan and Hassan walad Regeb made a temporary alliance to meet the common enemy. It would seem that the followers of both were assembled at Walad Adlan's village, and that Hassan attacked Walad Adlan in the hope of getting rid of his old enemy and of then securing the allegiance of his followers. Towards the end of May, Walad Adlan was set upon at night by a band of assassins who forced their way into his house and killed him, fighting back vigorously. The names of the actual murderers were Abdallah Niknitt and Idris wad Aquindi. He was buried in his house.

But Hassan's calculations were ill-founded. The followers of Walad Adlan professed the utmost horror at the crime. On 1st June a battle was fought at the

[1] The account which follows is based partly on the Fung Chronicle and partly on Cailliaud (II, 232 ff). The two sources are in close agreement but supplement each other.

village of Gondal, a few miles north of Sennar, between the two parties and Hassan[2] had the advantage ; but by this time Ismail was across the White Nile with nothing between him and Sennar but 150 miles of flat country. Hassan decided to take flight, and taking the murderers with him he crossed the Nile, Dinder and Rahad, and sought refuge in the hills of the Butana. Mek Badi, thus left in undisputed power for the first time, performed the only independent act of his puppet reign, and decided to submit. Envoys met Ismail near Mesellemya[3] and tendered their submission on behalf of Badi. The day before the army reached Sennar, Badi himself rode out and surrendered, recognizing as his overlord the Sultan of Egypt. Coffee was served, and Badi presented four Abyssinian horses to the Pasha who gave him in return a fur-lined cloak (pelisse)—which he could hardly need often in that climate ! —a Turkish costume, two Kashmir shawls, a sabre, two pistols and two richly caparisoned horses. After a few days of real power, Badi was again a puppet, this time for good. The long-drawn-out death-agony of the Kingdom of Sennar was finished.

The united forces resumed the march southwards. As they approached Sennar, Ismail disposed his army in order of battle and they advanced firing off their guns as they went along. Badi's soldiers followed in the rear, with arms reversed. On entering the capital on 14th June, 1821, there was a salute of twelve cannon, and that evening pandemonium reigned. Badi was appointed Sheikh of the district with authority to collect the tribute for the Turks, reserving a portion for himself. Thus the objects of the campaign were now all achieved, and nothing remained but a little mopping up in the south.

[2] Cailliaud calls him Regeb : properly he should have called him Walad Regeb.

[3] According to D7, § 210 ; Cailliaud and Mengin say that the submission took place at Wad Medani, which is not far away.

CHAPTER XXXI

MOPPING UP

THE Turkish conquest opens a new chapter in history, beyond the scope of this book. But much that Cailliaud has recorded relates to the old regime and is therefore pertinent. Before concluding, therefore, it will be of interest to summarize his accounts of this aftermath of conquest. He was the last man who saw Sennar before the ruins of its independence had, like Badi's palace, crumbled into dust.

The formal submission of the King had entailed the obligation of capturing Hassan, as Ismail had promised at the time in response to an urgent request from the sons of his victim, Walad Adlan. Moreover, the Pasha's own position at Sennar was none too secure so long as Hassan was at large, stirring up revolt. Divan Effendi was therefore sent with 400 horsemen[1] to catch him. They left Sennar on 24th June, accompanied by two of Walad Adlan's sons, Regeb and Idris. They crossed the Dinder on rafts near the village of El Akassy, and then the Rahad, which was still dry. Their objective was a group of Jebels called Farnis (now Jebel Faneis), Chergueh (now Jebel Sargein) and Aragne (now Qalat al Arang[2]) situated about midway along the route from Gedaref to Abu Haraz, some 60 miles to the north-east of Sennar.[3] Farnis was a flat-topped hill with reservoirs and some cultivation, and here Hassan with 300 of his followers had sought refuge. The first to reach the foot of the hill was Chaouss, the Shaigia chief. As they started to climb it on foot the fugitives rolled stones down on them, but were eventually compelled to surrender. Hassan and the two assassins, Abdullah Niknitt and Idris wad A'quindi, were all captured alive, Hassan being slightly wounded. The party re-entered Sennar on 2nd July. Ismail wished to leave the punishment of the assassins to the sons of Walad Adlan, but they preferred that he should deal with them and they were condemned to be impaled alive. The execution was carried out next day in the market-place. Overcoming his natural reluctance Cailliaud forced himself to witness this horrible scene. On seeing the preparations being made the victims asked in vain to be beheaded, but met their end bravely. The detailed account given by Cailliaud is too revolting to quote. English, who also describes the scene, says that Abdullah ' insulted, defied and cursed his executioners, calling them ' robbers and murderers ' till too weak to speak, when he expressed his feelings by spitting at them.'[4] The bodies were left exposed to public view for two days, but the effect produced was perhaps not quite what had been intended. Impalement was a method of execution that was then unknown at Sennar. Before

[1] English says 300. *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 173.
[2] A ' mountain called Catta.' *Narrative*, 175.
[3] Cailliaud, without the advantage of maps, wrongly located them on the northern boundary of Abyssinia.
[4] *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 177–8.

this execution there seems to have been no particularly bitter feeling against the Turks; but there was now a strong revulsion of disgust. The Turks were openly treated as barbarians, and regarded thenceforward as a savage and bloodthirsty race. Hassan, after a term of imprisonment, was released with the consent of the sons of Walad Adlan and accompanied Ismail on his expedition to Fazughli.[5] The actual assassins had been executed, and it was remembered that after all Hassan was merely revenging the death of his brothers. We are not told so, but there may have been other motives for sparing his life, such as the horror excited by Turkish methods of execution and fear of prolonging and embittering an ancient feud. In a letter to his father Ismail said that Hassan was regarded as a competent and loyal man, and that he was therefore keeping him under surveillance.

Another punitive raid set out on 18th June, ostensibly to subdue (actually to carry off as slaves) the people of the gebels south and south-west of Sennar.[6] The district is described as that of Bouroun, a name which survives as El Barun at Jebel Guli. It was led by Cogia Ahmed, who was given 1300 cavalry and three pieces of artillery. After the surrender of Sennar, Ismail had sent to demand their submission but they had refused even to receive his letters. (A batch of 400 prisoners, mostly women and children, arrived in Sennar a few days later; but they proved to be not the 'rebellious' ones and, being also Mohammedans, were all set free by Ismail's orders). The expedition appears to have succeeded in achieving its object. Cogia returned on 13th July with two thousand prisoners, mainly women and children, reporting that he had met with resistance in the mountains of Kokour (Kukur) and Bokki (Jebel Buk), whose inhabitants were pagans, worshipping the sun. These jebels are both outliers of the Tabi hills, about 60 miles W by N of Fazughli[7]; the raid thus anticipated Ibrahim's expedition.

The Sennar of those days was, of course, situated on a site well to the north of the present town, overlooking the river, which unfortunately is now eroding the banks and washing it away. Cailliaud estimated the population at 9,000, but records the flight of about a third of the inhabitants before the arrival of the Turks. This would put the population at between 13,000 and 14,000. In the middle of the century it had sunk to 4,000. (Poncet's estimate of 100,000 must have been a gross exaggeration). The houses consisted of round huts of dhurra straw on a frame of woodwork, and others of mud. Some of the latter, belonging to merchants, had an upper storey, and a few had wooden grilles, like those in Cairo, lighting the women's rooms. There were iron-workers there who manufactured nails, knives, spears and such-like; but the suits of chain-mail and two-edged sabres were imported from Cairo. There were also masons, shoe-makers and tanners. The cotton cloth called *dammour* was made there. Ploughs were not in use, the ground being tilled with a hoe. The chief trade was with Egypt whither were exported slaves, ivory, rhinoceros-horn, ostrich-feathers, civet, gum, incense, senna, waterskins for carrying on camels, and whips of hippopotamus hide. Imports included fine linen, cotton, Venetian glass-ware, tin, sabre-blades, soap, sugar, rice, pepper, cloves, paper, razors,

[5] Cailliaud III, 41.

[6] *Narrative, etc.*, 1823, 132–3, 146–8. Cailliaud II, 249–53.

[7] Cailliaud puts them in the Bertat country and says the White Nile could be seen in the distance, but this is hardly possible, as it is 80 miles away.

little mirrors and such-like small merchandize. Wheat and dates came from Berber and Shendi ; gold dust, iron and slaves from Kordofan ; gold, honey, well-treated skins, finished sandals, whips, ostrich-feathers and ' sempsem ' from Fazughli and Sa'ydeh ; gold came from Abyssinia (Ras el Fil), and from there came also horses, good-looking and much-prized slaves, coloured Indian linen (toiles) for the meks, Moka coffee, honey, ivory bracelets and other women's ornaments. Most of the exports were collected in the forests by the Arabs.

On 22nd July Cailliaud paid a visit to King Badi, whom he found seated on a stool in the courtyard of his house, taking the air. On his right was his Vizier (ministre) and some of his courtiers. He was clothed in a white linen shirt, leaving his legs bare, and on his head was ' the cap (bonnet) peculiar to the meliks.' He was handed a pipe made of a simple wooden tube, the ordinary sort common in that country, and coffee was served. He was about 40 years of age ; the Chronicle[8] says that he was very young when he was made king in 1790. He was of middle height ' robuste, d'une figure pleine et agréable, ayant les cheveux crépus et le teint de couleur cuivrée, qui est celui de la race des Foungis, que l'on nomme, pour cette raison, *el Soudan azraq* ' (Sultana zerga). English, who was not good at guessing ages (see below) put him at about 26 and says that he was black, his mother being a negress. Badi succeeded in 1790 and must therefore have been well over 30 in 1821. His age at succession is further confirmed by Lord Prudhoe who visited him at Dakhena on 22nd March, 1829, and states that he was placed on the throne when still a child.[9] He asked Cailliaud, whom he naturally imagined to have come from Constantinople, what difference there was between their two countries, and the reply was unflattering to Sennar. Badi retorted by saying that Sennar was now no longer recognizable as the place it had been in the time of his ancestors, and pointed to the ruins of his father's palace. ' There,' he said, ' are the ruins of their dominion which extended to the confines of Dongola.' He seemed to be a good honest fellow. Having nothing to give him worthy of his rank, Cailliaud offered him a box of matches—the sulphurous French kind one can still remember—and when he saw one alight he uttered the name of his prophet and showed the greatest surprise.

Cailliaud then went to call on Nimr, the former ruler of Shendi, whose character had been represented as proud and haughty. He was seated on an angareb, reading the Koran, and as there were no other seats available, Cailliaud had to sit down beside him. He was six feet tall, hard-faced and dour ; he was of a meditative disposition, bold and proud, studious and devout. (This did not prevent him later on from burning Ismail alive). He too was clothed in a white shirt, and wore the horned cap, with a necklace of dervish beads and a full equipment of leathern amulets. They talked about his province of Shendi and the pyramids of Meroe there ; Cailliaud made enquiries about the ruins of Musawwarat and Naga which he was going to visit on his return. He said he knew the places and that there was a tradition that the name of El Musawwarat had belonged to a fakir who lived there, comparing the ruins with those of Soleb and Semneh. (Actually the word is Arabic for ' the pictures '). He received the same present as Badi, and reacted in the same

[8] D7, § 115.

[9] *Diary*, p. 143 (typescript copy in Griffith Institute, Oxford, p. 113).

manner. One gathers from this interview that he was a dull and unattractive person, of the kind that naturally rises to the top in feudal barbaric society; and one suspects that many of the people who figure in this book were like him. English describes him[10] as 'a grave and venerable man of about 65 years of age, very dignified in his deportment and highly respectable for his morals.' Except for the age, which is far too high, the description agrees well with that of Cailliaud.[11]

An interesting episode occurred early in August. Ismail had consulted Bruce's book, and had naturally been anxious lest the evil climate of Sennar, as there described, should affect the health of the troops. But after a month's experience of the bad season he had come to the conclusion that Bruce was a liar, and even Cailliaud had begun to have his doubts. This led to a general enquiry. The Pasha summoned the ancients of Sennar and questioned them in Cailliaud's presence about certain events described by the traveller which could hardly have become forgotten fifty years later; but none of them would admit any knowledge of them. This feigned ignorance Cailliaud attributed to fear, for they professed the same ignorance of the murder of Du Roule, an earlier but (as it would seem to us) far more outstanding event.[12]

Three weeks later, at the end of August, Ismail had ruefully to admit that Bruce was right after all. A third of his army was down with fever and dysentery and an epidemic threatened. Cailliaud himself escaped, but his European colleagues fell ill and needed his care; this, and the risks of travel alone in an unfriendly country kept him reluctantly at Sennar. He had begged to be allowed to accompany Divan Effendi on a looting expedition to the White Nile. Ismail assured him that loot was not the objective; but that was untrue. Divan went there on 22nd August, fought with some 'Djamélyeh' [Gemaylia] Arabs in the neighbourhood of El Ais, killing their chief, and returning about 9th September with camels, oxen and sheep. By the end of September things were much worse; six hundred soldiers had died and 200 were sick—in an army of only 3000 all told! Ismail sent a report to his father and attempted to form a hospital, but its discipline and police associations were repugnant to the Turks, who preferred to be left to their own devices, even when sick. Conditions were made worse by the death of camels, whose rotting corpses were left unburied, propagating disease. It would not have been so bad if the soldiers had had money with which to buy food; but their pay was eight months in arrears. This delay was a measure of economy, by means of which the pay of those who died was saved. The consequence was that the survivors had to

[10] *Narrative, etc.*, 1822, 158.

[11] Sir Samuel Baker met him at some place unnamed within the Abyssinian frontier south of the Settit (Takkaze) in March, 1862, and describes him as 'about 50.' That would make him about 20 at the Turkish conquest. *Nile Tributaries*, 458.

[12] A man of 70 in 1821 would have been born in 1751, and might have heard talk, during his boyhood, of what had occurred some 60 or 70 years before. But Sudanese memories are short, especially in matters which are of no immediate or practical interest. I had an example when I revisited in 1950 the scene of my excavations at Abu Geili in 1914. All that was remembered was that work had been carried out there 'min zeman' by a great man called 'Wilkin Pasha' (the late Sir Henry Wellcome). How long ago no one could say, nor even whether it was before or after the dam was built (1925). At Melit in Darfur it is not even remembered when the dam there, made in 1936, was constructed, and we were given the most absurd figures. There is exactly the same vagueness about distance; it is impossible to trust the estimates given even for well-known journeys. This incapacity for visualising time and space is not of course peculiar to the Sudan, but common to uneducated people all over the world.

find work as cobblers, tailors or middlemen. By 16th October only 500 men were still fit for service, and the deaths amounted to 1500 or more. There were murmurs of mutiny, quieted by a report that grain-boats were on their way from Shendi The scarcity of food was increased by the return of some 2000 of the inhabitants who had fled from Sennar at the approach of the Turks.

These misfortunes did not of course escape the notice of the people, who spoke of vengeance and threatened revolt. Had they made such an attempt it must have succeeded, but the news of the arrival at Shendi of Ismail's brother Ibrahim, with reinforcements from Egypt, was received just in time to avert disaster. He had left Cairo on 10th June, and was at Beni Suef on the 19th, and at Assouan on 31st July.[13] He reached Sennar on the night of 22nd October and was received with a salute of 21 guns. Fearing infection at Sennar he pitched his camp south of the town, distributed food to the troops and their arrears of pay, and generally reorganised the expedition. A few days later there arrived 26 of the boats which had been held up at the 4th cataract, waiting for the river to rise. Some of them had been lost, including one with money and valuables belonging to Ibrahim—where, is not stated.

[13] Linant's *Diary*, under these dates. See also Douin, *Pénétration*, 182.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE FAZUGHLI CAMPAIGN

EARLY in December, 1821, preparations were made for a fresh advance. Ibrahim's force set out on the 5th[1] for the Dinka country in the southwest; Ismail, accompanied by Cailliaud, left on the 7th with 1500 men for Fazughli. Both forces followed the Blue Nile at first, Ismail's halting at Sherif Mahammed (8th), Addeleybah (10th), thence by Seyrrou and Loni to Ad-darameyleh (11th). Here Ismail was regaled with extravagant reports of the gold to be found beyond Fazughli. It was the lure of this that drew the fatuous pasha onwards, but Cailliaud discouraged excessive optimism. After passing through several other villages they reached El Kouk (now Abu Kuk) on the 16th and three hours afterwards left the valley and struck westwards towards El Qerebyn (now Gerabin Tegali) where they camped the same night. Ibrahim's camp was close by, at Werkat; he was suffering from dysentery, and nervous on that account. Cailliaud visited him and was urged to visit every place where there was a hope of finding gold. Partly because of this, but more because he was the 'sacred bard' who could record the Pasha's exploits when back in Europe, Ismail had shown Cailliaud much favour on this journey, and insisted on having him to dine with him every day. While there, envoys came on 21st December from the Mek of Fazughli reporting his readiness to submit. The army therefore would have, it seemed, no more real battles to fight, and turned southwards to Jebel Agadi, whose summits were crowned with villages. These were fair game, being inhabited not by Muslims but by 'idolatrous negroes.' They were accordingly looted and burnt, and became the victims of 'every atrocity that can be committed by a soldiery foreign to all feelings of kindness or humanity.'[2] The villagers could offer no resistance, and the brave Turks carried off 170 prisoners, mostly old women, who were driven back to the camp with wooden yokes on their necks.[3] They begged for their liberty in vain, and might as well have pleaded with famished tigers. 'Nothing escaped the rapacity of these barbarians; the animals they could not carry off were slaughtered without mercy, particularly the pigs, which the Turks held in horror.' Ismail sent back some of the old women, keeping the young ones, who followed with the army, escorted by soldiers.[4] Similar scenes were enacted at other villages along the route of march. The invaders were not without casualties; an Albanian colonel was killed by spear-thrusts and castrated. Cailliaud visited one of these ravaged villages in Jebel Tabi, the region where most

[1] Ismail himself, who was ill with dysentery, followed by boat a few days later. A detailed account of his expedition, based chiefly on the unpublished journal of his doctor, Ricci, is given by Douin, *Pénétration*, 219–25. Ricci's journal is in the library of the Société royale de Géographie at Cairo. (I give Cailliaud's dates which differ slightly from Douin's perhaps more correct ones).

[2] II, 357.

[3] Cailliaud, Plates, Vol. I, Plate 3.

[4] Cailliaud, Plates, Vol. I, Plate 2, and II, 358.

of these massacres took place.[5] Eventually the natives found that these rocky fastnesses could be defended with some success even against fire-arms, and the Turks promptly desisted. On the 27th the march on Fazughli was resumed, and the Tumat was crossed on 1st January, 1822, near its mouth. The army passed to the south of the village of Fazughli itself, and camped at Yarah four hours' march above it. The village stood on a hill-top about half a mile from the river, and was inhabited by Muslims, with a few 'idolaters.' Cailliaud chafed at having to remain there 'where I could find no one to interrogate,' and obtained permission from Ismail to go and see Hassan, the mek of Fazughli. He found him, on 5th January, 1822, at the village of Tourmoga, on the SW bank, between Adassi and Fazughli. The mek was in an ordinary hut, squatting on a mat. 'C'était un bel homme, jeune, et d'un figure agréable ; il était du race foungi, et avait le costume des méliks du Sennâr.' He was returning to Fazughli, where Cailliaud had an interview with him the next day in his palace, which consisted of a few round huts surrounded by walls. The mek had with him several fakirs distinguished for their erudition. Cailliaud asked the mek for a list of his predecessors, and the mek dictated the one which is printed in Cailliaud's book.[6] Not even the learned fakirs could give any account of the history of these rulers, and there existed no written documents. On leaving, Cailliaud displayed towards him 'the same generosity as to others of his rank' and presented him with a box of matches and a small phial of sulphuric acid. The matches excited, as before, repeated exclamations of surprise (Hallah !) from all the courtiers, and this modest offering was probably the most acceptable that could have been devised.

The next day it was learnt that Ibrahim, who was still at Gerabin, had decided to resign his command on account of his health, and return to Egypt with his doctor, Ricci. They returned to Sennar, but went straight on to Cairo, which was reached 36 days later, and Ricci was rewarded with a handsome gift of money.[7] Thus ended all Cailliaud's dreams of exploring the White Nile region and Bornu in an expeditionary force led by Ibrahim.

The submission of Fazughli completed the conquest of the principalities owing allegiance, in theory, to the King of Sennar, with the exception of the Butana nomads who were reserved for subsequent campaigns. In the west, Kordofan had already been subdued by a force led by Mohammed, son-in-law of the Sultan.[8] But the mountains south of Fazughli were inhabited by negroes—the Shangalla of the Abyssinian annals—who, secure in their hill-villages, paid tribute to no-one and lived in a condition of happy anarchy. They had already threatened to 'break the Pasha's legs' if he ventured amongst them. The lure of gold led him, however, to accept their challenge, and the army set forth once more on 12th January, making southwards, in the direction of the Tumat, towards the mountain of Agaro (now Agaru). On the approach of the army the negroes sent envoys, offering submission, and they were received ; but during the truce the perfidious Pasha sent a force to attack them. The usual atrocities were committed. Several of the young women

[5] II, 364–7.
[6] II, 396–7. This is obviously the source of Shucair's list, given by Budge (II, 205) which differs only in the spelling. See Appendix 25.
[7] Finati II, 407.
[8] Cailliaud II, 315–6.

captured had their heads and faces reddened by ochre that was mixed with the grease they rubbed themselves with, recalling Pliny's Hipsodores.[9] Several of them wore ornaments of Venetian glass which were distributed by the Egyptian caravans even to the remotest regions. One thinks of the faience beads of our British Bronze Age, that came also from Egypt. The district was called Dar el Keyl (' province des chevaux ') and their chief was Abu Zinguir. The army then reached the Tumat valley and on the night of the 14th–15th January emissaries arrived from the natives. The Pasha, with characteristic effrontery, warned them against a breach of faith and demanded that they should all present themselves before him the next day to conclude peace ; but they did not fall into the trap, and next day a village on the heights of Agaru was burnt. The able-bodied had fled, leaving the old and infirm who were dragged before Ismail, but being useless to him were released to contemplate ' l'horrible spectacle qu'un peuple plus policé[10] qu'eux était venu leur donner.'

On the 16th the army crossed the Tumat and marched towards the two mountains of Khachinkaro (now Kashangaru on the Abyssinian frontier). They passed through fields of dhurra, and lived on the country. At the end of a long day's march the tired soldiers had to spend an hour grinding corn on a hand-quern, then make it into a paste and cook it, so there was little time left over for repose. Cailliaud had had the forethought to have biscuits made at Sennar, and thanks to his camels was therefore less badly off for food. But he nearly lost his valuable notes and other papers, owing to a forest fire lit by the crazy Turks, and his baggage animals and the mule of Letorzec succumbed. Eventually, after incredible hardships, they managed to find the Turkish camp at Abqoulgui in the province of Qamâmyl, but had to leave behind their baggage and provisions. These were retrieved the next day (19th). This was the gold region so long desired ; in the banks of the Tumat were to be seen shallow excavations and the wooden pans and piles for gold-washing that had been abandoned on the news of the Turkish approach.[11] Cailliaud managed to obtain a little gold by washing.

Being now on the borders of Abyssinia, if not actually within it—the exact frontier was probably undetermined—Cailliaud thought it advisable to suggest to Ismail that he should send an embassy to that country, announcing his presence ; and to ask that, if it were sent, he might go with it. But the Pasha was not going to be bothered with such unnecessary formalities. All his time was occupied gold-hunting. Being unable to get any himself he forced the natives to show him the best spots and to do the washing there in front of him. Cailliaud marvelled at the dexterity with which they managed their simple tools. When collected, the gold dust was stored in vultures' quills, which then formed a sort of currency for purchasing cattle, sheep and cloth from the Arabs. But the process of collection was a lengthy and laborious one, and the futile efforts of a few men in a few days produced only a few gains. Ismail gave up his dreams of wealth and on 5th February ordered

[9] Mox Anderae, Mattitae, Mesagches, Hipsodores, atri coloris tota corpore rubrica inlinunt. Book VI, § 35. See p. 3 above.

[10] One suspects a play upon words ; ' policé ' means both ' policed ' and ' polished,' *i.e.* civilized. II, 411.

[11] III, 3.

the advance to continue. Everyone had expected that Abqoulgui would mark the southern limit and that they would now turn homewards. The Shaigia had, in expectation of this, prepared a mannikin which, in accordance with their custom, would be buried at the furthest point reached. But the mannikin had now to travel with them to his unknown destination, mounted on a camel, much to the amusement of the rest of the army. They arrived the same evening (5th February) at the village of Singué, inhabited by Muslims, and encamped outside to reduce the temptation to loot. But when Cailliaud went into the village next day he found it empty, for instead of submitting, as they had undertaken to do, they had all fled. There he met Hassan, the slayer of the Vizier Walad Adlan ; Hassan had been pardoned by Ismail and put in charge of a detachment of Bedouins. He had come to receive the promised submission and tribute. Cailliaud thought it prudent to return, and in the camp found the soldiers already mounted and setting out to loot the village. Two hundred negroes and Arabs were captured in the neighbourhood.

Soon (7th February) the army moved its camp to a point near Singué in a valley of the Qebeych mountains dominating the country to the north and west of the village. Here they were attacked during the afternoon siesta by a large body of negroes who got to within three rifle-shots of the camp before the artillery could be brought into action and send them flying back to the mountains. Being unable to catch them the Turks burnt Singué in revenge. Omar Kashif was sent next day with 500 men to attack them on the mountain of Falogoun ; there was an engagement with part of the enemy forces (of about 500), 50 being killed and 10 taken prisoner at a cost of 9 killed and 8 wounded. That night the Pasha took the extraordinary measure of posting sentries round the camp, a hitherto unheard-of precaution. The negroes attacked again next day, getting to within rifle-shot and causing some casualties. They also captured the only eight horses that were still serviceable. Prisoners subsequently taken revealed, under the torture of the kourbatch, that a concerted attack with the negroes of Qamamyl had been prepared, but had not succeeded through failure to attack simultaneously from different directions. The Turkish position was now serious, for they were running short of ammunition[12] ; and without this, their one source of superiority, they were lost. Anticipating the order to return, the dauntless and irrepressible Cailliaud hastened to collect all the geographical information he could lay his hands on. So remote is this region that we still know little more about it than the facts he has recorded.[13]. Neither Singué nor any other of the places mentioned are marked on the 1 : 1,000,000 map.

The army left Singué on 11th February and following a slightly different route reached the Blue Nile at Adassy on the 14th. There Cailliaud said goodbye to Ismail, who asked him to report events to his father in Cairo, and lent him his own boat for the return journey to Sennar, where he arrived on the 26th. He was welcomed by the commandant Divan Effendi who overwhelmed him with questions about the expedition. Ismail's couriers had been stopped on the way, and he was

[12] A convoy of ammunition from Sennar had been captured somewhere below Roseires and its guard all killed.

[13] III, 47-9.

practically without news. Things had been critical in Sennar until a fortnight ago when Ibrahim's army returned from the White Nile. Persistent reports that Ismail's army had perished had emboldened the seditious—or patriotic—sections of the population ; the garrisons of some of the villages had been massacred (not, one may be sure, unjustifiably). There were still signs of revolt in the provinces of Halfaya and Shendi.

Ibrahim's army, now commanded by Toussoun Bey, had left Gerabin soon after 7th January and going by ' monts Goul et Rore '[14]—now Jebel Guli and Jebel Roru—had reached ' Dinka,' probably Renk, on the White Nile fourteen days later. Most of the negroes had fled,[15] but five or six hundred were captured, and we are told that the new commander treated them with humanity. This was the first occasion that the White Nile above Khartoum had been visited by Europeans (if one can call the Turks such) since the days of Nero.[16] The army remained eight days at ' Dinka ' and then returned by the same route, making (from Rore) a raid on Bouck (Jebel Buk) and Taby. From Gerabin they returned to Sennar, reaching it about 13th February.[17]

Although there was to be more fighting, the conquest was now accomplished. All the chief states forming part of the kingdom of Sennar had surrendered, leaving only a few nomad groups to be mopped up later. Future operations were therefore confined to this and to the suppression of revolts, and form part of the new and unhappy era inaugurated by Ismail. The subsequent history of the region can only be dealt with as part of the history of Egypt and of the vast regions of the Upper Nile in the south and Kordofan and Darfur in the west.

However much we may laugh at Ismail's army, its achievement was a very considerable one, proving that in warfare a single point of superiority—in this instance fire-arms—outweighs a counterbalancing weight of numbers. It was not the first time the Turks had exploited the advantages of a new arm; their empire had been created by the same method in the 16th century. Military history is full of parallel instances. At various times stone battle axes, swords (certainly those of iron, possibly also their forerunners of bronze), bows and arrows, slings, horses, tanks, gas and atom-bombs had all been ' new arms ' giving superiority.

Nor would it be just to underestimate Ismail's personal achievement. In Cailliaud's account he appears as a man of mediocre talent with the mentality of a schoolboy. Cailliaud, who was with him throughout the campaign and knew him well, credits him with an energy that was not reduced by periodic attacks of fever. His words, however, seem to convey a hint of surprise that Ismail should have been so uniformly successful. ' Surely,' he says, ' he must have been endowed with much courage, perseverance and even genius (génie) to have been able, with a weak army

[14] Cailliaud states that these were both dependent on Sennar ; III, 85.

[15] Cailliaud says, on the 27th September ; presumably this is a slip for January : III, 79.

[16] M. Douin states, however, that Toussoun does not mention the White Nile in his report to Mohammed Ali : *Pénétration*, 268, note 3.

[17] III, 73. Cailliaud also records that while he was away ' M. Linan, voyageur français, que M. Binks, savant de Londres, employé à dessiner les monumens antiques, était venu au Sennar durant notre absence.' III, 78. It was M. Linan(t) who made the drawings reproduced on Plates 12, 13b, 16a, 18, 22, by kind permission Mr Ralph Bankes, of Kingston Lacy, near of Wimborne, the descendant of ' M. Binks,' who was of course Linant's patron, William John Bankes.

corps of 4000 men, underpaid and ill-fed, to overrun in every direction these barbarous and wild countries ? To have invaded in less than two years 450 leagues of territory, conquered twelve provinces and a kingdom, and fought unceasingly against a crowd of war-like peoples ? '[18] Perhaps Ismail owed more than even Cailliaud realized to the superiority of his fire-arms over spears and sabres. Nearly a century later that very same superiority was to bring this new era to an end at the battle of Omdurman, and inaugurate a better one.

[18] III, 51.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: *Reubeni's Itinerary* (1522–3)[1]

Lamul, at the head of the Nile, departed about September, 1522; crossed many rivers (one of mud) and reached Sennar in 8 days.

Sennar, the 'place of Obadiah'; departed in morning and travelled along the Nile 5 days to

Soba, in ruins, the dwellings of wood; met Abu Kamil, departed in morning and travelled 10 days to

The Kingdom of Al Ga'l, King Abu Aqrab, subject to Amarah; remained 3 days, then reached

The mountain of Ataqqi, on the river Nile, great chief Abd el Wahhab, who desired him to travel by the desert route to the city of Dongola; departed and travelled 10 days through the desert with 3 camels and 6 waterskins, two (?) servants and Abdel Wahhab, and reached

The town of Dongola, half a day from . . . the land at the beginning of the deserts; 'This is the end of Amarah's kingdom.' Travelled on the edge of the desert and fasted 3 days till he reached the country of the King's enemies and the river at

Al Khabir, where he found an Egyptian called Umman, who advised him to avoid the river route, but to go with the travellers (*i.e.* the Egyptian caravan). Abd el Wahhab given 10 ducats and dismissed. While here a party started northwards on the desert route on the 17th of the month of Marheshwan,[2] and others were due to start on the 1st of Kislev.[3] Visited king Muhammad and asked him to find a runaway slave for him. After resting 7 days with Umman some of the party who had started on the 17th returned wounded, having been attacked on the 4th day (21st ?): others arrived 2 days later. Reubeni left Al Khabir on the 14th of Kislev[4] with many people and travelled in the great desert: reached Rif at

Girgeh, after 45 days (*circa* 17th January, 1523); stayed with guide Salam at the end of the town, a mile distant, on the Nile, for 20 days (till about February 6th); then embarked on a boat and travelled down Nile to

Cairo, which he entered at sunset on the 1st of Adar, in the year 5283 (= 16th February, A.D. 1523).

Summary of Times

Lamul to Sennar	.. .. 8 days	Ataqqi to Dongola	.. .. 10 days
Sennar to Soba	.. .. 5 ,,	[Mushu ?] to Al Khabir	.. 3 ,,
Soba to Al Ga'l	.. .. 10 ,,	Al Khabir to Girgeh	.. .. 45 ,,
Al Ga'l to Ataqqi	.. .. —		

[1] *SNR*, XVI, 55–66.
[2] 7th November, 1522.
[3] 20th November, 1522.
[4] 3rd December, 1522, I wish to thank Professor Charles Singer for kindly helping me with these dates.

APPENDIX 2 : *the route to Abyssinia according to Ludolfus*, 1681[1]

Monfallot	—	Kshabi[3]	3 days
Sijut	—	Korti	5 „
Wach	3 days	Trere[4]	3 „
Meks	2 „	Gerri	1 „
Scheb	3 „	Helfaje	1 „
Sellim	3 „	Arbatg	3 „
Moschu	5 „	Sennar	4 „
Dungala[2]	5 „		

APPENDIX 3 : *Itinerary of Poncet and Brevedent*, 1698–1701

1698

2nd October :	dep. Cantara.
6th „	arr. Haleone (Helaoue, Helaone)
10th „	dep. Haleone.
	Chab.
	Selyma.
26th „	arr. Machou [Mushu] .
4th November :	dep. Machou.
	Argo Island.
13th „	arr. Dongola.

1699

6th January :	dep. Dongola.
13th „	arr. Korti.
	Bihouda desert.
23rd „	arr. Dereira
26th „	dep. Dereira.
27th „	arr. at crossing-place.
28th „	Cross Nile and arr. Guerri.
1st February :	dep. Guerri.
	Alfaa [Halfayat] .
	Alfon [Eilafun].
	Cotram [Kurtang].
	Camin [Kamlin].
6th „	Cross Nile to Harbagi.
9th „	dep. Harbagi.
12th „	arr. SENNAR.
12th May :	dep. Sennar and cross Nile to Basboch, half a league from Sennar.
15th „	(night) Basboch-Bacras [Bagras, 55 K.].
16th „	Bacras-Abecq.
17th „	Abecq-Baha, a little village on a dried-up arm of the Nile (*sic*).
19th „	Dodar [Wad Duda, 55 K].

[1] Ludolfus 395 (Latin edn. of 1681, Lib. IV, Cap. 6, §§23–5); This does not appear to represent the journey of any particular person, but to be a guide for the use of travellers.

[2] 'Metropolis of Nubia.' Here they 'come into the Kingdom of Sennar under a Mahumetan prince' (Inde in Regnum Sennar pergunt, quod Regi Muhammedano paret).

[3] Now Goshabi, above Debba.

[4] Dereira.

20th May :	Dodar-Abra (4 hours) [Abu Rau, 55 K : Abrau, Cailliaud].
	Debarke [Debarki, 55 K].
	Bulbul.
25th ,,	arr. Giesim, a ' considerable town ' on the bank of the Nile (*sic*) ; stay there 19 days ; halfway to Abyssinia. News of death of queen-mother of Sennar received.
11th June :	Giesim-Deleb (5 hours).
12th ,,	Chau on the Nile [*sic*].
13th ,,	Abotkna.
13-14th ,,	(night) valley of Sonnone.
15th (or 16th) ,,	arr. Serke.
20th June	dep. Serke.
21st ,,	Tambisso, a large village belonging to the Patriarch.
22nd ,,	Abiad, ' on a high mountain.'
23rd ,,	Stopped in a valley full of ebony-trees.
24th ,,	Crossed river Gandova.
25th ,,	Two other large rivers crossed.
26th ,,	Entered a great plain.
27th ,,	Girana, ' on the top of a mountain ' : met by escort sent by king.
1st July :	Girana-Barangoa (3 hours through mountains).
2nd ,,	Chelga [Chilga, 56 M].
3rd ,,	Barko, in a plain half -a-day's journey from the capital. Death of Brevedent, 9th July.
21st ,,	arr. Gondar.

1700

1st May* :	Poncet leaves Gondar.
3rd ,,	Emfras.
	Cogas.
	Cross Tekesel [Tacazze].
	Adova [Aduwa].
	Saravi [Serae].
	Duvarna [Duvarua = Debaroa] capital of kings of Tigra or Barnagas.
8th September :	dep. Duvarna ; crossed Moraba [Mareb].
	(Bisan : not named).
16th ,,	arr. Arcouva or Arequies [Adicono or Arkiko] 8 days later.
17th ,,	cross to Massoua.
28th October :	dep. Massoua.
30th ,,	arr. 2 days later at island of Deheleq [Dahlak] and remain 8 days.
c.7th November :	Island of Abugafar.
? ,,	arr. Kautumbut, a high rock in the sea ½ league off the coast of Arabia.
? ,,	anchored off Ibrahim Mersa.
? ,,	Consita, the first port to the south, of the kingdom of Mecca.
5th December :	arr. Gedda.

* The date given in Poncet's original manuscript, not the 2nd, as in the printed versions.

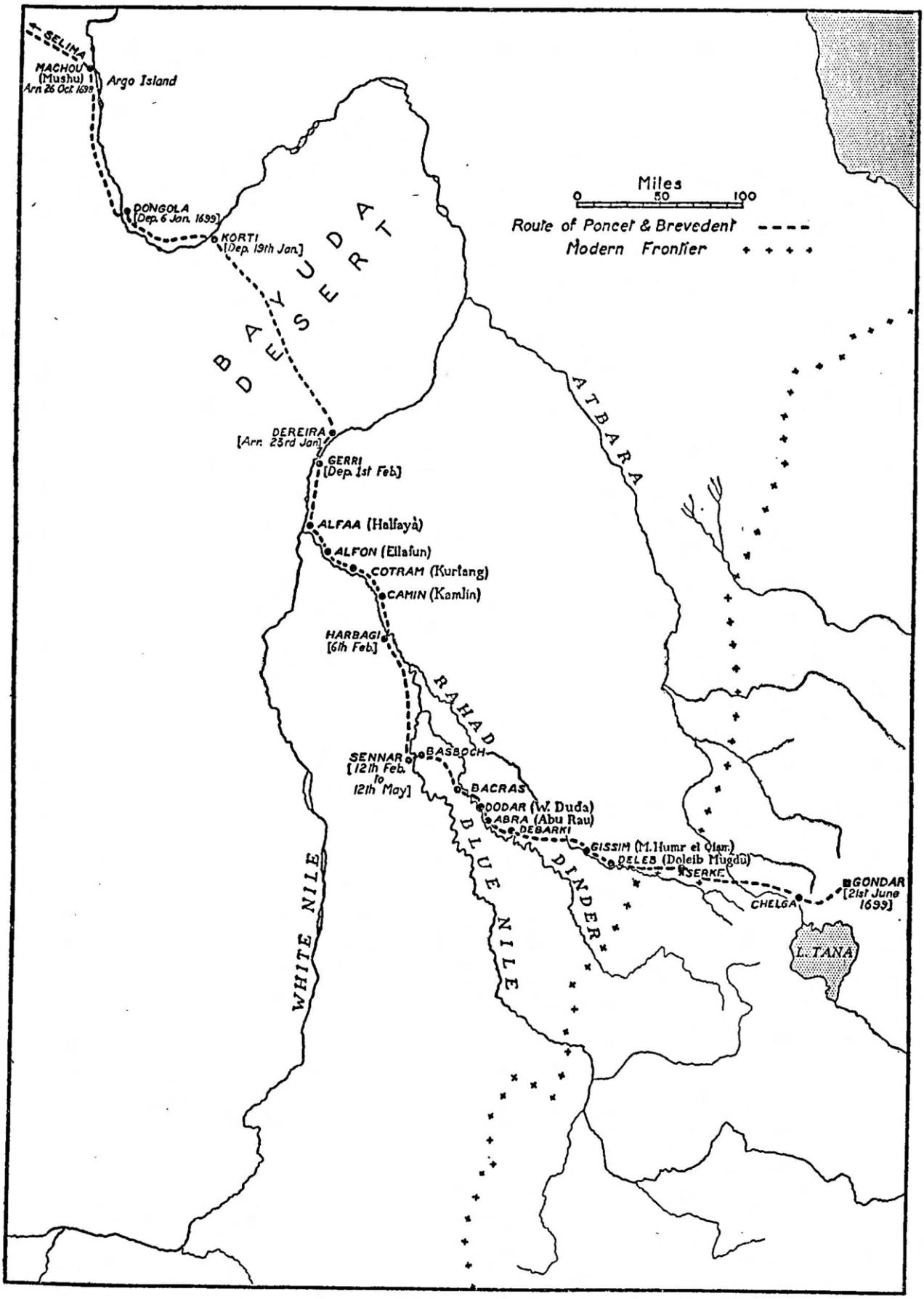


FIG. 25. Poncet's route to Sennar and Gondar

1701

12th January :	dep. Gedda.
c. 18th ,,	anchor off Hassama, 2 leagues from the shore.
c. 31st ,,	arr. off Yambeau.
?	Mieula.
?	Chiurma, a very good haven, but no houses, only tents of Arabs, thence by camels in 6 days to Tour [Tor].
?	Monastery of Mount Sinai : remains a month there.
?	Return to Tour.
?	Suez.
20th June :	arr. Cairo (Beccari, XIV, 153).

Poncet arrived in Cairo 20th June, 1701. Before 24th September he had left for France with Father Verzeau, who was in Paris on 4th February, 1702. He returned to Cairo about 22nd August, 1703, and soon afterwards, probably in September, left with Du Bernat, S.J., and Murat for Abyssinia, but was arrested at Jedda and forbidden to go to Massawa. Du Bernat returned to Cairo, arriving there on 1st April 1704, Murat went on to Massawa, and Poncet went to Moca. De Maillet had two letters from him from Jedda which he forwarded to Pontchartrain on 2nd April, 1704. From Moca he went to Yemen, thence to Surat, thence ' I think,' says De Maillet,[1] to Agra, ' where his remedies did not prevent the reigning Mogul, son of the famous Auram Zeib, from paying the debt of nature a few months later.' He ended up in Persia, from where, just before his death in 1708, he wrote two rambling and incoherent letters to Pontchartrain.

His journey from Cairo to Sennar has been described in the text. From Sennar to Debarki the places he stopped at can easily be identified on the modern maps. But from Debarki to Chilga, a distance of 140 miles, his route, though fairly straight, is less certain. Poncet mistook the Dinder, and perhaps also the Rahad, for the Nile which he left finally at Sennar. Lejean identified Bulbul and marked it on his map,[2] but the adjacent names do not appear on the modern map (Sheet 55 P) and its location is uncertain ; it would seem to be on the Dinder at about Lat. 12°44′. Giesim, the next place, was a ' grosse bourgade au nord du Nil ' [Dinder] and Jules Poncet (Lejean's friend) thought it might have been at the junction of the Galega and Dinder where he had seen the remains of a large ruined town (marked on Sheet 55 P). Were it not for Bulbul (a common name however) I should have preferred to make him follow the track marked on the maps as leaving the Dinder at Hannu esh Shereik and joining the Rahad just below an ' old fort ' at Meshra Gamus. Giesim would then be at Meshra Hamr el Qism, where this track leaves the Rahad. Thence he would go along the north bank of the Rahad-Shinfa to Serke which, according to De Chaurand[3] is, or was, a village on the right bank of a torrent called Humr, an affluent of the Ginghil-Shinfa. This would seem to be the Khor Hamra (Sheet 56 M) SW of Jebel Magbara. Tambisso, the next place, appears to be the same place as Chausen[4] on some hills NW of Merab Duba (Heuglin's Merdibba) ; one of them is named ' Idin ? ' on the map (Heuglin's Edin). Tambisso, according to Poncet, belonged to the patriarch of Abyssinia, and on the hill of Mahbera Silasi, SE of Merab Duba, is a monastery called (on the 1 : 1,000,000 map) Chiesa Giroslassi. The route I have suggested follows an almost direct course eastwards from Debarki ; but the Abyssinian portion is still unmapped and almost unexplored, and an attempt to identify the place mentioned would be premature.

[1] Beccari, XIV, 385.
[2] *Atlas*, Plate XI.
[3] Carta dimostrativa dell' Etiopia : quoted by Pereira, Susenyos, 425.
[4] Pereira, 424.

APPENDIX 4: *Brevedent's letters from Sennar* (1699), *and Bayard's from Elefous* (1707).

Father Brevedent sent three letters back from Sennar to Cairo.

The first[1] and most informative is dated Sannar, 15th February, 1699, and is signed 'Joseph Duval,' which was his 'nom de voyage.' The second, dated 10th March, has not survived, and is known only from extracts from it given by De Maillet in two letters to Father Verseau (dated 3rd and 11th August, 1699) and quoted by Verseau in a letter to Cardinal Sacripante, dated 31st August.[2] The third,[3] dated 12th April, 1699, is shorter, but contains an interesting reference to the Franciscans at Sennar. The second and third were both addressed to De Maillet. The style is occasionally involved and the exact meaning obscure.

I

'. . . We left [al Cantara, a village on the Nile] the 2nd of October [1698] and continued marching southwards until the last day and a half, during which we went eastwards. We found no water until within a day's march of Haleone; during the previous five days we saw high and low rocks, not many high ones, rough tracks, and finally a great descent over the sands, after which to here all is level and uniform. Haleone is a large Turkish village ruling (dominant) about thirty small ones, and has a Kachif. We arrived on the 6th [October] and left on the 10th. Mr Charles [Poncet] was very well received by the Kachif. On the following days we found water on the route; one sees a large number of palm-trees in this region, and is surprised at such abundance in the midst of this great desert.[4] Water was found for two days as far as Chab, so called from the quantity of alum obtained there. To get the water holes are dug in the sand and in less than no time enough is found for the journey. Thence in three days we reached Selyma, another similar well, whence we arrived on the 26th [October] at Machou,[5] a large village on the Nile; in this desert no animal nor bird nor even a fly is to be seen except at Helaone. All along the route are scattered the bones and carcases of camels and donkeys, and that is one of the signs upon which the guides rely, especially in daytime. Our day's march began three hours before sunrise and sometimes earlier, and we rested only two or three hours or more at night. We observed a strange thing about the camels—they eat only from one well to another, that is, after they have drunk, and their only refreshment is rest. An old man of the caravan, brother of the patriarch of Ethiopia, told us that that was because, like the ostrich their fellow amongst birds, they have no spleen (fiel). There is another strange thing about camels; those which go from Selyma westwards to the lands of the blacks go for 40 days without eating because they get no drink before they arrive there. Donkeys were given a measured drink every day. Even in the middle of the winter, the heat during the daytime is sometimes unbearable, as we found, but the nights are very cold; and this alternation of cold and hot is the cause of much discomfort, including diarrhaea and dysentery; so one must not be afraid of wearing too many clothes at night. Machou is a large village, as I said, situated on the Nile, where the caravans recover from the fatigues of the great desert and rest several days; it abounds in all that one can look for in the land of the Barbarins, which begins a day's journey (une journée) lower down at another village called Hafir[6] and continues almost up to Sennar,[7] to which they are subject, and of which kingdom they form a large part. But money is hardly in use for buying and

[1] Beccari, XIV, 60–66; a summary is printed in Le Grand, 159–60. The letter was addressed to Father Fleurian, S.J.

[2] *Ibid.*, 87–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 70–2.

[4] Something has apparently been omitted here by the copyist.

[5] Printed Marhou; now Mushu.

[6] Printed Hasir.

[7] Printed 'Sonnar' here and elsewhere.

selling, which is usually by barter. To obtain from these people what one needs oneself and for one's animals, one gives them wool dyed blue, (laspica du fenoúil)[8], also pepper, cloves, old iron and such like things, and they bring provisions. In this first part [en ce commencement] there are many palm-trees, and dates are gathered throughout the rest of the country up to Sennar. Bread is made from a small round grain called *dora*, very bitter when it rises. The girls and women bring provisions, the girls covered round the waist only by a belt from which hang many small strings—which only covers them very scantily; so I imagine that the modesty of our Canadian savages is greater than that of these Barbarins.[9] Boys of twelve to fifteen go quite naked; men and women are covered with a wretched [mechante] piece of cloth whose position they are continually altering.

Men of substance wear a sleeveless cloth shirt, which is generally so greasy as to make one feel ill. Their heads are covered by their hair plaited in cords and often anointed with an evil-smelling oil. They are almost all bare-footed, with at the most a leather sole attached by leather thongs or cord. Almost all the men carry a spear everywhere, and they have some very nice ones; those who possess swords carry them on the left arm. Their horses are perfectly splendid and they ride them well; the saddles have large rests in front and behind which may well prevent them falling off but often hurt them badly. The horses of the chiefs or sheikhs have a large chaplet of little bells,[10] which cause the slightest movement to be heard and each to perform his appointed task.[11] The houses are of mud with roofs of corn-stalks supported on branches of trees; the door is their window; their vessels are the rind of large gourds; their plates of wood, their wine a coarse beer made of *dora* at frequent intervals, as it will not keep. It is so thick and evil-smelling that it offends at first sight; but it is their great passion, and all that the barbarins have earned in the service of Franks in Egypt is quickly spent in getting drunk with it and a little of this dora-bread suffices them (et un peu de pain de ce dora ils sont contents). For the rest immorality is disregarded amongst them; passing merchants do whatever they wish with the sex; for a handkerchief or apron of coloured cloth they marry them, though everyone knows that they are not likely to be more than a fortnight in the place; hence a woman soon comes to have several husbands. Complete ignorance reigns, so that they wonder at the most trifling object that a traveller may have; all they know is how to proclaim their profession of faith, which is final. Their filthy behaviour, howls, curses and imprecations on each other make one shudder. There you have a picture of all the Barbarins as far as Sennar.

At this village of Machou resides a Sheikh to collect the customs, and in a neighbouring island called Argo is a governor of the district for several days' journey up and down stream;

[8] 'Fenöuil' is of course 'fennel,' but I can make nothing of 'laspica,' 'Aspic' is the common name for lavender, for 'spic,' by confusion with 'aspic,' serpent.

[9] The climate is also colder.

[10] In the church of Abd el Gadir near the 2nd cataract are wall-paintings of saints on horses having precisely such bells hanging from the harness. The church dates from about A.D. 1000 or later. (*AAA*, XV, Plates 35, 36, 43). The custom is of great antiquity. In the cemetery of horse-graves at Nuri, excavated in 1919 by Dr Reisner, were found 'four strings of very large bronze balls.' They were strung at intervals of a few centimetres on a thick twisted cord, which appears to have been fastened to the bridle and to have hung down the front of the neck. The date was about 700 B.C. (*SNR*, II, 1919, 253). Bells were also found in a horse-burial at Gammai near (above) Wadi Halfa dated to the 1st or 2nd century A.D., and they were common in graves of the X-group (*SNR*, XXVI, 1945, 32). Several bronze bells of lighter make were found in 1914 during the excavations at Abu Geili near Sennar, but they were without dateable associations. The Abyssinian war-horses, obtained from the Kingdom of Sennar, had brass bells on their necks, whose noise, when they charged the Gallas, threw them into confusion—which was no doubt one of the purposes for which they were intended, perhaps the chief one (Bruce, VI, 77). A victory was won in 854 by the same device, apparently near Aidhab (Burckhardt, 508 [Makrizi]; Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt*, 1901, 42).

[11] That is, the horses take up their places when they hear the bells.

they call them Arbabs. The Sheikh, who came to our tent, was cleaner than the others with him ; there he was regaled with coffee by each merchant, whom he entertained afterwards in his high and roomy mud castle[12] . . . his claims in merchandize quite strictly, considering what this country is, but actually taking a few pieces of soap and such-like things. He treated our guide favourably, but the Arbab or governor, besides the good entertainment in his castle, gave him some further presents ; and in this we began to see how much these people think of and respect Abyssinia, which they call simply the Mégade or throne. Mr Charles [Poncet] gave the governor some medicine and was held in high esteem by him.

At last, after eight days' rest we left this place for Dongola on the 4th of November [1698]. We found the banks of the Nile quite well stocked with houses, so that short stages were possible and we could recover from the overlong ones of the desert. There we found traces of the last plague, which ravaged this country and Egypt in the year 1696 ; one sees by the wayside many houses and villages without inhabitants, fields untilled, two or three townlets (villettes) of stone in ruins, a number of abandoned churches.[13] Not long ago all these lands were Christian, as I remarked. I could not get the names of all these points on the route, nor would it have been worth the trouble.

At length on the 13th of November we arrived at Dongola. We camped at first some distance from the river, our guide having gone to ask the prince's leave to approach ; this granted, we went on the 15th and camped beside the river within sight of the town, which is to the east. It is situated on a dry and sandy berg,[14] and consists of small houses like those of the villages ; the streets are full of heaps of sand and half the town is deserted. The castle is quite large and right at the top of the berg in the middle of the town which extends round it. It was probably placed here in this barren spot so that it might more easily be defended against the Arabs who prowl around with their flocks and herds. They pay for pasturage,[15] but sometimes revolt and pillage. On the west side, where we were, there is a village which forms a suburb of the town, with which it is connected by the service of a ferryboat maintained by the prince.

This prince is called Soltan or King, more often Mek or Malek for short, and not without reason, for there is nothing to correspond with the term [King] ; he is really no more than a governor subject to Sennar [whose ruler], deposes him when he so desires. He has associated with him a Sheikh as rich as himself and having equal power.[16] Mr Charles could not resist going to call upon him [the King], in response to a pressing invitation. He was very well entertained for several days, and had the privilege of defending before this prince and his court the truth of our religion, boldly maintaining (monstrant) that it

[12] See plate 5a. There is a lacuna in the text here, but the meaning is apparent.

[13] I have altered the punctuation here ; as given it does not make sense. For this the manuscript (which is a copy of the original letter) and not the editor is probably responsible. There are other indications of careless copying.

[14] I have adopted this word to translate ' montagne ' here and elswhere ; neither ' hill ' nor ' mountain ' seems quite the right word for these rocky eminences.

[15] The exact meaning is a little doubtful, but I think the translation gives the sense.

[16] In his book on the Shaigia Mr Nicholls states that there is nothing to prove that the Fung hold on Dongola was ' otherwise than of the slenderest description,' or that the Fung kings had any voice in the succession, that any military service was demanded, that there were any Fung residents or agents at any of the various courts of Dongola, or that the Fungs interfered at all with the internal affairs of Dongola ; and he concluded that Dongola ' never really formed part of the Fung Empire ' (pp. 17, 18). Mr Nicholls apparently relies upon negative evidence, for he cites no positive evidence in support of these claims, which are disposed of by the remarks of Father Brevedent here and a little further on. He has also overlooked the tribute of horses paid by Dongola to Sennar, which alone is sufficient to prove vassalage. It was not the Fung policy to interfere with internal administration, so long as the tribute was paid regularly ; and the absence of any mention of depositions may mean no more than that the tribute was so paid. Reubeni's evidence is, as we have seen, ambiguous.

was older than theirs which they wrongly regarded as anterior to all others ; and that it was of divine origin, having been founded by the Messiah whom they themselves acknowleged to be the voice of God and the son of a virgin—none of which has been said of any prophet or law-giver recognized by them, and is proved by miracles great in number and importance. They remained silent in the face of these arguments, looking at each other ; and no one dared to speak up for his religion except our guide, who thought by his zeal for his own to justify it. He addressed himself to Mr Charles, who turned his back on him and spoke so strongly to him that he confounded him, refusing to look at him, until the Mek made peace between them, the man asking pardon for his audacity. So Mr Charles returned in triumph to the tent, and gave me much comfort (une singulière consolation) from having done what my sealed lips could not achieve.[17] Our Lord rewarded him some days later by blessing with success the medical treatment he administered. One such was to a slave of the king of Sennar who had been sent to exact some due ; Mr Charles cured him of scrofula in eight days. The other was a slave of an important merchant, whose belly was attacked by a gangrene that was eating inwards. He arrested its progress and in fourteen days cured it entirely, and the treatment was continued until the skin grew again. These cures caused an Arab named Saleh, whose district is above Dongola, to consult our doctor for a paralysis which had affected one side of his body ; in gratitude for which he gave an order to entertain us at his expense on his territory (sur ses terres) and to provide us with everything. Then the Mek, who was called Akhmed, also wanted remedies, promising a substantial recompense ; but after receiving them he gave nothing, putting us off from day to day with different excuses. Many of his chief subjects treated us in the same way, receiving remedies with a promise of payment, and then not appearing again. The poor people acted in better faith, bringing their little present of a few fowls or provisions for ourselves or our animals ; and this did not fail to be acceptable, since in the town we could only change our money with the greatest difficulty and then nearly all of it was false. Respect for the throne of Abyssinia nevertheless compelled the Mek to order forage for our animals, but the day after it was given it was no more executed, either because he was little obeyed by his people, or else because he countermanded the order in advance. Eventually, however, he was obliged to give our guide the present of a horse.

We had to remain in this place awaiting (1) the brother of the vizier of Sennar, called Arbab Ibrahim (2) a fresh caravan which reached Machou a few days before the end of the year. Almost all our companions lost patience, and left Dongola to cross the desert above it ; but the prince and the Sheikh his associate had them stopped on their way. The new Ialales[18] or merchants having arrived, the Mek paid a visit to Arbab Ibrahim, accompanied by the Sheikh his associate who was to accompany us with his entourage almost as far as the desert above Dongola. On Sunday the 4th of January [1699] the Mek came to our tent, where I was alone with the son of our guide, who himself had stayed behind in the town with Mr Charles for the remedies taken to this prince (?). He was in such sorry attire that they had to tell us that it really was the Mek ; as escort he had about fifty half-naked Barbarins, only half a dozen of whom appeared before our tent. Then all the newly arrived merchants were summoned ; I paid him my compliments, and he replied courteously, asking to see our guns. He admired a little Dieppe *cadran*,[19] and made his claims on the new merchants and some Arab Sheikhs—all this in a manner so strict (estroite) on his side and so tumultuous on the other that I changed again (rabatis encore) my idea of his dignity. He spoke nevertheless of retaining Mr Charles as his doctor, and one does not know what he might have done, had it not been for his fear of the Abyssinian

[17] It would have been dangerous for the good father, who was travelling in disguise, to have risked discovery by embarking on a theological discussion which might have betrayed him.

[18] Copyist's error for Jalabes ?

[19] Strictly the face of a clock or watch, but here probably used in its later sense of the thing itself.

throne, to which Mr Charles was travelling, and which makes all this barbarism tremble.[20] I venture to say that doctors would gain nothing in this court either for themselves or for their religion, by reason of the poverty and corruption of this country.

At last on the 6th of January we departed with great joy, the more so that on the 3rd we had received the Consul's letter from Cairo and your own, which had acquainted us with the reception of our undertaking in Syria and at Paris and what was expected from it. On the 10th and on the day following we had a pleasant stay at the Sheikh Gandil's, the associate of the Mek or King of Dongola ; once very rich, he is now rather decayed, but full of generosity and kindness. He accompanied us to Corti, supplying us for the two days' journey and for the six of our stay at this village, and even on our departure for the desert. At this place we rejoined those of our caravan who had left us, and Sheikh Ibrahim and the Arbab went back, the latter after giving one of his finest horses to our guide. On the 19th we left Corti and the river and entered the Bihouda desert, turning towards the west and the south. We crossed it in five days. One begins to see trees and dry grass, the rains extending to this region, whereas everything up to this point was watered only by the overflow of the Nile or by machines. One leaves the river because it is inhabited by rebels against Sennar who plunder the caravans. We had to protect us a large body of people belonging to the vizier of Sennar's brother, who brought him horses. So we arrived safely at Dereira, a large village on the river, on the 23rd.[21] We left again on the 26th going westwards and the next day, after passing several rocks, we reached a branch (bras) of the Nile which we did not cross until the 28th, our guide having gone to ask permission. The crossing was made in a small boat in which the gum and merchandize was placed ; the animals were made to swim, tied at the head and loins and drawn from the boat as needed. The camels suffered much and several died there, for, although this branch of the Nile is not wide, it is deep and swift ; so far as I could make out, it joins the river at right angles.[22] We went to spend the night at Guerri, a large village at the entrance of the [Shabluka] gorge, after which there is flat ground the whole way to Sennar. We stayed at Guerri till the 31st while our guide tried to get leave for the rest of the caravan to pass. But the Sheikh or master of the ferry (passage) told him that, out of respect for the Abyssinian throne he and his party had every liberty,[23] . . . so the brother of the Abyssinian patriarch and the three godsiens (or Recolet fathers) remained on the further bank. We continued our journey, having the river, or rather the said branch, to the south of us, passing large populous villages built for the Barbarins with conical or pyramidal roofs because of the rains, which last three months in this country. We passed also through forests of thorns, and one or two of akacias. We recrossed the river on the 6th of February, leaving it on our north, and went to rest at the town of Harbagi, large but thinly inhabited, abounding in all provisions. We left it on the 9th and continued our journey towards this town of Sennar where we arrived on the 12th of this month. All is ready for our departure. We have a journey of 10 days before entering Abyssinia, but as the caravan is leaving shortly on its return journey I cannot say any more at present.

Your very humble and obedient servant,

JOSEPH DUVAL.

[20] This constant harping on the respect of the Barbarins for ' the Abyssinian throne ' must not be taken too seriously. It was probably part of the policy of the missionaries to magnify the influence of the Christian Kingdom. Between Donogola and Abyssinia lay Sennar, and the Dongolans could have nothing to fear from Abyssinia so long as Sennar stood in the way. It is, however conceivable that they may have suspected a political motive behind the mission—the intention to back Abyssinia against Sennar, or the Turks. If in the outcome Sennar should be crushed., they would then draw their dividends for any good treatment they had given to the mission. But this is to attribute great foresight to them, and the other explanation seems preferable.

[21] The punctuation is again wrong and has been corrected.

[22] The river was of course the Nile itself. Father Brevedent's points of the compass are all wrong ; from Corti the direction of his journey to the Nile at Dereira was south-eastwards, and thence south by west. For the probable explanation see p. 198, note 15.

[23] Something omitted here : perhaps ' but no others.'

II*

I have good news for you. Mr Charles [Poncet] and his companion are reported to have been received by the King of Sennar and kept there at his own expense. Mounted on superbly decorated horses, waited on as himself, all the country talks of them.[24] They have sent to Cairo some of the donations received together with four slaves, two black and two Abyssinian (et el tutto sta sopra il Nilo, ne tardara a comparire). I reckon that within forty days they will be in Gondar. Their advance has slowly succeeded, doubtless arranged by God for the achievement of his designs. I am looking forward eagerly (ardisco) to being able to assure you not only of their arrival in Ethiopia, but of a favourable reception. Thus the Gordian knot being, as I expect, cut, we shall soon have free entry into these vast regions. What comfort for all those who are interested in the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ ! I expect their letter today or tomorrow.[25]

Father Brevedant writes to me that he arrived in Dongola at the beginning of last November, leaving in January and reaching Sennar on February 13th.[26] They are there awaiting the reply of the King of Abyssinia and the news that Hagi Ali had given of their arrival. The letters of Father Brevedant are of the 10th of March. On the 15th of April a second caravan left Sennar, and is expected at Cairo within a month ; then we shall know the fate of our doctors, and if we may judge from the present state of affairs, the result will conform with our wishes. Their fame precedes them everywhere. The King of Sennar has done all he can to retain Mr Charles as his doctor, but Hagi Ali has contrived to prevent it, Father Pasquale, ' religioso Riformato,' remaining in his place. A king called Jacout, whose country is near Suachem, and who is said to be the brother-in-law of him of Abyssinia, was in Sennar, where he had married a sister of the young king. Mr Charles has given him various remedies, and the prince has promised to do all he can for him.[27]

III†

This is my third letter to you from this town where we have been for two months exactly today. We hope to leave in a few days, the rains having already begun here and further delay involving the risk of not being able to transport our goods. On the 20th and 21st of March I took the meridian height of the sun ; I found this to be 13 degrees of latitude and a little more ; I did not dare do this at Dongola. The compass varies here by $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. The heat has already been very great ; the rains will diminish it. I have nothing fresh to write about the town.

Our Lord blessed the medicine of Mr Charles ; he has made prodigious cures. The paternal uncle of the king, who was concealed during infancy to save him alive from the danger shared by all the king's brothers, having his thumb injured (perdu) through the hot iron (le fer et le feu) which the people of the country had applied to it, he has restored it perfectly. He has cured cases of scrofula and several other very troublesome maladies. He has relieved the Arbab Yacoub, ruler (souverain) of a fine principality near Souaken, with whom he has formed a friendship which will be useful later on ; he is brother-in-law

* Beccari, XIV, 87–8 : de Maillet's information partly derived from Brevedent's lost 2nd letter, dated 10th March, 1699.

[24] This is more interesting as an indication of De Maillet's state of mind than as a record of fact. It may be based on some remark in Brevedent's second letter, as there is nothing of the kind said in the other two ; or it may be just caravan talk that had come through to Cairo.

[25] Extract in Italian from a letter from De Maillet to Verseau dated 11th August, 1699.

[26] This is incorrect ; they arrived on the 12th ; see Brevedent's 1st and 3rd letters.

[27] Extract in Italian from a letter from De Maillet to Verseau dated 13th August, 1699.

† Beccari, XIV, 70–2. Brevedent's 3rd letter dated 12th April, 1699. addressed to Consul de Maillet. (Actually the first was not addressed to De Maillet but to Father Fleuriau, but it would have been sent through De Maillet's office).

of the king here and a great friend of the king of Abyssinia. Everyone wants his remedies, but payment stops them. Our rivals the Franciscans are here, detained, it is said, without being able to go on or go back ; they themselves tell us they have freedom to depart when they wish. I wrote to you how they were detained at the crossing of a branch of the Nile near the village called Guerri. From there their chief wrote to the king of Sennar, offering to practice medicine, saying he had presents for his majesty ; they came here and have been received on this condition. They have given the Mahometan king a camel loaded with presents, intended probably for the king of Abyssinia. I have already pointed out to you how they they were recognized by the patriarch's brother before our departure from Manfeloutte[28] ; his companion Father Benedetto admitted this in my presence. This old man took off his cap to touch his mark on the left temple, and reproached him for vainly attempting concealment after eating so often with him, where he had come to think of him as one of his children, and the father having offered him a pension of four crowns a month to become one of us ; that and in spite of all this he had kept up during the journey the pretence of their being Syrians and Armenians returned from the New World, and then obliged to admit they were Franks, so their journey was cut short, or at least interrupted for a long time. We have promised and sworn to each other that neither party will say anything here to the disadvantage of the other. Father Antoine has been parted from the other two for nearly two months ; they say he has gone to Souaken in order to go thence, God willing, by the Red Sea to Cairo to carry information. But our guide maintains that the king has sent him with a detachment of his people against the Arabs in revolt, to teach his people how to shoot. It is not known when he will be able to rejoin the others. If the first one had not come, the other two might have been able to avoid all these difficulties. We will write to you from the objective (terme) for which we have been sighing for so long and which we are near. I repeat the requests which I have made to you in my preceding letters.

1. Des camelots, etc. [the rest of his requirements are omitted].

IV§

A small caravan has arrived from Sennar and is going on without delay to Cairo. In this caravan is a young Turk[29] whom I know, from the environs of Sciout, who from past events I think to be favourably inclined towards me ; so I have given him this note to hand to you and assuring you of my respect. It conveys to you my anxiety to have news of you, and a reply to the letters[30] which I entrusted to Father Ambrose of Rome, a missionary who was returning to Cairo. I have no time to inform you of many particulars relating to our affairs and the revolutionary state of this country ; question the bearer of this, he

[28] There is no reference to this incident in any of the letters extant.

§ Beccari, XIV, 392–4 : Bayard's letter to Consul de Maillet. It is headed ' D'Elefous, pays des Fondjis, le 2e mai, 1707.' No place of this name is elsewhere recorded. It was, as stated in the letter, five or six days below Sennar, which is consistent with the position of Eilafun, on the east bank of the Blue Nile, 16 miles above Khartoum. This was the place of the famous Sheikh Idris who was granted land there and whose gubba (PLATE 19) is outside the town ; it seems to have been the resort of holy men. Possibly the correct spelling may have been ' Elefonj,' the ' n ' being misread as a ' u ' and the ' j ' as an old-fashioned ' s.' The name has been explained (perhaps incorrectly) as meaning ' slaves of the Fungs.' This identification is confirmed by De Maillet's statement that, after Du Roule's murder, the fathers had taken refuge with a sheikh who lived near the junction of the Blue and White Niles, in a region called Belad el Fokara, inhabited by holy men (santons) ; and it appears that they were living in the same village, or district, as Bayard (Beccari, XIV, 381).

[29] De Maillet says his name was Sultan; Beccari xiv, 395.

[30] None of these reached De Maillet, Father Ambrose having alleged that he had been robbed of them. He was forbidden even to go to see De Maillet by the superior of his Order which was that of La Terre Sainte; XIV, 395.

will explain many things. To gain the interest of the said bearer I have bought from him two Ethiopian fowls (poules), 4 Sevilian piastres, which you will be kind enough to give him, and I beg you to lose no opportunity of giving me news ; I am dying of impatience.

The king of Sennar has sent me a special messenger (un exprès) with a letter in which he adjures me by God and his Prophet to come, saying that no harm will be done to me. The king's brother has written to me three times to come[31] and that I shall be allowed complete freedom. A report is current at Sennar that I read the Koran and am expert at many things ; that is why he has not left me in peace for a single day, and indeed I am here as in a prison in this place, which is five or six days below (en deça de) Sennar. These last days the person whom the king of Sennar has sent to Garri to take possession and replace Sheikh Ahmet the rebel[32] passed by here ; he greeted me on behalf of the king and his brothers and reproached me for not going to Sennar. In short, I am watched on every side. I am, however, trying to think of a doorway out of this cruel prison. When you send me anything, be sure and take good security ; send little and promise much to those who will serve me (me serviront). The news which I have from Ethiopia is not too good ; I am told that there are great disturbances and revolutions, that the king has been deposed and his son put in his place. They write to me from Sennar that the son, fearing that his father's party might come back, has put his father to death. All this news does not make me go back ; I am still resolved to go on to the end ; if I cannot go in the capacity of envoy,[33] I am determined to go there as a private individual ; the expense incurred demands some results.

I beg you, sir, when you do me the honour of telling me something about our Europe and the share which friendship and gratitude give me in both the success and tribulation you have experienced, also to inform me of the state of your affairs with regard to those merchants. They are earthen pots that contend with iron ones ; they will learn to their cost what it means to disregard it (sic), which I desire with all my heart, and I assure you that I am, in all humility and respect, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

BAYARD.

At this moment I have received letter from the king's brother in which he begs me to come ; please, sir, write to me at the earliest.

APPENDIX 5 : *Krump's Itinerary*, 1701–2

1701

22 January :		11 a.m. dep. Moshaa ; camped in desert. [Mushu].
24	,,	arr. Baenne [Gharb Benna].
25	,,	arr. Zaftie, before sunset [Saati or Satti Beshir].
29	,,	dep. Zaftie, camped in open country.
31	,,	3 a.m. dep.
		7 p.m. arr. Backhri.

[31] The writer may have hoped, by reciting these facts, to play upon De Maillet's fear that he (the writer) might eventually go over to the King's side. Such a fear would act as an incentive to De Maillet to rescue him. Alternatively, the invitations were evidence of the esteem in which he was held in Sennar, and of his qualifications to replace his late master Du Roule as envoy to Abyssinia. See below.

[32] For him see p. 333.

[33] This was a plain hint which was understood and given favourable consideration by De Maillet, who clutched at any straw to redeem the failure of his cherished plans, upset by Du Roule's murder.

1 February :	4 hours before daybreak ; dep. Backhri.
	6 p.m. arr, Rolet [Golet].
2 ,,	2 hours after midnight : dep. Rolet.
3 ,,	1 hour after midnight arr. opp. Dungula.
5 ,,	F. Joseph and F. Carlo go to Dungula ; K. and F. Franciscus remain behind.
8 ,,	courier deps. for Sennar with letter for F. Paschalis.
9 ,,	F. Joseph reports arrival of brother of Viceroy Schiech Ali.
18 ,,	12 midday. K. arrives in Dungula ; F. Joseph pays customs 50 gulden and deps. without permission for Dungasi [Tangasi] ; K. remains behind.
20 ,,	before sunrise K. deps.
	12 midday : arr. Dungasi and joins his colleagues.
21 ,,	informed they can getch their cases from Dungula.
22 ,,	two Barbarins sent for them, who
23 ,,	return with them.
27–8 ,,	K's party joined by Jesuits Antonius and Grenier (28th ? evening),
9 March :	K. visits Paoleti ; receives letter from ' our 3 missionaries in Sennar.'
25 ,,	(Good Friday) : 3 hours before daybreak : dep.
	3 p.m. arr. Dabbi [Debba].
26 ,,	daybreak ; dep. Dabbi : camp in lonely place.
27 ,,	(Easter Day) : 3 hours before daybreak : dep.
	in daylight : arr. Caschabi [Goshabi].
28 ,,	5 p.m. arr. Dabulet Elgarbij, beating drums.
29 ,,	2 hours before daybreak : dep. Elgarbij.
	about Vesper-time : arr. Curti.
30 ,,	10 a.m. joined by a large part of the caravan, including the Jesuits.
2 April :	10 a.m. The whole caravan leaves [Curti] for the desert crossing, accompanied by 100 horsemen.
3 ,,	3 hours before daybreak : climbing gently all day.
	1 hour after sunset camped.
4 ,,	4 hours before daybreak : started.
	' the 2nd hour of the night ' : camped.
5 ,,	1 hour before sunrise : started.
	2 hours before sunset : arr. Bajuda wells.
6 ,,	7 a.m. dep. Bajuda.
	' 2 hours in the night,' camped.
7 ,,	4 hours before daybreak started.
	1 hour before night : halted for 3 hours only.
8 ,,	midday : halted for 2 hours [subsequent movements unintelligible].
9 ,,	4 p.m. arr. Triera. He states that, during the last 4½ days, which he gives as 83 hours, they have been marching for 67 hours.
10 ,,	some of the fathers [the Jesuits ?] start for Sennar.
11 ,,	another part of the caravan starts.
12 ,,	daybreak : K. and the rest start.
	Vesper-time : arr. Hambia and camp at the usual caravan-halt half-an-hour from an inhabited place.
13 ,,	before sunrise : dep. Hambia and marched for 12 hours.
14 ,,	before daybreak : dep.
	Vesper-time : arr. Sabagie.

15 April	after sunrise, started crossing the Nile.
	12 midday : dep.
	1 p.m. arr. Garri.
16 ,,	1 hour before sunrise : part of the caravan started.
	sunrise : part of the caravan started.
	2-3 p.m. : part of the caravan started (K. remains behind).
17 ,,	4 hours before daybreak dep. Garri.
	4–5 p.m. arr. Subaichen.
18 ,,	3 hours before sunrise : dep. Subaichen.
	after 3 p.m. arr. Halfai, and join whole caravan.
19 ,,	middle of night (before ?)
	1 p.m. arr. Helafun [Eilafun].
	before midnight dep. Helafun.
20 ,,	midday : arr. Corran.*
(20 ?) ,,	1 hour before midnight : caravan dep. Corran in relays.
21 ,,	3 hours before sunrise : K. dep. Corran and after 5 hours leaves the caravan accompanied by two zielabis and at
	8 p.m. arr. Peschakhre where there is a boat to cross the river.
	12 midday : cross the river.
	4 p.m. start again.
	6 p.m. camp in open country.
22 ,,	4 hours before sunset : dep.
	2 hours after sunset : camp.
23 ,,	2 hours before daybreak : dep.
	shortly before sunset : arr. Abunaschere [= ' father of ten '].
24 ,,	2 hours before daybreak : dep. Abunaschere.
	midday : arr. Abttiri.
	4 p.m. dep. Abttiri.
	' 2 hours in the night ' [*c.* 8 p.m. ?] : camp in open country.
25 ,,	4 hours before daybreak : dep.
	midday : arr. Bentria.
	4 p.m. dep. Bentria.
	3 hours after dark : camp.
26 ,,	3 hours before daybreak : dep.
	' after 7 hours ' [*c.* 10 a.m. ?] arr. Arbatschi ; the rest of the caravan cross the Nile.
27 ,,	12 midday : dep. Arbatschi.
	after 9 p.m. camp in open country.
28 ,,	before daybreak : dep., halt ' for a good hour ' at midday at a village by the river.
	late night : camp.
29 ,,	2 a.m. dep.
	midday. arr. Omsun.
	10 p.m. dep. Omsun and march all night.
30 ,,	1 p.m. arr. Hatschabella.
	3 p.m. dep. Hatschabella.
	' 2 o'clock in the night ' : arr. at a small place on the Nile.

* This should be Cotran, Poncet's Cotram, called Kurtang on the modern map. In Krump's book the ' t ' and ' r ' of the Roman letters, in which the place-names are printed, are almost indistinguishable ; but the reading ' Corran ' seems to be certain.

1 May : after sunrise : dep. and pass through a narrow defile in a wood, which occupied half-an-hour.

[midday or after] : arr. SENNAR. Soon afterwards on the same day K's party (Antonius Paoletti S.J., Josephus Maria a Jerusalem, Carolus á Cilento) were met there by Antonius Granier S.J. (superior, S.J.), our Prefect [Franciscus], Paschalis, and Benedict, who were expecting them, and had secured lodgings each for his own sect but in the same house. In the evening they had amongst other visitors the Maalem Moyses, a Sicilian of noble parents from Palermo. (Follows his history : he had been in Sennar since 1696).

[1700–1701] [Paschalis tells our Prefect in our presence the story of recent events. Benedict was sent by him a year ago [May 1700] with the legation of the King of Sennar to the Emperor of Ethiopia, by whom he was received courteously. Account of his audience. His discussions with the religious of the order of St. Anthony (Abbot) of whom there are many in Ethiopia. After some months he returns ill to Sennar where he is still ill. Paschalis sends Antonio della Terza to Gondar to get permission for himself (Paschalis) to go as doctor to the Emperor, which is granted.]

3 May : K. and Joseph sent by Prefect to the Viceroy, Schiech Ali and to the Schiech Arbabadem, who has become their patron. [The four most noble shiechs are these two and Naiel and Ismail].

4 ,, audience with the king (3 p.m.).

11 ,, discussion with Jesuits about plans.

15 ,, a Morsal (envoy) arrives from Ethiopia, with a letter about the peace treaty and asking for Paschalis as doctor. (In a letter to Paschalis the Emperor asked for P. and Benedictus ; but the latter is ill, and the King of Sennar won't let P. go unless he finds a substitute). The Prefect decides that K. should remain at Sennar and look after Benedict, K. having practised medicine in Rome for 2 years, and being well supplied with medicine.

25 ,, the two Jesuits say good-bye as they are starting for Ethiopia next morning.

26 ,, the two Jesuits start and are escorted by the King's soldiers to Turkin [Chirchin], 40 German miles from Sennar.

2 June : K. presented to the King as his doctor in open court ; the King appoints Schiech Ismail as his protector, and offers him Paschalis's vacant house, but he says he intends to stay in the palace of Schiech Diab, whose daughter is one of the King's wives.

6 ,, the Prefect Joseph and Carolo start, crossing the river to await the Morsal on the other side ; he had promised to come the following day but did not arrive till the 21st !

21 ,, the Morsal and Paschalis cross the river, join the rest and start for Ethiopia : they reach Gondar or Cathema on 9 August.

8 July : 2 p.m. K. starts for Garri with the Viceroy's son as Morsal and an escort of 10 men armed with spears and shields and mounted on dromedaries.

5 p.m. they reach a village which has to entertain and supply them with necessaries, as at all other places where they stopped.

9 July : start early and ride to midday ; K. is ill. They halt, 2 to 3 hours : *c.* 3 p.m. they start and ride till night.

10 ,, they start very early, and after 3 hours breakfast near Nile.
midday : they reach a village.
3 p.m. they resume the journey.
sunset : they reach another village, inhabited chiefly by *santoni* or *vagier*.

11 ,, they start early.
midday : they halt with Arabs in tents.
1 p.m. they resume the journey.
4 p.m. they reach Arbatschi.

12 ,, K., very ill, sends for Benedict d'Atripaldo from Sennar.

16 ,, K. finds that his letter to Benedict has not been sent. They start and K. tries to go to Sennar, but is forcibly prevented. High words with the Morsal. K. is bound, taken across the river, and then set free again. They march on, and reach a village on the Nile.

17 ,, they start very early and travel at the strong camel-pace for 6 hours. They stop in a big village ; at 1½ hours in the night [after dark ?] they reach an Arab village, where they are well received.

18 ,, they reach Peschkara early and remain there the whole day.

19 ,, they start at daybreak and ride continuously for 8 hours at the camel-trot which is one to two German miles an hour and reach a big village.

20 ,, they travel as the day before and reach a big village.

21 ,, they start early.
midday : they reach a big village belonging to the Schiech of Garri.
3 p.m. they start again.
2 hours in the night they reach 'the Arabs' who send to inform the Schiech of Garri of their arrival.

22 ,, They start at daybreak and
9 a.m. reach Garri, and are received by the Schiech in his palace. K. is then assigned to Alli Daud and sent to his house where he is given accommodation.

15 August : a caravan from Cairo and Dungula reaches the river near Garri.
9 a.m. K. with the brother of the Schiech of Garri and 5 other schiechs go to the river.
10 a.m., they reach the river, and cross it in a dug-out canoe. K. then meets Antoninus de Malta and Carlo Maria de Genua.

16 ,, the two new arrivals join K. in his house.

19 ,, the zielabis are received by the Schiech and give him presents.

1 September to 14 October : K. is ill all the time (full details given !). On his recovery he and Antoninus make various abortive attempts to depart.

26 November : a Morsal arrives from the army of the Schiech of Garri which was near the Red Sea, announcing a victory, which is celebrated (5 fine young camels killed).

28 ,, a caravan from the north arrives.

1 December : an arrangement is made with a friendly Barbariner to take Carolus on a camel to Sennar ; their best things are packed on it during the night and it is sent to join the caravan.

2 December: the caravan, and Carolus with it, departs early.

4 ,, another abortive attempt to start.

5 ,, the Morsal of the King of Sennar arrives and is met by the Schiech of Garri and his court, being of high rank. K. and Antoninus inform the Schiech that they are starting next day, load up and go to the zielabi's camping-ground outside the town where they spend a sleepless night.

6 ,, they start at daybreak; after 6 hours, while they were having a meal under a tree, four soldiers (armed) came and politely tried to persuade them to return, but they refused. They all go on to the next village.

7 ,, one of the soldiers goes back very early to Garri and reports to the Schiech in the presence of the Morsal who acquaints him with the king's order. The Schiech sends back a soldier to K. with a present of 30 gulden and a promise of a Morsal as far as Arbatschi, to arrive the next day.

8 ,, the Morsal arrives midday, and they all proceed, doing 6 to 8 German miles a day. K. did the cooking and A. looked after the camels.

15 ,, they arrive at Arbatschi where the Morsal is sent back with a tip of one Reichstaler, and they are joined by some merchants for Sennar.

20 ,, they arrive back safely in Sennar and are received by Benedict and Carolus. K. notes that they did not travel on the proper road but kept to the right by the dwellings of the Arabs and their cisterns.

1702

12 February: A Barbariner, servant of the two Jesuits, brings a letter from Paoletti, addressed to Krump. Both he and Granier were ill; they reached Gondar on 14 July [1701] and had an audience with the Emperor. Antonius della Terza was there too, and was on very good terms with the King.

29 March: return of Joseph a Jerusalem, Paschalis a Montella, Antonius della Terza, Antonius Paoleti, S.J.; the Prefect, Carolus a Zilento and Granier, S.J., had all died, and Paoletti was dangerously ill. Joseph had 8 Ethiopian boys, Paschalis 2 and Paoleti 1.

30 ,, Paoleti dies and is buried by Krump.

6 April: Antonio very ill.

9 ,, Paoleti's boy dies.

10 ,, they hear that a caravan will leave for Egypt at the end of the month, and discuss their plans: K. expresses indifference. [Follows an account of the proposed mission to Gazofoli, which began two years ago (*c.* April 1700) and had been authorized by S. C., to whom a copy of the letter of the King of G. had been sent. Krump and Carolus are designated to set out and make preparations].

15 ,, Antoninus of Malta falls very ill.

23 ,, the proposed mission to Gazofoli is abandoned, and it is decided that Antonius della Terza, Antoninus de Malta, Carolus Maria a Genua, the 8 Ethiopian boys (and Joseph) shall go to Egypt.

22 [*sic*] April	K. visits Sheikh Ismail and says goodbye. The Sheikh asks him to bring back two Bolognese dogs when he returns, and offers two civet cats in exchange ; K. replies that he may not return and that the dogs would not stand the journey, and he refuses the cats.
23 ,,	the caravan assembles outside the town ; it is taking much ivory.
1 May :	K. and Paschalis have an audience with the King, who gives Krump leave to depart and orders a letter to be written for him and Antonio. K. refuses the offer of gold in return for his services. Copy of the letter.
24 ,,	they move out to where the caravan is camped : Antoninus recovers.
28 ,,	Sheikh Tries, son of Sh. and Viceroy Ali, gives K. a rhinoceros-horn.
15 June :	the missionaries leave Sennar with the caravan. Antonio della Terza very ill and has to be supported on his donkey by a Barbariner.
16 ,,	they travel 10 hours. (Pasquale and Benedetto remain behind in Sennar)
17 ,,	Antonius and one of the Abyssinian boys very weak, but A. refuses to go back.
21 ,,	arr. Arbatschi.
22 ,,	the boy dies : two others, alarmed, escape but are recaptured. K. is told to remain behind with Antonius : they go to the house of the Vagir Machmud, where they are well looked after.
26 ,,	Joseph and Carolus leave with the sick Antoninus (of Malta). K. sends to Sennar for Paschal or Benedict to come to Arbatschi.
1 July :	Benedictus d'Adripaldo arrives at Arbatschi about an hour after sunrise, having covered the distance of about 30 German [actually 80 English] miles in 18 hours : this has made him ill, and K. now has two patients instead of one !
8 ,,	Antonius dies, and is buried the same day. A courier arrives from Sennar announcing the illness of Paschalis.
9 ,,	Benedict and the courier start back for Sennar at daybreak.
11 ,,	Two days later Arabs attempt to rob K. by breaking into the house.
12 ,,	the Vagir Machmud asks about the firing the previous night and K. is given two slaves to protect him.
14 ,,	another attack by Arabs.
15 ,,	K. therefore moves into another house belonging to a former patient of his, a Turk from Mecca.
19 ,,	Schiech Tries arrives ; he reports that Paschalis is well, but K. fears the worst and records that, as he afterwards learnt (incorrectly), P. died on the 24th.
24 ,,	K. leaves Arbatschi with the zielabi, crossing the river and camping at Mugasha. Their goods described.
27 ,,	they arrive at Paschadara [Bishaqra].
28 ,,	arr. Halfaya.
31† ,,	arr. Subaichen.
1 August :	arr. Garri : the caravan still at Triera.
3 ,,	K. crosses the river and reaches near Triera in 8 hours, the distance being about 15 German miles. The quick travelling makes him ill. In spite of this he goes on and joins the caravan 2 hours later. He is put up by an Egyptian Turk called Tubatschi.

† 21 by a misprint.

7 August	the caravan starts on its desert journey.
8 ,,	Arr. Bajuda.
12 ,,	8 a.m. dep. Bajuda.
15 ,,	arr. Curti.
24 ,,	arr. Dungula.
26 ,,	K. crosses the river to the town of Dungula with the royal merchants and his Turkish friend Tubatschi. He shows the King (whom he knew, having met him at Garri) his letters from the King of Sennar. The King gave them camel-fodder and a ' handsome sheep ' and they dined with him. Description of the meal.
28 ,,	the caravan starts again (from opposite Dungula).
9 September :	arr. Handakh : on the way there K. fell from his camel and broke his arm.
10 ,,	at Handakh.
11 ,,	dep. Handakh and march for 10 hours.
12 ,,	march for 8 hours.
13 ,,	march all day.
14 ,,	rest.
15 ,,	do a considerable day's journey.
20 ,,	arr. Moshaa, the last place in the kingdom of Nubia. They are obliged to remain for several weeks, to replace lost camels and to get information about the Arabs at Luach.
22 ,,	Carolus has a septic hand.
7 October :	two Barbarines are sent to reconnoitre Luach.
15 ,,	Barbarines returning from Cairo by the Nile route report that the Arabs have left Luach and made an agreement with the Turks to cede Luach in return for other places.
17 ,,	the camels are given drink.
19 ,,	there is a fight because the caravan refuses tribute to the governor. The Tubatschi puts the governor to flight.
21 ,,	the camels are again watered and fed.
4 November :	arr. Salime [Selima].
9 ,,	arr. Schœba.
9 December :	arr. Nachmim.
14 ,,	dep. Nachmim.
17 ,,	arr. Siud.
25 ,,	arr. Benesuef.

1703

1 January :	K. arrives Cairo.
14 ,,	Joseph and the 7 ' Mohren-Knaben ' arr. Cairo.

APPENDIX 6 : *Itinerary of the missionaries, Sennar to Gondar and back* (1701–2).

1701

26 May :	the Jesuits Paoletti and Granier leave Sennar with an escort.
21 June :	Paschalis and the Morsal cross the Nile at Sennar and join the Franciscan Prefect (Francisco á Salem), Joseph, Carolus á Cilento).

22 June: the whole party leaves for Gondar.
14 July: Grenier and Paulet arrive in Gondar (Krump 321).
23 ,, the Franciscans reach Turkhin, the last place in the Kingdom of the Fungi, separated by the Nile from the other (*i.e.* that of Abyssinia).
27 ,, dep. Turkhin.
1 August: arr. Selica.
2 ,, Courier sent to Gondar, 6 German miles distant [actually 32 English].
4 ,, the Prefect, Franciscus Maria de Salem, dies after nominating Joseph as his successor.
5 ,, burial of the Prefect in the church of St. George; departure of Paschalis with the Morsal.
7 ,, Paschalis arrives at Gondar and is installed as doctor.
9 ,, Joseph and Carolo arrive in Gondar where (he states) the Jesuits were trying to secure the post of doctor.
14 ,, Joseph is received by the Emperor and delivers an Arabic oration; he visits the General of the 'religiosi S. Antonii Abbatis.'
15 ,, Joseph and Carolus have another audience.
16 ,, they ask for another audience, which is granted. The Emperor tells of the arrival of other Franks, including 'Soliman' (Antonius della Terza) some months ago. Popular uneasiness on that account.
17 ,, Joseph asks for another audience and delivers the Breve Apostolicum.
18 ,, the missionaries visit the General of the religious of S. Antony, and hand him the Papal letter (given in full).
22 ,, the people collect in front of the palace and demand expulsion of the Franks. Joseph, asked for advice, tells the Emperor he is willing to return to Rome, but asks for a letter of acquittal, which is not granted.
23 ,, to appease the mob the Emperor has to promise to expel all the Franks, but says he will only expel Paschalis and the Jesuits, because they could not live in harmony with each other.
24 ,, all are ordered to leave within 3 hours, but Joseph and Carolus set out at once and are recalled before they have left the town. The Jesuits (and Paschalis) do not leave and after the date has expired are forcibly ejected by the mob, and chased out of the town. The Emperor sends a protective escort and, as the journey to Sennar is impossible on account of the rains, orders the missionaries to remain in a 'fortress not far from Selica.' Joseph and Carlo kept under house arrest.
3 September: Joseph and Carolus sent for by the Emperor; Joseph claims to have got a hold on the Emperor and to have been publicly appointed as a privy councillor.
25 ,, Carolus dies,
26 ,, and is buried in Our Lady's church.

September 1701 to February 1702: Joseph is now left almost alone, for Antonius, though a missionary, was not known to be such. Joseph receives a letter from Paschalis, reporting the death of Granier on the 25th. Paschalis asks to be transferred to a more healthy place; their request is granted by the Emperor who sends Antonius and his secretary, the Abbot Gregory, to conduct them to Selica (itself). Joseph remains in Gondar for 5 months, winning increasing regard and daily consulted by the Emperor on matters of religion.

1702

2 February : He again asks for a letter of discharge, promising to return with other missionaries. He claims to have converted the Emperor.

5 ,, Joseph again summoned by the Emperor ; he is presented with two gold bracelets, which he refuses, but after much persuasion accepts for the Pope. J., asked what presents the Pope would like, suggests boys of good breeding and intelligence, to be trained as missionaries.

7 ,, they are again sent for and presented with ' eight well built Aethiopian boys ' of good family, the eldest under 13, the youngest under 8.

18 ,, the Emperor give Joseph a letter of credence for the Pope.

24 ,, they all depart from Gondar with a Morsal, Joseph with a letter to the King of Sennar about the peace treaty, as plenipotentiary. (He claims to have carried out his diplomatic mission successfully).

26 ,, they reach Selica and are welcomed by Paschalis and Paoleti, the latter being seriously ill.

1 March : they proceed to Sennar doing short distances daily on account of Paulet's illness.

28* ,, they arrive back at Sennar more dead than alive (Krump, 348).

APPENDIX 7 : *Synopsis of events*, 1694–1721[1]

1694 : A proposal is submitted to Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide that a mission shall be formed in the kingdom of the Fungi (I, 178).

1697 : 20 January. Cardinal Sacripante proposes that the new mission be founded ; the Pope approves, and allocates 50,000 scudi to it. The mission is entrusted not, as formerly, to the fathers of the Holy Land, but to the Franciscans ; and its seat (or ' advanced base ') is to be at Achmim and in ' Fungi,' whence the missionaries can most easily proceed into Ethiopia (I, 186).

,, 3 February. Francesco Maria da Saleme, O.M.R., appointed Prefect of the Mission of Achmim, Fungi and Ethiopia (I, 186).

,, 24 March. Father Verzeau, S.J., granted a faculty for himself and five Jesuits to go as missionaries to Ethiopia ; they are Bodin, Pois Levache, Grenier, Bonamour, Brevedent (I, 186 : XIV, 4–5).

1698 : 10 June. Father Brevedent and the doctor Charles Jacques Poncet leave Cairo for Ethiopia (Poncet 1).

,, 5 September. Three Franciscans, Pasquale a Montella (Superior), Benedetto á Atripalda, Antonio della Terza, leave Cairo and join Poncet's caravan in Upper Egypt ; though travelling in the same caravan they remain aloof from Poncet and Brevedent ; at Gerri they are detained by the customs officers (XIV, 49, 66).

1699 : 12 February. Poncet and Brevedent arrive at Sennar, followed a few days later by the three Franciscans (XIV, 66, 71–2 : Poncet 18).

APPENDIX 6:

* They seem actually to have arrived on the 29th ; Krump gives both dates (pp. 322, 348).

APPENDIX 7:

[1] The Roman figures refer to the volumes of Beccari.

1699: 2 February.[2] Antonio della Terza is parted from his two companions on a mysterious journey (XIV, 72).

,, February or March. Pasquale has been appointed doctor to the King of Sennar (XIV, 88).

,, 12 May. Poncet and Brevedent leave Sennar for Gondar (Poncet 29).

,, 9 July. Brevedent dies at Barko (Poncet, 40–1 : Krump, 361–2).[3]

,, 21 July. Poncet arrives at Gondar.

,, 16 October. Benedetto is still in Sennar, but soon afterwards is sent by Pasquale to Gondar with the peace delegates of the King of Sennar (see under May, 1700).

1700: 1 May. Poncet leaves Gondar for Cairo via Massawa and the Red Sea (Poncet, MS).

,, May. Benedetto replaces Poncet as doctor of the King of Abyssinia, but after some months falls ill and is replaced (early in 1701 ?) by Antonio della Terza (I, 173 : XIV, 117, 185, 276 : Krump, 279, 344).

,, 17 September (about). Poncet arrives at Massawa (Poncet, 116).

,, 24 October. Krump and Joseph of Jerusalem leave Cairo for Siut on a river-boat (Krump, 160).

,, 28 October. Poncet leaves Massawa (Poncet, 120).

,, 5 November. Franciscus Maria á Saleme, Prefect of the Ethiopian Mission, leaves Boulak for Sennar, with his fellow-missionary Carlo di Cilento and the baggage of the expedition. The Jesuits Grenier and Paulet travel in the same caravan (Krump, 160).

,, 5 December. Poncet arrives at Jedda (Poncet, 123).

1701: 12 January. Poncet leaves Jedda (Poncet, 128).

,, 27 April (or a few days before).[4] Franciscus and Grenier arrive at Sennar (Krump, 275).

,, 1 May. The rest of the party (Carlo di Cilento, Krump, Joseph, Paulet) arrive at Sennar (Krump, 273).

,, 11 May. A conference is held at which the Jesuits maintain that their entry into Abyssinia will not prejudice the mission of the Franciscans and is fully authorized (Krump, 290).

,, 15 May. An envoy (Morsal) of the King of Abyssinia reaches Sennar with a draft of the peace treaty, and a request for Pasquale to go there as his doctor (Krump, 290).

,, 26 May. Grenier and Paulet leave Sennar for Gondar (Krump, 291).

,, 2 June. Krump is formally appointed doctor to the King of Sennar in succession to Pasquale who is going to Abyssinia in a similar capacity (Krump, 291–2).

,, 20 June. Poncet arrives back in Cairo (XIV, 153).

,, 21 June. Pasquale and the Morsal cross the river from Sennar and join Franciscus (the Prefect), Joseph of Jerusalem and Carlo di Cilento, who have been awaiting them since the 6th. Krump and Benedetto remain behind in Sennar (XIV, 276 : Krump, 292).

,, 8 July. Krump starts for Gerri whose Sheikh has asked for the loan of his medical services (Krump, 293).

,, 14 July. Paulet and Grenier arrive in Gondar (Krump, 321).

,, 22 July. Krump reaches Gerri (Krump, 299).

,, 23 July. Franciscus and his fellow-travellers reach Turkhin (Chirkin), the last place in the kingdom of the Fungi (Krump, 327).

[2] This occurred 'nearly two months' before 12th April, according to Brevedent (3rd letter).

[3] Giving the date (wrongly) as November, 1698.

[4] Bichot received a letter from Grenier dated Sennar, 27th April, 1701 (XIV, 185).

1701 : 1 August. Franciscus and his fellow-travellers reach Selica (Chilga) (Krump, 327).
„ 4 August. Franciscus, the Prefect of the Franciscan mission, dies at Selica, after nominating Joseph as his successor (XIV, 275 : Krump, 329).
„ 7 August. Pasquale and the Morsal arrive in Gondar ; Pasquale is appointed king's doctor (XIV, 263, 276–7 : Krump, 330).
„ 9 August. Joseph, now Prefect, and Carlo di Cilento arrive in Gondar (Krump 330).
„ 14–17 August. Joseph has an audience each day with the King (Krump, 330–3).
„ 15 August. Krump meets the Franciscans Antonino de Malta and Carlo Maria de Genova who have arrived at Gerri from Cairo (Krump, 303).
„ 24 August. The Jesuits, Grenier and Paulet and the Franciscan Pasquale are expelled from Gondar and sent to a fortress near Selica (Chilga) (Krump, 340–1).
„ 1 September to 14 October. Krump is ill at Gerri (Krump, 306–10).
„ 24 September (before). Poncet and Father Verzeau, S.J., have left Cairo for France.
„ 25 September. Carlo di Cilento dies at Gondar, where Joseph is now alone except for Antonio della Terza who, though a missionary, was not regarded anywhere as such (unter disem Titl aller Orten ganz unbekandt) (Krump, 342, 362 : xiv, 276).
„ 25 September.[5] Grenier dies in the fortress near Chilga (xiv, 263 : Krump, 343).
„ 26 September (after) : Pasquale having asked to be transferred to a more healthy place, the King sends Antonio della Terza and the Abbot Gregory, his secretary, to conduct him and Paulet to Chilga itself (Krump, 343).
„ 2 December. Carlo Maria de Genova leaves Gerri with the caravan taking the Fathers' best things with him (Krump, 316).
„ 6 December. Krump with his fellow-Franciscans, Antonino de Malta and Carlo Maria de Genova at last succeed in leaving Gerri for Sennar, accompanied by a Morsal as far as Arbatschi (Krump, 317–8).
„ 20 December. They arrive back in Sennar, where they are met by Carlo Maria de Genova and Benedetto (Krump, 317).
1702 : 2 February. Joseph, at Gondar, claims to have converted the King to the Catholic Faith.
„ 12 February. Krump, at Sennar, receives a letter (now lost) addressed to him by Paulet.
„ 18 February. Joseph claims to have obtained from the King of Abyssinia a letter of credence (Credenz-Schreiben) containing the King's profession of faith, which he was to deliver to the Pope as evidence of the King's conversion[6] (Krump, 348).
„ 24 February. Joseph, Antonio della Terza, the 8 Aybssinian boys and a Morsal leave Gondar (Krump, 348).
„ 26 February. They reach Selica (Chilga) where they are joined by Pasquale and Paulet, the latter seriously ill (Krump, 348).
„ 29 March. They arrive back in Sennar (Krump, 322).
„ 30 March. Paulet dies (Krump, 323).
„ 10–23 April. A mission to the King of Gazofoli, who has recently been conquered and converted to Christianity by the King of Abyssinia, is discussed, and Krump and Carlo Maria de Genova are designated for it ; but the project is abandoned (Krump, 350–1).

[5] The date of Grenier's death given by Beccari (23rd January, 1701 : XIV, 82, note 1) is obviously wrong.

[6] This letter was eventually proved to be a forgery, probably composed in Cairo.

1702 : 1 May. Krump and Pasquale are received by the King of Sennar and Krump is given leave to depart, now that Pasquale, his former doctor, has returned. Krump receives a letter of recommendation from the King, who is there called 'the son of King Badi of the King Gionsa' (ein Sohn des Kônigs Badi dess Kônigs Gionsa)[7] to Machomet, viceroy of Nubia and Garri to the Red Sea, and through him to the King of Dungala (Krump, 354–6).

,, 15 June. Joseph, Krump, Antonio della Terza, Antonino de Malta, Carlo Maria de Genova leave Sennar, taking with them the 8 Abyssinian boys, and leaving Pasquale and Benedetto behind at Sennar ; Antonio is very ill (Krump, 359).

,, 21 June. They reach Arbatschi ; one of the Abyssinian boys dies on the way thither (Krump, 359).

,, 26 June. Joseph, Carlo and Antonino proceed with the caravan, leaving Krump to look after Antonio (Krump, 361).

,, 1 July. Benedetto arrives at Arbatschi in response to an urgent summons from Krump, but falls ill himself (Krump, 361).

,, 8 July. Antonio della Terza dies (Krump, 362 : XIV, 276).

,, 24 July. Krump leaves Arbatschi (Krump, 367).

,, 3 August. Krump rejoins the caravan and his fellow-missionaries at Triera (Dereira) (Krump, 368).

,, 24 August. They reach Dungula (Krump, 371).

,, 20 September. They reach Moshaa (Mushu) (Krump, 376).

,, 9 December. Krump reaches Achmim (Krump).

1703 : 1 January. Krump arrives in Cairo (Krump).

,, 5 January. Joseph arrives in Achmim (XIV, 277).

,, 29 January. Joseph, from Achmim, sends to Rome a duplicate of his previous letter (XIV, 275[8]), claiming to have been appointed by the King of Abyssinia as his Ambassador to the Pope, and adding a paragraph with the latest news (XIV, 277).

,, 11 March (about). Joseph leaves Cairo for Rome with the 7 Abyssinian boys (one having died) ; there he sees the Pope and hands him the alleged letter from the King of Abyssinia. While at Rome he puts forward a proposal to found a mission for Socotra, asks for 1000 scudi for having brought the Abyssinian boys to Rome, and a grant of 60 scudi[9] for the Achmim mission (I, 179–80 : XIV, 328).

,, 22 August (about). Poncet is back in Cairo again.

,, September (?). Poncet starts for Abyssinia for the second time, in company with Father Du Bernat, S.J., and Murat, but is arrested at Jedda and forbidden to proceed to Massawa.

1704 : 9 February. Pasquale given leave by Sacra Congregatio to return to his province for reasons of health (I, 202).

,, 1 April. Du Bernat arrives back in Cairo.

,, 19 July. Du Roule, French envoy to the King of Abyssinia, starts from Cairo (XIV, 369).

[7] Almost certainly an error for 'des Königs Badi, ein Sohn dess Königs Gionsa.'

[8] Stated by Beccari (I, 53, summary) to have been written at Sennar. In the 4th line of this letter the date of Joseph's departure from Sennar for Abyssinia, printed as 26th January, should be 21st June or before.

[9] In 1707 the French Consul was asked to pay *each* of the Achmim missionaries 60 scudi (I, 203).

1704 : October. Joseph, now back in Cairo, informs Rome that the way into Ethiopia is now closed by reason of Du Roule's embassy[10] ; but that he will try to go there nevertheless. He had made an attempt already, but had been robbed in the desert of Beris.[11] Two other fathers had left before him and arrived [in Sennar ?] (I, 180).

1705 : May (about). Du Roule arrives in Sennar.

" 18 June. Du Roule is last heard of, a packet of letters bearing this date being received in Cairo (Bruce iii, 521).

" August–September or November 25. Du Roule and his party assassinated at Sennar. After this Joseph and two other missionaries[12] take refuge among the santons (holy men) of Belad el Fokara, near the junction of the Blue and White Niles (XIV, 381). Bayard, left behind ill by Du Roule, is with a santon at Elefous (Eilafun) near the missionaries (XIV, 392 ff).

1706 : 21 January. The King of Abyssinia writes to Bady, King of Sennar, asking him (among other things) not to allow the monk Joseph to proceed to Abyssinia, where his presence would merely cause trouble (Bruce IV, 3).

1707 : 14 January. Joseph reported to be in great danger on account of revolts at Sennar ; S.C. asks Giacomo d'Albano, Proctor of the Mission, for news of him (I, 203).

" 2 May. Bayard, from Elefous (Eilafun), writes for help to De Maillet, who receives his letter in November (XIV, 392–4).

" June. Joseph is still in ' Nubia,'[13] and appears to have no prospect of reaching Abyssinia. Two missionaries have returned from him and passed through Cairo where they saw De Maillet ; they had no letter from Bayard for him, alleging that it was stolen on the journey, though those of Joseph,[14] says De Maillet, were not (XIV, 381).

" 18 June. De Maillet, in a letter, states his opinion of Joseph who is a Roumi[15] and a Chami (XIV, 383). The letter from the King of Abyssinia to the Pope is a forgery, and the seven black scoundrels were bought at Sennar or on the journey thither from Gondar (Le Grand II, 208).

" 19 September. S.C. is grieved to hear of Joseph's misfortunes, but, having received no letters from him for a long time, and having heard unfavourable reports about him, including grave accusations by De Maillet, asks Carlo Maria de Genova[16] for a confidential report about him. Is there any real hope of entering Abyssinia, or even so of obtaining results ? Joseph is told to look to his own safety, and if he cannot enter Abyssinia to return to Egypt (I, 180, 203).

1708 : Poncet dies in Persia.

[10] Beccari says that this may mean merely that Du Roule refused to take Franciscans under his protection. But there is no evidence of any such refusal, which would be inconsistent with the postscript in his letter to his brother at the end of May, 1704 : see Lhuiller, 1890, p. 312.

[11] In the southern part of the oasis of Khargah. Giacomo d'Albano alleged that this robbery was instigated by De Maillet (XIV, p. 27).

[12] Bruce states (III, 525) that ' the friars, who were in numbers at Sennar, left it immediately before the coming of M. du Roule,' and returned immediately after his murder. He gives no authority for this statement, which is the exact contrary of the facts. I can find no evidence that there were ever more than three ' friars ' in the Kingdom of Sennar about this time ; and so far from returning to Sennar, they fled in terror of their lives. The exact whereabouts (at the time of the assassination) of Joseph and the two missionaries who had gone on ahead of him is unknown.

[13] Probably somewhere near Eilafun. The word ' Nubia ' seems at this time to have connoted the domains of the Sheikhs of Gerri : see Krump's letter of recommendation from Badi (p. 311).

[14] No such letters have survived and indeed it is most unlikely that they ever existed ; see below, 19th September.

[15] *i.e.* Syrian or, as we should now say, Levantine.

[16] See above 1701 (15th August, 20th December) 1702 (15th June).

1708–9 S.C. receives an unfavourable report on Joseph : grave charges are brought by Benedetto de Teano and the Guardian of Jerusalem against the whole Mission. Joseph writes that, the King of Abyssinia having died, fresh papers and subsidies are required ; these are supplied (I, 181, etc.).

1708 : 7 April. Joseph writes that he is still prevented from starting on his mission (I, 181).

„ 25 April. De Maillet having left the Consulate, his successor De Peleran arrives in Cairo (XIV, p. XXX).

1710 : 28 December. Liberato di San Lorenzo, in a letter from Achmim, reports the death of Joseph (I, 53).

1711 : S.C. appoints Liberato di San Lorenzo as Prefect of the Mission in succession to Joseph. Giacomo d'Albano reports that the Sennar route to Abyssinia is now impracticable, and proposes to substitute the one by Suakin and Massawa. Fresh letters and subsidies are asked for an granted (I, 181).

1712 : Liberato and two others enter Abyssinia by Massawa (I, 181–2 ; XIV, p. IV).

1716 : All three are stoned to death by an infuriated mob. The Ethiopian mission is suspended ; in the process of winding it up various disputes arise, in which Benedetto d'Atripalda, Giacomo d'Albano and others are involved (I, 210 ff).

1718 : 26 April. The accounts of the Ethiopian mission are described as being still in a state of confusion (I, 211).

1719 : 25 September. Benedetto d'Atripalda ordered to return to his province (i, 212).

1721 : 13 January. The order is repeated and his conduct described as insubordinate (torbolento). (I, 214).

APPENDIX 8. *Bruce's Itinerary.*

1769. Massawa : landed there 19th September.

1772. Ras el Fil [Gallabat] : 22nd January to 15th March.
Teawa [Gedaref] : 23rd March to 18th April.
Beyla : 19th April.
Baherie : 22nd April.
Cohala Arabs : 23rd April.
Nuba villages : 25th April.
Basboch : 26th April.
Sennar : 29th April to 5th September.
Soliman : arr. 5th September.
„ dep. 8th September.
Wed el Tumbel : dep. 3 p.m., 8th September.
Sit el Bet (Sheikh's tomb) : dep. 6.10 a.m., 12th September.
Ageda : ' a few minutes after ' Sit el Bet.
Usheta : 5 miles from Ageda.
A third village : passed 9.30 a.m.
Wed Hydar : ' a pool of water ' ; 11.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.
Shwyb : ' about 5 miles further ' ; encamped there.
Imsurt [Umm Sunt] : about 1½ miles beyond it, joined the river.
Wed Medinai : arr. 6.45 p.m., 12th September.
„ dep. 6.0 a.m. 14th September.
Beroule : 8.45 a.m.

1772. Azazo : arr. 11.15 a.m., 1½ miles from the Nile.
" dep. 4.10 p.m., going nearly N., parallel to river, 2½ miles away.
Sidi el Genowi : arr. 6 p.m.
" " dep. 6.30 a.m., 16th September : 'Two villages on our left along the river-side, not 50 yards from the water,' passed a few minutes after leaving.
El Mensy.
Two fakirs' tombs.
Herbagi : arr. 10.15 a.m.
Herbagi : dep. 7.0 a.m., September 18th.
Wed el Frook : arr. 11.0 a.m.
" " dep. 5.30 a.m., 19th September ; large village and fakir's tomb at about 4 miles.
Abou Ascar : 10.0 a.m., on a small hill, a large island a little E. of it.
Kamily : arr. 1.45 p.m.
" dep. 5.15 a.m., 20th September.
Wed Tyrab : about 6 miles.
Bishaggara : arr. 10.45 a.m., a large village, about a mile from the Nile.
" dep. 3.50 p.m.
Eltie : arr. 7.0 p.m., a straggling village, about ½ mile from the Nile.
Gidid : arr. 10.30 p.m., houses of clay with terrassed roofs.
" dep. 7.0 a.m. 21st September.
The Nile reached 'near 3 miles' from Gidid ; passage completed 12.30 p.m.
Halifoon : arr. 3.35 p.m.
" dep. 3 p.m., 22nd September.
Halfaia : arr. 10.0 p.m., 'a large, handsome and pleasant town, although built with clay.' The Battaheen encamped near Umdoom, 7 miles away.
" dep. 6.0 a.m., 29th September ; two villages at about 3½ miles, small one to N., large one to W., Nile NE. of us. [Kadaro and another ?]
Shekh Atman's : fakir's tomb.
Wed Hojila : [Khor es Saqqai ?] 8.30 a.m., 5 miles further.
Suakem : arr. 12.30 p.m. [Krump's Subaichen].
" dep. 4 p.m. ; the 'Arabs Abdelab' 5 miles further in a wood : encamped there.
Wood : dep. 5.0 a.m., 30th September.
Gerri (suburb) : 8 miles NE. of last.
" dep. 5.30 a.m., 1st October.
Changed direction to NE. at 8.10 a.m., rounding the point of the Acaba, distant 3 miles.
Wood : dep. 3 p.m., 2 miles from river, which ran N.
Acaba of Morness : 4.20 p.m.
Hajar el Assad or Hajar Serrareck, 'a beggarly, straggling village,' and the Agib-Chendi boundary, arr. 6 p.m.
Hajar el Assad : dep. 5.30 a.m., October 2nd ; small houses and *sakies* at about 2 miles.
Wood : 8.20 a.m. ; too hot to travel.
Hajar el Dill : a mile from the last.
Derreira seen, near 3 miles further on, being the landing-place opposite Wed Baal a Nagga (p. 435).

1772. Deleb seen, near 4 miles further on, on the same side ; a large village with shrine of famous saint of that name.

Wed Baal a Nagga : arr. 6.30 p.m., large village belonging to a fakir of Chendi ; ferry for Bahiouda desert route (p. 435).

,, ,, dep. 5.0 a.m., 3rd October ; tomb of Fakir el Deragi 7 miles further to NE.

Maia : arr. 9.0 a.m., a verdant spot inhabited by Jaheleen Arabs of Wed el Faal.

,, dep. 3.30 p.m.

Gooz : 3 miles, a small village.

Fakari arr. 6 p.m.

Chendi : arr. 8.0 a.m., 4th October, 6 miles E. of Fakari.

,, dep. evening, 20th October ; rested 2 miles from the town.

,, (2 miles from) : dep. 4.0 a.m., 21st October, passing 5 or 6 Jaheleen villages on left.

Curgos Island (opp. S. end of) : 9.0 a.m., having gone 10 miles ; opposite mountains of Gibbainy, ruins of Meroe.

Hor Gibbaity [Gabati, S. of Aliab] : arr. 11.30 a.m. a mile from the river.

,, dep. afternoon, October 22nd.

Dow-dowa : villages of the Macabrab.

Demar (Ed Damer] : 3 miles further ; village belongs to Fakir Wad Madge Doub, a Jaheleen saint ; the Eliab at Howiah, 4 miles on our left.

Demar : dep. 6.45 a.m., 25th October.

Tacazze [Atbara] : arr. 9.0 a.m., 5 short miles from Demar ; two small villages of mud and canes called Dubba-beah ; the ferry about ½ mile above confluence with Nile ; the Tacazze the boundary between Atbara and Berber provinces.

,, dep. 3.15 p.m.

Gravelly waste piece of ground : arr. 4.30 p.m.

,, ,, dep. 6.0 a.m. 26th October.

Gooz [Berber] : arr. 3.40 p.m., a small village, though the capital of Barbar ; 6 or 7 different villages, but not above 30 houses ; 15 miles below the Nile-Atbara confluence.

,, dep. 12.0 noon, 9th November.

Hassa : arr. 3.30 p.m. (?) ; here the Nile runs below Jibbel Ateshan (mountain of thirst) ; the sakia or watering-place is below the village ; spent whole day soaking and filling skins.

,, dep. about 11.0 a.m., 11th November, 1772.

APPENDIX 9 : *Composition of Bruce's 'Travels.'*

The following account of how Bruce's 'Travels' were composed was published in *Notes and Queries*, CXLVII (July-December, 1924, 295–6). The first few paragraphs are omitted, and also the latter part which is concerned with Bruce's manuscript collections. I wish to thank my friend and colleague, Mr H. W. Edwards, for calling my attention to this passage, and for the loan of the volume, and the Editor of *N. & Q.* for permission to reprint it.

'Of the miscellaneous Bruce Papers now made public, the first relates to the preparation of his five volumes of travel, etc. It is the signed statement of M. Latrobe then (1788)

Pastor of the Moravian Church in Fetter Lane, partly written by him, but completed and signed by Samuel Lysons, the topographer, at that date resident in neighbouring Clifford's Inn.

About the middle of May, 1788, I was applied to by Mr Preston of the King's printing office in the name of the Hon'able Daines Barrington, and desired to call upon Mr Bruce in Buckingham Street (Strand) in order to assist him in arranging his papers for the press. I accordingly called the next morning, and was immediately set to work by him ; he dictated to me his ideas, leaving it to my own judgment, in a great measure, in what words I chose to express them. This was a task which required the most persevering attention, as well as a great quickness of pen, as he himself, seated in an easy chair, had nothing to do but crowd his ideas upon me, and he was very impatient if I did not keep pace with him. In this manner I attended him every morning before 8 o'clock. and was frequently detained till 9 at night, during which time I had no intermission of labour unless when he was under the necessity of devoting some time to a friend that called upon him, or he chanced to fall asleep in the midst of his dictating, or during the time of dinner, for breakfast and tea were expected to make no interruption to the business. I believe that during the whole time of my attendance I did not miss above four of five days without doing more or less for him.

The Introduction to his work which I wrote entirely from his dictating in the above manner, was very voluminous. It filled I believe nearly 100 folio leaves, the greater part of which I also copied. I, besides this, at my leisure at home and during the interruptions occasioned by the calling of his friends upon him, corrected nine folio volumes according to the annotations of the Hon'ble D. Barrington and the Bishop of Carlisle, a very tedious and disagreeable task, as he insisted upon my using my own judgment in places where the annotation[s] had differed, or when they had said nothing, in doing which I had once or twice the misfortune to offend him in endeavouring to expunge a few grammatical errors. Besides this I made him a very accurate drawing of a stone, one side of which was covered with hieroglyphical characters, the other with a variety of figures in alto and basso relievo.

On the 28th June, 1789, I had finished all he wanted, and we both left town. He took me in his carriage to Temple Bar, and a conversation took place to this effect : He said that he was much embrarassed how to recompense the labour and assiduity and the assistance I had given him, as he wished to *remunerate* me as a *friend*, not as a clerk : I told him that I was under the same embarrassment, especially as I wished to serve him as a friend, and not as a *clerk*. He then told me he should be in town, and want my assistance the following November, he would postpone his *remunerations* till then, to which I agreed. Upon my return to town I wrote to him several letters upon subjects he had wished to be informed upon, and sent him a letter or two from my uncle, to whom he is under great obligations ; to all these he returned no answer nor did he acknowledge the receipt of some books I sent him. Finding that he had changed his mind in regard to the predicament I stood in with him and that he no longer considered me as a *friend*, I wrote to him in the capacity of his clerk, a letter in terms as polite as I was master of reminding him of his *remuneration*. I received no answer. I therefore consulted Mr Preston and Mr Barrington, who advised me to write again. I did so, and after two months' delay received the annexed specimen of Abyssinian literature. Mr Barrington, Mr Elmsley and Mr Preston can witness my having been then employed, but to the nature of my employment I believe it will be difficult for me to find a witness.

(Signed) B. H. LATROBE.

Copy of Mr Bruce's letter.

Mr Latrobe.

Sir,

I have received your letter and really never thought you put yourself on the footing of payment, nor do I well know for what, for it has been of no use to me. Your drawing, if just, is out of all size for engraving. As for your reading the book, I never understood it was to be material to me indeed it is so little so that I have quite changed and newmodelled it and wrote it fair since you saw it, nor has your reading the manuscript save(d) me an hour's work. Elmsley has an account with me, that is to say I am in his debt and it is his own fault that I am so, for I keep no account. *If he will advance you such a thing as five guineas* for me I will repay him and he may draw upon for the whole, but I really never though I had another debt in London.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

To this Samuel Lysons has added his opinion as to the process and possibility of recovery, and after pointing out there was no agreement entered into, says Mr Latrobe will recover 'a quantum meruit' in an action of 'assumpsit' 'as there is no evidence of his having been appointed by Mr Preston on behalf of Mr Bruce to the task, and servants or visitors will bear out his statement of being so employed. Also if notice is given to produce the work, there will be strong evidence, and although Bruce in his letter confined his admissions of assistance to reading, there is every probability of a Jury finding damages in excess of the amount proffered, tho' I think it not very likely, at any rate, that he [Bruce] will suffer himself to be exposed in a Court of Justice.'

Signed, 'S. LYSONS.'

This long document on four sheets folio is endorsed 'Mr Latrobe's case, 1788.'

APPENDIX 10

Table showing rate of travel.

Date	Stages	Caravan (C) or small party (SP) and rate per hour at 6 hours per day	No. of days	Distance	Average miles per day
Feb. 1 1.	PONCET				
(1699)	Dep. Guerri	C			
,, 12	Arr. Sennar	2·9	12	212	17·6
2.	LINANT				
Nov. 28	Dep. Shendi				
Dec. 4	Arr. Halfaya } 9 days, 160 m.	SP			
,, 12	Arr. Sennar } at 17 m.p.d.	2·8	15	260	17·3
April 17 3.	KRUMP				
(1701) *a.*	Dep. Gerri				
,, 19	Dep. Helafun } 12 days, 140 m.	C			
May 1	Arr. Sennar } at 11·6 m.p.d.	2·4	15	212	14·1
July 8 *b.*	Dep. Sennar }	SP (about 27 hours)			
,, 11	Arr. Arbagi }	3·1	3½	84	24
July 16	Dep. Arbagi }	SP			
,, 22	Arr. Gerri }	3·5	6	128	21·3
June 15 *c.*	Dep. Sennar }	C			
(1702)					
,, 21	Arr. Arbagi }	2	7	84	12
July 24	Dep. Arbagi }	SP*			
Aug. 1	Arr. Gerri }	2·5	8½	128	15
	Totals	C 2·4 }	34	508	14·9
		SP 3 }	33	600	18·1

* But accompanied by zielabis.

SUMMARY OF BRUCE'S TIMES AND RATES

Between Sennar (dep. 5 September) and Meroe (arr. 21 October) 1772

Stages	Days	Miles	Rate per day
Sennar to Wad Medani ..	7 } 9½	56 } 84	8 miles } 8·8
Wad Medani to Arbagi ..	2½ }	28 }	11 ,, }
Arbagi to Eilafun	4	60	15 ,,
Eilafun to Halfaia	1	20	20 ,,
Halfaia to Gerri	1½	38	25 ,,
Gerri to Shendi	3	58	29 ,,
Shendi to Meroe	1	28	28 ,,
Total	20	288	14·4

Note. Cooley (' Negroland of the Arabs,' p. 48) refers to Major Rennell's Memoir on the rate of travelling as performed by caravans ; *Phil. Trans.*, LXXXI, 144. The rate in Africa for loaded caravans is there found to be $14\frac{5}{6}$ (14·8) miles per day. This estimate agrees quite well with the average of 14·4 given above, and very closely indeed with that of 14·9 obtained from 34 days' travelling over the same stretch of country.

APPENDIX II : *Poncet's description of Sennar,*[1] (1699)

This city, which contains near a league and a half in compass, is very populous, but has nothing of neatness, and besides is ill governed. They number in it near a hundred thousand souls. It is seated westward of the river Nile, upon an eminence . . . The houses are only one story high, and are ill built ; but the flat roof which covers them is very convenient. As to the suburbs, they are only wretched cottages covered with reeds . . . (pp. 18, 19).

[The King] dines twice a week at one of his country houses, which is at a league's distance from the town. The order he observes in his march is this. Between three and four hundred horsemen mounted upon fine horses make the first appearance. After these comes the King, attended by a great number of footmen and armed soldiers who with a loud voice sing forth his praises and play upon the tabor, which makes no unpleasant harmony. Seven or eight hundred young maids and women march together with these soldiers, and carry upon their heads great round baskets of straw, of different colours and finely made. These baskets which represent all sorts of flowers, and the covers whereof

[1] Spelling and punctuation modernized.

are pyramid-wise,[2] are filled with copper dishes tinned over, and full of fruit, and several meats ready dressed. These dishes are served before the King, and afterwards are distributed amongst those who have the honour to attend upon him. Two or three hundred horsemen follow in the same order as those that went foremost, and close the whole march (pp. 21–2).

The King who never appears in public but with his face covered with a silk gauze of several colours, sits down to a table as soon as he is arrived. The usual diversion of this prince is to propose prizes to the lords of his court, and to shoot with them at a mark with a gun, at which they are not as yet very expert. After they have spent the best part of a day in this exercise, they return in the evening to the town, observing the same order as at their setting out in the morning. This entertainment is regularly taken on Wednesday and Saturday every week. On other days he holds a Council morning and evening, and applies himself to administer justice to his subjects without leaving any crime unpunished. In that country they don't seek to protract causes. As soon as a criminal is seized, they bring him before the judge, who examines him and condemns him to die, if he be guilty. The sentence is executed on the spot; they take the criminal and throw him upon the ground, then with great clubs they beat him upon the breast till he expires. In this manner during our stay at Sennar, they treated an Aethiopian called Joseph, who had had the misfortune some time before to renounce the Christian religion and embraced the Mahometan . . . (pp. 22–3).

All things are very cheap at Sennar. A camel costs not above seven or eight Livers, an ox fifty pence, a sheep fifteen, and a hen a penny. Wheaten bread does not relish with those people, which they only make for strangers. The bread which they themselves eat is that of Dora, which is a small grain . . . 'Tis good whilst it is new, but after one day it grows insipid and not to be be eaten. 'Tis a sort of large cake about the thickness of a crown. The commodities of this country are elephants' teeth, the fruit called tamarin, civet, tobacco, gold-dust, etc. They keep a market every day in the middle of the town where they sell all sorts of provisions and goods. They also have another before the King's palace. 'Tis in this market that they expose their slaves to sale. They sit upon the ground with their legs across, the men and boys on one side and the women and girls on the other. You may have one of the strongest and most robust for ten crowns, which makes the Egyptian merchants buy up a great number every year. (pp. 24–5).

The smallest piece of money of that kingdom is of the value of a French *double*. 'Tis a little bit of iron of the figure of St. Antony's cross. The *fadda* comes from Turkey, and is a small silver piece less than a *denier*; it's worth a penny. Besides these two sorts of

[2] When Hoskins was dining with Melek Tumbol of Argo Island in 1833, 'the bread, which is made into thin light cakes [was served] in elegant baskets of coloured straw, manufactured in Sennaar' (*Travels in Ethiopia*, 1835, 211). The manufacture of these baskets (which is still continued) is not however confined to Sennar. They are made by the people for their own use and are not a specialised industry, except at Khandak. The usual arrangement is that the dish, whether of wood (as in Kordofan) or of tinned copper (as here), is placed on the basket supported by its broad rim, and is covered by a pyramid-shaped cover. This cover is itself sometimes inverted and used also as a basket. There is thus a three-piece outfit: (1) a round basket (mandola), supporting (2) a broad-rimmed wooden or copper bowl (gadah), containing the food and covered by (3) a pyramidal basket (tabag). Poncet's curious expression—baskets filled with copper dishes—is thus found to be exact in the light of modern practice. The bowls seen by Mrs Crowfoot were of Homeid wood (Sclerocarya Birrea, *Hochst*). The baskets are made of coils of the leaves of the dom palm round which are wound the split stalks of difra grass, another kind of grass, and of wheat. In certain parts of the baskets thin ribbons of leather are also used. The 'flowers' refer to the conventional designs with which the baskets are covered. I wish to thank Mrs Grace Crowfoot for the above information, accompanied by a demonstration on the baskets in her own possession.

coin, they only make use of Spanish *reals* and *piastres* which are to be round, for the square ones are not current in trade. A *piastre* is about the value of four *livers* in that country . . . (p. 25).

These people are naturally crafty and deceitful, but on the other side very superstitious and wedded to Mahometanism. When they meet a Christian in the streets, they never fail to recite their profession of faith which consists in these words: There is only one God and Mahomet is his prophet. Brandy, wine, and even metheglin are forbidden them, and they only drink of them in private. Their ordinary drink is a kind of beer like to that of Dongola: they call it *bousa*; 'tis very thick and ill-tasted. The manner of preparing it is this. They parch the grain Dora upon the fire; then they put it into cold water, and after four and twenty hours drink of it. They also use coffee, which they willingly drink. In Æthiopia they make no use of it. (p. 26).

The women of quality are covered with a silken vest, or of very fine calico, with large sleeves which hang down to the ground. Their hair is twisted and set out with rings of silver, copper, brass and ivory, or of glass of different colours. These rings are fastened to their locks in form of crowns; their arms, legs, ears, and even nostrils, are covered with these rings. They wear nothing on their feet but single soles which they fasten with strings. The ordinary women and girls are only covered from the waist to the knee (pp. 26–7).

The commodities which are carried into the kingdom of Sennar are spices, paper, brass, iron, brass wire, vermilion, sublimate, white and yellow arsenic, iron-ware, spica of France, mahaleb of Egypt, which is a grain of a strong scent, Venice ware, which are several sorts of glass beads of all colours, and lastly black to blacken, which they call *kool*, and is much esteemed in that country, because they make use of it to blacken their eyes and eyebrows. All these commodities have also good vent in Æthiopia with this difference, that at Sennar the large beads of glass are most esteemed, and in Æthiopia the lesser. (p. 27).

The merchants of Sennar have a great trade towards the east. At the time of the *mousson* they embark at Suaquen upon the Red Sea. The fishing for pearls which is performed in that place and the town of Suaquen belongs to the Grand Seignior. They pass from thence to Moka, a town of Arabia Felix appertaining to the King of Yemen, from whence they proceed to Surate, to which place they carry gold, civet, elephants' teeth, and bring from thence spices and other merchandize of the Indies. They commonly spend no less than two years in making that voyage. (p. 28).

When the King of Sennar happens to die, the great Council meets and by a barbarous and detestable custom orders the throats to be cut of all the brothers of that prince who is to ascend the throne. Prince Gorech who lay hid until the death of the King his brother, had the good fortune to be preserved by his nurse from the cruelty of this terrible Council. They have also saved one of the brothers of the present King. That prince is at the court of Æthiopia, where he distinguishes himself as well by his merits as his birth. (pp. 28–9).

APPENDIX 12: *Krump's description of Sennar* (1701).[1]

The town of Sennar is by far the most important trading-centre (Handel-Stadt) of all the Moorish countries in Africa. Caravans visit it regularly from Cairo, Dongola, Nubia, beyond the Red Sea, India, Ethiopia, Darfur (Fur), Bornu, Fezzan and other countries.

[1] pp. 285–90. This is a somewhat condensed and free translation by Dr Maria Bersu.

It is a free town, and people of all nations and creeds can dwell there without let or hindrance, and it is one of the most densely populated towns after Cairo. There is a general market daily, the merchants' wares being exposed for sale in the most orderly manner. There are places for each—elephants' tusks, camels, horses and donkeys, timber, onions, dates, wheat, dhurra (for bread and fodder), straw, stalks (canne) for camel-fodder, meat, fowls, and such-like. Human beings are also sold daily in the public market just like animals, up to 200 or more being brought to market every day. They are treated as they like by the Turkish merchants who make a good profit by selling them again in Egypt and India. Those below 12 years of age are as naked as God made them ; the older ones wear an old loin-cloth. The buyer says to the man in charge : Fetch me such and such (man or woman). The merchant then inspects them like animals without any feelings of modesty or embarrassment, looking at their teeth, mouths and whole body. If he is satisfied he makes an offer (of money), for in such cases merchandise is never offered. If the seller is not satisfied with the offer, he says ' Efftach Alla,' which means ' open your hand to give more.' This goes on until the seller is satisfied or another buyer intervenes and offers more. The usual price of a boy of 15 is 30 florins, or 40 if he is well made ; a girl of this age fetches 50 or 60 florins if she has a clear complexion, or even 100 if Abyssinian. In Egypt such boys are sold for 60, 80 or even 100 florins, and a girl if good-looking for some 100 florins, according to quality.

When the King of Sennar dies his successor is elected in the following manner. All the Sheikhs and other nobles of the kingdom meet together and vote for one of the royal princes, whether born of a concubine or wife, and nominate him for king.[2] All the rest who are still locked up in the palace are murdered with spears ; and if one should have escaped, the newly elected king is under an obligation to pursue and kill him, though his own brother. This is done to avoid a revolt which the existence of so many princes might occasion, or a division of the kingdom, and thus peace is preserved. It is therefore better to be the son of a slave that a king's son.

It is otherwise with the princesses, to whom nothing happens, but they are properly married. The king is not allowed to consort again with a concubine or with the queen when either has given birth to a prince, in order that this prince, as the first-born, may win the royal election. Any such queen or concubine is then sent away from the palace and given good accommodation either in the town or elsewhere in the kingdom, but she has to leave the prince behind in the palace.

On 7th May there was a festival to celebrate the arrival of the Sheikh of Gerri, who was ruler of the whole kingdom of Nubia up to the Red Sea, and was bringing the king as his tribute several hundred slaves, horses and camels, and a large sum of money. It began with the king, attended by about 100 courtiers, partly sheikhs, partly mounted soldiers, and the same number of slaves on foot, armed with spears, riding out of the town to meet him. When they approached each other. the Sheikh of Gerri dismounted and kissed the king's foot, whereupon the king ordered him to remount, and they rode together into the great square of the town, which is as big as that in Munich. The king was preceded by about 300 of the slave girls who were in his service or that of his concubines naked except for a silk-loin-cloth. On their arms were silver armlets ; their hair was adorned with silver coins and Venetian sequins.[3] They had gold or silver ear-rings and necklaces of Venetian glass (beads ?), *agstein*,[4] or coral, and wore very small finger-rings of

[2] This plain statement should dispose once and for all of the modern myth that the Kings of Sennar were divine kings, ritually slain. There is no record of any such killing. The fact that, when kings were killed (for political reasons), it had to be done in a certain way does not prove that it was a religious rite, or the survival of one.

[3] Zigin, a word unknown to the dictionary.

[4] Amber or jet according to the dictionary, but agate or cornelian on archaeological grounds.

Venetian glass, like those used by nuns to make little bags. They carried pyramidal woven (gestickte) baskets holding an earthenware dish like a warming-pan (glut-pfanne) into which they throw from time to time some lovely smelling incense. They filled the whole town with their shouting and singing, just as do the farm hands at home when they are drunk, and all the other women did the same when the king rode past. When they came into the square the King and his courtiers moved to the right and the sheikhs to the left. Meanwhile the slaves on foot armed with spears and shields formed themselves into two parties which advanced towards each other with terrific shouting as if they would fight. It was very amusing to watch their gesticulations, brandishing of spears and foining at each other crouching under their shields and leaping up suddenly with a loud cry ; but it is impossible to describe. Two hundred of them were armed with muskets—all the king possesses—which they let off one after the other ; and one whose courage was generally admired fired it off at full gallop. I laughed heartily at their foolishness (Einfalt).

After this comedy the cavalry had their turn. Some rode up and down on their camels in the square so quickly that the spectators were amazed. After the camels they ran races, two and two, on their fine but untrained horses, which they direct by blows with a stick on the head rather than by the bridle. They held either spears or unsheathed swords (Säbl) in their hands . . .[5]. The king himself rode against the Sheikh of Gerri, with his soldiers as if they would fight, but all without order.

Someone asked me whether such dapper soldiers and horses were to be found in our country, and I replied that fifty of our cavalrymen could put to flight the king with all his troops, and the Sheikh of Gerri and all his guards (Guardi), yes, and all the lot of them. [The ' barbarian ' would not believe this]. The comedy ended with a shot from a little cannon which is the whole armament of this mighty king.

[Krump then gives a detailed account, here summarised, of the coins current in Africa and the East. There is no silver coinage in the whole of Turkey ; of gold there are current the Spanish pieces of eight and Venetian sequins ; in Cairo and throughout Egypt imperial thaler, gulden and ducats are current, and a coin smaller than the thaler called Abu Kelb because a dog is represented on it. In Nubia there is no money except with the merchants who trade with Cairo who take pieces of eight. In the kingdom of the Fungi only the best pieces of eight are accepted . . . There was also an iron currency, of which he gives a drawing showing a rectangular rod with a triangular top, the base upwards, worth 12, 16 or 20 of the silver coins. A Greek blacksmith called Schechin had found it profitable in his spare time to convert these iron currency-bars into two, making two smaller ones of them].[6]

Besides these there is another currency acepted throughout the kingdom of the Fungi, in Nubia and amongst the Moors of Africa generally, consisting of a piece of cloth . . . [? Armb] long and 2 spans [Spann] wide, called in Arabic *tubthamur*.[7] Men and women wear it, folding it in two and winding it twice round their waists . . . With this one can do anything. In Ethiopia [*i.e.* Abyssinia] gold is current and is sometimes cheaper than in Sennar. The *tubthamur* and civet are very cheap, since for an ounce of gold one can buy up to 6 ounces of civet. Rock-salt is split into square blocks a span long and three fingers wide on all four sides ; 50 such pieces are worth an ounce of gold . . . this salt is used both for cooking and as currency.

[5] Neither the translator nor I can make out the meaning of this passage : ' die ihnen nach hinweck geworffenen Stecken, oder Carbatsch von ihren Sclaven in volligen Lauff dargereecht wurden, und dises geschahe vom ersten, bis auf den letzten.'

[6] The above summary is incomplete. The subject concerns the present work only remotely, but Krump's account is detailed and valuable.

[7] *i.e.*, *tôb damur* : damur is hand woven cotton cloth and the length of fabric still used by Sudanese women today as a garment is called a *tob*.

APPENDIX 13: *English's description of Sennar* (1821)[1]

The Sultan of Sennar was a young man of about 26,[2] and black, his mother being a negress; 'he was taken out of prison where he had been confined for eighteen years by his predecessor, who was massacred by the party who placed him upon the throne. This revolution had taken place not long before our march on Sennar. His name is Bady . . .'

'After the camp was pitched . . . I took a walk about the town. At almost every step I trod upon fragments of burnt bricks, among which are frequently to be found fragments of porcelain, and sometimes marble. The most conspicuous buildings in Sennaar are a mosque and a large brick palace adjoining it. The mosque, which is of brick, is in good preservation; its windows are covered with well wrought bronze gratings, and the doors are handsomely and curiously carved.[3] The interior was decorated by uncouth figures of animals, portrayed upon the walls with charcoal. This profanation had been perpetrated by the pagan mountaineers who inhabit the mountains thirteen days' march south of Sennaar, and who at some period not very long past, had taken the town, and left upon the walls of the mosque these tokens of possession.

'The palace is large but in ruins, except the centre building, which is six stories high, having five rows of windows. *[The natives told me that this palace had been built eighteen years ago by 'the late[4] good Sultan that they had had,' who had planted before it rows of trees, which had been destroyed when the palace was ruined, as I understood them, in the wars between the different competitors for the throne during the last eighteen years].* By mounting upon the roof you have the best possible view of the city, the river, and its environs, that the place can afford. I judged that Sennaar was about three miles in circumference. The greater part of this space is now covered with the ruins of houses, built of bricks either burnt or dried in the sun. I do not believe that there are more than four hundred houses standing in Sennaar, and of these one third or more are round cottages, like those of the villages. Of those built of bricks the largest is the house of the Sultan. It is a large enclosure, containing ranges of low but well built habitations of sun-dried bricks, with terraced roofs, and the interior stuccoed with fine clay. What struck me most was the workmanship of the doors of the old houses of Sennaar, which are composed of planed and jointed planks, adorned frequently with carved work, and strengthened and studded with very broad-headed nails; the whole inimitable by the present population of Sennaar. These houses are very rarely of more than one story in height, the roofs terraced with fine and well beaten clay spread over matts laid upon rafters, which form the roof.

'The city of Sennaar is of an oblong form, its longest side opposite the river. It stands not at any distance from the river, but directly upon its west bank, which consists hereabouts of hard clay.'

In a footnote on p. 166 [128 in the American edition] it is stated that 'Sennaar has three market-places.'

[1] *Narrative*, etc., 1822, 161–5; 1st American edition, 1823, 125–7.

[2] *sic*; see however, p. 278. He was certainly older than this.

[3] Lejean states that, if he remembered aright, these doors were taken to Khartoum by those who built the mosque there (*Voyage aux deux Nils*, 1865, 116). The mosque of Turkish times has long since perished, and the Imam of the present mosque knows nothing of any such doors still surviving today.

* * added in a footnote.

[4] 'last' in the edition of 1823.

APPENDIX 14: *Trémaux's description of Sennar* (1860)[1]

This town, like all those of the Sudan, is built of earth or wicker-work (fascines). The best houses cannot compare in appearance or stability with the best built farmhouses of France. It is obvious, however, from its extent, that this capital city was once of some importance; but today it is much decayed. Before the Egyptian conquest it had a population of more than 10,000; when I was there it had only 4000, and today it is still less.

Walking about the city one finds great open spaces and piles of ruins, showing that the present population cannot now cover the whole area. The houses are irregularly disposed and are of two sorts, the one consisting of round huts with conical straw roofs like those out in the country; the others are rectangular in plan in the Nubian and Egyptian style. Some of the latter have an upper storey; openings are rare, and usually, besides the doors, there are merely little rectangular holes that cannot be called windows. Sometimes however, these holes are bigger and covered with a wooden grill. Many of these houses have a shabby appearance caused by the rains, which are heavy in this latitude, and by the poverty or neglect of the occupants. Important buildings (monuments) are very rare; almost the only ones that could be so called were the former residence of the Meks—a sort of tower (donjon) of four storeys, and a mosque. The Meks' residence is today in ruins and only a small portion of it survives intact; it was built of red brick (en briques cuites) and dominated the centre of the city. Not far from this building, near the river, is the principal mosque which has been kept in repair and still exists; it too was built of red brick in the time of the Fung meks. It consists of a large rectangular hall (pièce) with towers; two windows deserve mention; they have bronze grills bought from the Mamluks by Mek Tabl and seem to have come from India. The barracks and a few private houses have some distinction; amongst the latter is one with a roomy divan-hall and a harem, The roof-terraces are not used in the evening as in north Africa, and are difficult to maintain on account of the climate.

APPENDIX 15: *The Horned Cap* (*taqia um gerein*).

The Horned Cap is the most famous of the insignia of the Fung Empire. It has an ancient and well authenticated pedigree, and its distribution confirms what is known from other sources of the administrative areas. The cap itself still survives in ceremonial use; its characteristic feature, the horns, consists of a couple of ear-flaps, the points curving downwards and forwards.[1] The shape is not a natural one for the material and is therefore probably derived from something made in another. The usual explanation is that the prototype was the Egyptian head-dress with the ram's horns of Ammon; and in support have been quoted many representations of kings so adorned, some from the Sudan.[2] The connecting link between these ancient examples and the Fung taqia is found in the head-dress of the Christian King of the Mountain,' Jausar who wore the turban and the two

APPENDIX 14:

[1] P. Trémaux, *Le Soudan*, 1862, 153–4.

APPENDIX 15:

[1] The best illustration is in *SNR*, XV, Plate I, opp. p. 204.

[2] *e.g.* in the temple of Amenophis III (1415–1380 B.C.) at Soleib in Nubia (*SNR*, XV, 225; Waddington, Plate opp. p. 289), and in the Meroitic temple at Naga (Prudhoe's *Diary*, p. 93; Crowfoot, *Island of Meroe*, Plates XVIII, XXI, XXIII).

horns and the golden bracelet.'[3] Actual contemporary representations have been found in the churches at Faras[4] and Abdelgadir.[5] Professor Monneret de Villard has recently questioned the derivation of these Nubian horns from the ram's horns of Ammon[6]; he regards them as buffalo's horns, and suggests a Persian origin, due perhaps to contacts with the Persians during their occupation of Egypt in the 7th century B.C., citing other evidence in support of such an origin.

The ultimate prototype of all such ceremonial head-dress is no doubt the protective head-covering of the warrior, or possibly the camouflage of the hunter. The earliest helmet was probably the head-skin of an animal, such as a ram or goat, or in deserts a gazelle, whose horns would be retained as added protection and ornament. Horned helmets of metal are common in all primitive societies.[7]

The problem of ram *v.* buffalo cannot be discussed at length here, and it must suffice to give a descriptive list of the recorded instances of horned head-dress within the area with which this book is concerned. Nobadia has already been mentioned under Faras and Abdelgadir. Survivals within the ancient Kingdom of Macouria are recorded at Argo and Dongola. Waddington states[8] that for state occasions Malek Tombol of Argo laid aside his red travelling cap and assumed a dirty white one. He does not mention any horns, but it seems safe to assume that the ceremonial cap was the taqia. Finati[9] states that, before the coming of the Mamluks, the sovereignty of Dongola ' was derived from Sennaar, by the symbol of a cap sent from thence annually, in the manner of the horse-tails from Constantinople.' Here again, though no mention is made of horns, it is safe to assume them.[10] Linant describes a melik of Dongola (but he does not mention his domain) who wore ' un bonnet formé de deux morceaux taillés en pointe qui recouvrent les oreilles. Ce bonnet est en coton, et brodé grossièrement ; par dessus ce dernier, le mélik met quelquefois un petit turban.'[11]

There is no evidence that the rulers of the Shaigia or of Berber, or of the intervening region, ever wore the horned cap. But it was certainly worn by Nimr, King of Shendi, who, when Finati saw him, was wearing ' that bonnet which is the ensign of sovereignty.'[12] (Finati's book also records that Linant obtained one of these bonnets for Bankes, his patron ' and presented it [to Bankes] when he came to England—it is of a tawny coloured silk, quilted '). When Cailliaud paid a visit to Nimr at Sennar, Nimr was wearing ' le bonnet d'indienne piqué, distinctif des meliks, et portait au cou, par superstition, des colliers de derviche . . . '[13] The cap differed from the others in being made of fur (Fellen).[14]

The Abdullab sheikhs of Gerri were perhaps the most eminent wearers of the horned cap ; but curiously enough there is no record of any person who actually saw one worn.[15] They also, as the heirs of Soba, possessed the jewelled crown of its kings, and a necklace of pearls and rubies.[16]

[3] *Abu Salih*, ed. Evetts, 260.

[4] *AAA*. XII, 77, pl. LXIV, 12 ; XIII, pl. LXI.

[5] *AAA*, XV, 70, Pl. XXXII. The ' three balls ' hanging from each horn are obviously small bells like those shown on the horses.

[6] *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, 185.

[7] A good example is the rock-carving at Telissarhe in the Tinylkum district of the Central Sahara (about Lat. 26° North, Long. 12° East) discovered by Dr Barth and illustrated in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, 1857, 244. Two human figures confront each other with an ox (?) between them. The figure on the left holds a bow and arrow in one hand and has a horned gazelle's (?) head on his own. The other figure also has an animal head.

[8] p. 236.

[9] II, 371.

[10] For the horns on the painted head in Dongola Church (which are perhaps different) see Crowfoot, *JEA*, XIII, 1927, 143, quoting Somers Clarke, ' Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley,' p. 44.

[11] Mazuel, 1937, 43.

[12] II, 387.

[13] Compare the large rosary of the Yacubab Sheikh, *SNR*, XV, pl. 8.

[14] Werne, *Feldzug*, 1851, 160.

[15] I have only been able to find two direct statements ; in Werne, *Feldzug*, 1851, 160, and in *SNR*, VIII, 183.

[16] *SNR*, XVII, 61.

The kings of Sennar themselves wore the horned cap, but there is no record of the practice until after the Turkish conquest. We may, however, safely accept as being horned the ' cap of silk of various colours and embroidered with gold ' which Badi was wearing when he received Krump in 1701.[17] When Cailliaud visited Badi at Sennar he was wearing the bonnet peculiar to the meliks,[18] and he donned it also for the occasion of Lord Prudhoe's visit.[19] Prudhoe states that the taqia was worn in his day by Idris Adlan as one of his insignia of office. Idris was the Vizier of Sennar, and he was probably the ' thin elderly man of a mulatto complexion, dressed in green and yellow silks of a costly fabric, with a cap of a singular form, something resembling a crown, made of the same materials, upon his head '[20] who came out from Sennar to meet Ismail's advancing army. Bruce's Adelan, who was Sheikh of the Khashm el Bahr,[21] and in effect Vizier during Abu Likeilak's absence in Kordofan, ' had on a long drab-coloured camblet gown, lined with yellow satin and a camlet cap like a head-piece, with two short points that covered his ears.'[22]

Cailliaud's illustration[23] of the Mek of Fazughi shows him wearing a head-dress that was evidently intended to represent the horned cap. The Mek still wears it, and the best account of the coronation of a Fung ruler is that by an eye-witness of the ceremony in 1944.[24]

Besides the rulers of the riverain provinces, a certain number of others wore it. In 1841 Gedaref was ' still the seat of a Fung chief, Ibrahim Wad Fottil [perhaps the son or grandson of Bruce's old enemy ' Fidele '] who . . . still clung to his old prerogative, the Nogara and the Horned Cap.'[25] It was worn by the Sheikh of the Beni Amer,[26] by the Sheikh of the Hammada, whose headquarters were at Debarki,[27] by the mugaddams of the Yaqubab,[28] by the Sheikhs of the ' Abidlaab at their investiture by the King of Sennar,[29] and by Hassan wad Hassuna who died in 1664.[30] It was still worn in 1927 by the Sheikh of Rashad in the Nuba hills.[31] It is even recorded so far afield as Darfur[32] and Togo.[33]

All the examples quoted except the two last and those pre-Fung ones from Nobadia occur within the boundaries of the Fung Empire, and indicate its centres of administration. The valley instances coincide exactly with the known principalities, and the ones east of the Nile account for the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples who lived there. There is naturally less geographical precision in the Butana where tribal rather than territorial units were the basis of government. The examples beyond the realm of the Fungs cannot at present be explained except on the basis of cultural borrowing, but whether in modern or ancient times is unknown. The horned caps from Togo are specially puzzling; but the solution is a task for others.

[Since the above was written Macadam's ' Kawa ' has appeared, with relevant remarks in Vol i, p. 57].

[17] Krump, p. 284.
[18] II, 298.
[19] *Diary*, p. 146.
[20] *Narrative*, etc., by G. B. English, 1822, 159.
[21] For this office see MacMichael I,, 244 and p. 81.
[22] VI, 353.
[23] III, Plate opp. p. 81 : as so often the engraver has probably copied the original unintelligently. See also Werne, *Feldzug*, 1851, 160.
[24] A. W. M. Disney : the Coronation of the Fung King of Fazughli, *SNR*, XXVI, 37–42.
[25] *SNR*, II, 72.
[26] Werne, *loc. cit.* : Rossini, *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia*, 1937, 138 : *SNR*, XXVI, 63 : T. Heuglin, *Petermanns Mitt., Erganzungsheft* No. 13, 1864, 23 : Heuglin by a slip calls it ' three-horned ' (' Die Sonderbar geformte dreihörnige Mütze, die Auszeichnung des Wohadä oder Wohad-a, heisst " Om-qeren " ').
[27] MacMichael, I, 243, 248.
[28] *SNR*, XV, 225.
[29] *AAA*, XIII, 77–8, quoting Shucair.
[30] *SNR*, VI, 229.
[31] *JEA*, XIII, 143 : MacMichael, I, 248.
[32] *Journ. African Soc.*, XXX, 1931, 368 : MacMichael, I, 249.
[33] Monneret de Villard, *Storia*, etc., 187.

APPENDIX 16: *The date of Sannat el Gidri, the Small-pox Year*

Cailliaud states that Ounsa III died at Sennar of the small-pox. There is no evidence that it was during the great epidemic, however, nor how long after his deposition in A.H.1128 (=A.D.1716) his death occurred. But the epidemic occurred at about this time as can be inferred from the following evidence. One of the victims was Ahmad, son of Sheikh Abdulla el Terayfi who was a minor before 1683[1]; in this year, too, his brother was married, so that he may have been born about 1670. Another holy man Araki [No. 64] is said to have died of the small-pox, and the other evidence is consistent with a date about 1720, for one of his grandsons was seen by Bruce[2] at Halfayun in 1772. The best (though still inconclusive) evidence for the date of Sannat el Gidri is found in the biographies of Nos. 89 and 237. No. 89 was Dayfulla, father of the author of the Tabaqat. Dayfulla told his son that ' in the year that the small-pox raged, I and the feki Abd el Dafa'i [1689–1767] and the feki Idris walad Nusar were sitting in front of the mosque, when there came up to us Sheikh Sheraf el Din [No. 237] riding a mare.' Dayfulla died in 1768 and we are told that he began his teaching in A.H. 1130 (=A.D. 1718[3]); it looks as if his meeting with Sheikh Sheraf marked the beginning also of his teaching, for otherwise what was the point in telling it? If so, then 1718 was Sannet el Gidri, but then Ounsa III could not have died during the epidemic year, being alive (and deposed) in April, 1719. We may date Sannat el Gidri about 1718–20 with fair confidence.

This method of dating years by important events survived until recently (and may still survive) in the northern part of the Red Sea province; *e.g.* 1902 was the year of much milk, 1904 of plenty at Madam, 1908 of the locusts, 1909 of the itch and 1910 of the comet.[4] It also survived in 1923 at Geteina on the White Nile (see *SNR*, VI, 118, giving examples from 1877–1918). Famines were also used to name years in the 13th century in the Sultanate of Shoa, which was then under Mohammedan rule; A.H. 657 (=A.D. 1258–9) was called after the famine of Fassas; A.H. 650 (=A.D. 1252–3) after that of Asah (?); A.H. 671 (=A.D. 1272–3) after that of Hglah.[5] Famines are recorded at least a dozen times in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

APPENDIX 17: *Addo.*

In 1276 Baybars sent an army against Daod, King of Nubia, and defeated him penetrating as far as the 2nd cataract (Burckhardt 515, quoting Beladiry). Kallat Addo there mentioned is identified by Burckhardt with Adde, a castle on the east bank 30 miles north of Wadi Halfa. Mufaddal describes Addoa between Amada and Ibrim, and Ibn Solaim as near Faras and Ibrim, all three being in Merys. Adu on Sai island is ruled out by Beladiry's narrative which clearly states that the attack on Addo preceded that on ' the island of Mykayl at the top of the cataracts.' This island is probably to be identified with that of Meinarti, 6 miles south of Wadi Halfa station. Mr P. L. Shinnie, Commissioner for Archaeology, informs me in a letter (14th May, 1950) that there are certainly Christian

[1] When his father [D3, No. 41] went on pilgrimage, he put his sons in the charge of No. 84 who died in 1683.

[2] VII, 103. Bruce calls him Wed Barakat, *i.e.* son of Barakat, but also states inconsistently that he was the son of Sheikh Idris wed Erbab who was in fact Barakat's grandfather (D3, Tree 4).

[3] The years almost coincide, the exact equivalent of 1130 being from 5th December, 1717 to 24th November, 1718.

[4] See *SNR*, II, 148.

[5] See Cerulli, Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII, secondo un nuovo documento storico; *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Anno, I, Numero 1, 1941, 19.

remains on Meinarti, including a large building with many small rooms, usually regarded as a monastery. It is a large and impressive structure, and during the Mahdia and Khalifate a gun position was set up on the top of it to fire across to the next bank, where Wad en Negumi's army was operating. Crowfoot has published an inscription from Meinarti (*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, XIII, 1927, 230). Mr Shinnie feels 'reasonably confident' that Meinarti is the island which I should like to identify with that of Mykayl. The only objection I see is that Mykayl was 'at the top of the cataracts,' whereas Meinarti is below them. This objection might be overcome if it could be established that Mykayl was not Meinarti but Meili, an island six miles south of Wadi Halfa station and above the cataract; the map marks antiquities on Meili, but nothing precise is known about them. For the present purpose of identifying Kallat Addo it does not matter which of the two identifications be correct. If either of them be accepted we must look for Addo below the 2nd cataract where both the Arab writers quoted put it. Adu on Sai island can therefore be decisively rejected. Monneret de Villard (*Storia*, 141) identifies Addo with Sheikh Daud, pointing out that there is a great fortress there and that Addo was always attacked by armies marching along the west bank, and this would rule out Burckhardt's castle of Kalat Adde (opposite Ballana). Against this must be set the fact that the ancient name of Kalat Adde is known to have been Atoua. Perhaps the best solution is to suppose that both Sheikh Daud and Kalat Adde bore the same name; this would reconcile the descriptions of Ibn Solaim and Mufaddal, for Kalat Adde is near Faras and Sheikh Daud near Ibrim and between it and Amada.

The above remarks are intended rather to clear the ground and state the problem rather than to solve it, which is the business of better qualified students than myself.

APPENDIX 18: *The Fung Kings**

King	Bruce's list (1772) (Arabic version)		Length of reign	Date adopted	Remarks
	A.H.	A.D.			
'Amara ibn Adlan	910	1504–5	30	1504	Amara Dunkas
Nayil	940	1533–4	17	1534	
Abdelgadir I ibn 'Amara	957	1550–1	8	1551	
'Amara ibn Nayil	965	1557–8	11	1558	Amara abu Sakakin. Deposed. Abdulla Gema'a died in his reign.
Dakin ibn Nayil	976	1568–9	17	1569	
Dura	994	1585–6	3	1586	Deposed.
Taiyab ibn Abdelgadir	996	1587–8	3	1588	
Unsa I	1000	1591–2	13	1592	Deposed.

* A collation of Bruce's Arabic list with the Fung Chronicle (D7). Dates underlined are those regarded as reasonably certain.

King	Bruce's list (1772) (Arabic version)		Length of reign	Date adopted	Remarks
	A.H.	A.D.			
Abdelgadir II	1012	1603–4	4	1604	Deposed in Rejab, 1015 (=December, 1606). Was in Abyssinia at the end of 1607, if not before.
Adland of Karkoj	1016	1607–8	5	1606	Succeeded in 1016; deposed in 1020.
Badi I ibn Abdelgadir	1020	1611–12	6	1611	Badi Sid el Kum. Acceded after the battle of Karkoj
Rubat	1025	1616–7	30	1616	Attacked by Susenyos in the first Abyssinian war (1618–19).
Badi II	1054	1644–5	38	1645	Badi abu Dukn; died 28th December, 1680.
Unsa II ibn Nasir, ibn Rubat	1092	1681	12	1680	Acceded 1089 (A.D. 1678–9) according to Cailliaud (II 256).
Badi III	1103	1691–2	25	1692	Acceded 6th June 1692: born *c.* 1680 (Poncet). Badi el Ahmar.
Unsa III	1128	1716	3	1716	Acceded 13th April, 1716; deposed April 1719: died at Sennar of small-pox (Cailliaud II, 256).
Nol	1132	1719–20	4	1720	Acceded 8th June, 1720. died about May, 1723.
Badi IV	1136	1723–4		1724	Acceded 8th July, 1724 deposed 27th March, 1762. Badi abu Shelukh.
Nasir	1175	1761–2	8	1762	Acceded 29th March, 1762 deposed 26th December 1769.
Ismail	1183	1769–70		1769	Still king when the list was made for Bruce in 1772. Died in the Suakin district about 1772 (Cailliaud II, 256).

APPENDIX 19: *Translation of Bruce's King-list*

(from the Arabic original in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS., Bruce 18).

The History of the Kings of the Fung kingdom in the city of Sennar the well guarded.

1. After the Nubian Kingdom the first who settled in Sennar was the sultan 'Amara ibn Adlan in 910 A.H. He died 940 A.H. Ruled 30 years.

2. After him ruled his son sultan Nayil 940 A.H. He died 957 A.H. Ruled 17 years.

3. After him ruled his brother sultan Abdelgadir ibn Amara the above-mentioned in 957. He died 965 A.H. Ruled 8 years.

4. After him ruled sultan 'Amara ibn Nayil in 965 A.H. He was deposed 965. (*sic*) Ruled 11 years.

5. After him ruled sultan Dakin ibn Nayil 976 A.H. He died 994 A.H. Ruled 17 years.

6. After him ruled his son sultan Dura 994 A.H. He was deposed 996. Ruled 3 years.

7. After him ruled Taiyib ibn Abdelgadir 996 A.H. He died 1000 A.H. and ruled 3 years.

8. After him ruled sultan Unsa 1000 A.H. He was deposed A.H. 1012. Ruled 13 years.

9. After him ruled his son sultan 'Abdelgadir A.D. 1012. He was deposed in Rejab A.H. 1015. Ruled 4 years.

10. After him ruled sultan Adlan ibn Unsa, he of the Karkoj battle, in A.H. 1016 He was deposed in 1020. Ruled 5 years.

11. After him ruled sultan Bady ibn Abdelgadir in A.H. 1020. He died 1025. Ruled 6 years.

12. After him ruled sultan Rabat 1025 A.H. He died 1054. Ruled 30 years.

13. After him ruled his son sultan Bady in 1054 A.H. He died in 1091 on the 6th of the month Dhu el hijja. Ruled 38 years.

14. After him ruled the son of his brother Unsa ibn Nasir ibn Rabat in A.H. 1092 He died in 1130 [*sic*]. Ruled 12 years.

15. After him ruled his son sultan Bady on Saturday 21st Ramadan 1103. He ruled 25 years, and died 1128.

16. After him ruled his son sultan Unsa on Friday 20th Rabi' el thani, 1128. He was deposed 1132. Ruled 3 years and 14 days.

17. After him ruled his son Nol ibn Bady on Saturday the 1st of Sha'aban 1132 A.H. He died 1136. Ruled 4 years.

18. After him ruled his son sultan Bady on Saturday after the evening meal 16th of Showal, 1136. He was deposed on Saturday 2nd Ramadan 1175.

19. After him ruled his son sultan Nasir on the Monday after his father's deposition on the 3rd of the month. He was deposed on Tuesday 27th of Shaaban. Ruled 8 years.

20. After him ruled his brother the victorious with the assistance of God Sultan Ismail 1183 A.H. (=A.D. 1769).

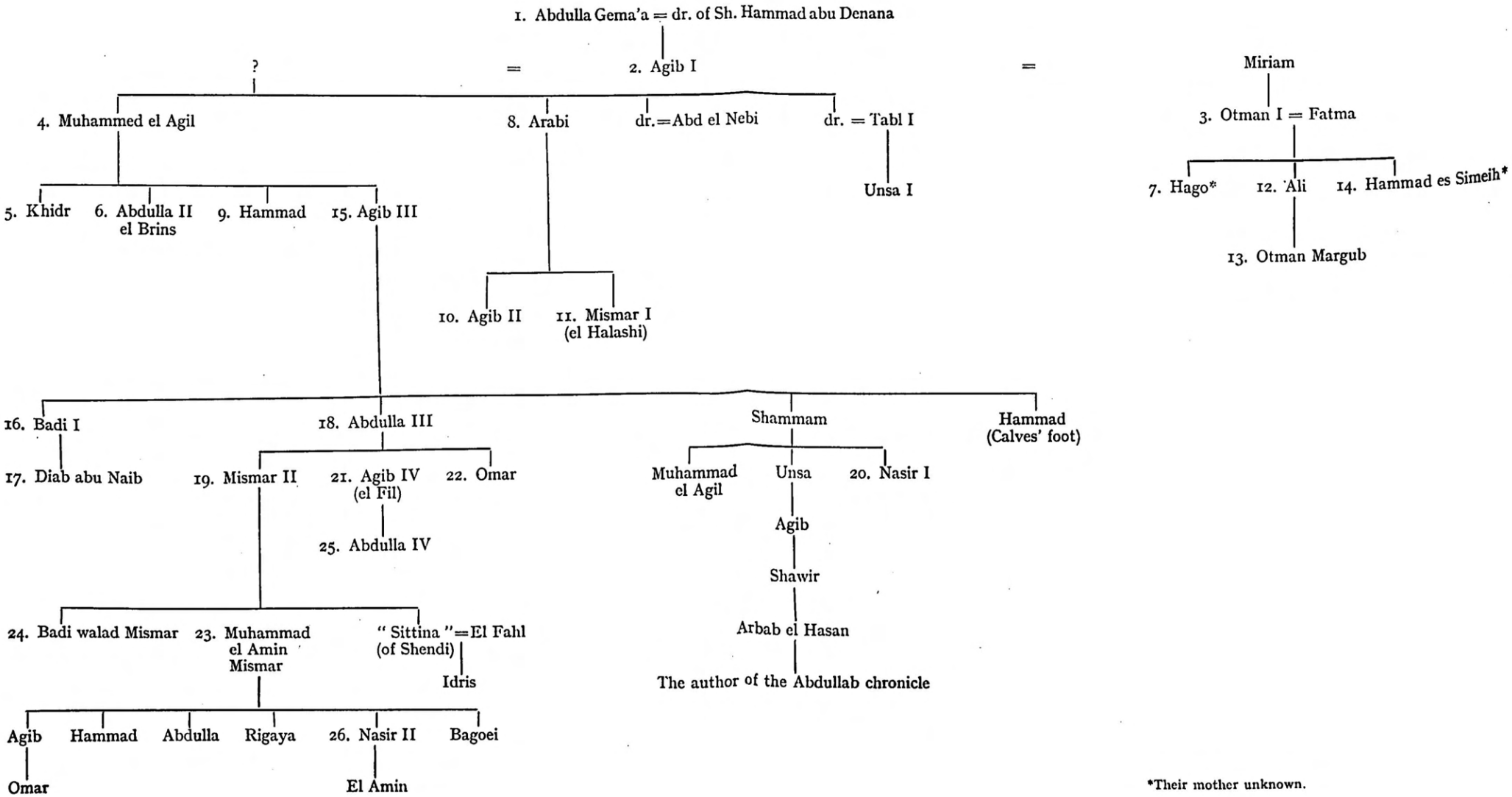
APPENDIX 20: *The Abdullab Sheikhs of Gerri*

	Name	Length of reign	Suggested date	Remarks*
1.	Abdulla Gema'a	60	*c.* 1530–70 ?	Contemporary with Amara Dunkas.
2.	Agib I	41	*c.* 1570–1611	Killed at battle of Karkoj.
3.	Othman I	4	1611– ?	Son of Agib; contemporary with Badi I (*c.* 1611–15).
4.	Mohd. el Agil *	25		Son of Agib.
5.	Khidr *	½		Son of Mohd. el Agil.
6.	Abdulla II el Brins	17		Son of Mohd. el Agil.
7.	Hago	5(?)		Son of Othman I
8.	Arabi	2		Son of Agib I.
9.	Hammad	3		Son of Agib I (or, more probably of Mohd. el Agil).
10.	Agib II	6		Son of Arabi; Qanis a rival claimant; stated to be cont. with Badi I.
11.	Musmar I el Halashi *	5	–*c.* 1659 ?	Son of Arabi; deposed in or after 1659.
12.	Ali *	7	before *c.* 1680	Son of Othman I.
13.	Othman II	2		Son of Ali.
14.	Hamad es Simeh	8	*c.* 1706 (?)	Son of Othman II; fought at Shendi in 1706 (?)
15.	Agib III	25		Son of Mohd. el Agil; succeeded at the age of 65.
16.	Badi I	4		
17.	Diab	9		
18.	Abdulla III *	11	–1747	Killed 1747.
19.	Musmar II *	⅙	1747	Killed 1747
20.	Nasir I	8		Son of Shammam
21.	Agib IV el Fil	20	*c.* 1779	Son of Shammam
22.	Omar	2		Son of Abdulla III
23.	Mohd. el Amin	20	*c.* 1772–90	Son of Mismar II
24.	Badi II		1784	Brother of No. 23
25.	Abdulla IV	9	1790–99	Son of Agib IV.
26.	Nasir II		1799–1820	Son of Mohd. el Amin

NOTE. The traditional order of succession has been retained, even when (as for Nos. 4 to 10) it is inconsistent with the Tabaqat, an earlier and more trustworthy source.

* = order certain.

APPENDIX 21 : *Abdullab genealogy*



*Their mother unknown.

APPENDIX 21 : *Abdullab genealogy.*

Authorities for the Abdullab Sheikhs.

1. *Abdulla Gema'a* : married (1) daughter of Sheikh Hammad abu Denana, who gave birth to Agib I, and a (2) Fung girl, mother of his other children (MacMichael, I, 248) : died in the reign of Amara abu Sakakin (1557–8 to 1568–9, Bruce's list).
2. *Agib I el Mangilak el Kebir* : reigned 41 years (*SNR*, VI, 205 : Tabaqat) : killed at battle of Karkoj, 1611 (D7 S20).
3. *Othman I* : contemporary with Badi I (*SNR*, VI, 205) : son of Agib I and Miriam, and Sheikh also of the Amarar (*SNR*, XVIII, 200 ; File II, 325) : stated by Abdullab tradition to have ' died prematurely ' (*SNR*, XVII, 64).
4. *Mohammed el Agil* : the eldest son of Agib I (D7 §20) : preceded his son Khidr (D3 No. 58).
5. *Khidr* : succeeded the last, his father, but deposed after 6 months (D3, No. 58).
6. *Abdulla II (el Brins)* : his reign a ' golden age ' (*SNR*, XVII, 65).
7. *Hago* : like the last, his father (*ib. id.*).
8. *Arabi* : the ancestor of the Ereibab (Appendix 20 b).
9. *Hammad* : the son of Agib (Appendix 20 b), or, more probably, of El Agil (*SNR*, XVII, 65).
10. *Agib II* : the son of Arābi : Qanis a rival claimant (*SNR*, VI, 205).
11. *Musmar I (el Halashi)* : attempted to raid Dongola in 1659–60 (D3, No. 66) : Ali ibn Barri (1601–4 to 1662–3) foretold his deposition (D3, No. 58). Called El Amin in the Shaigia tradition (Nicholls).
12. *Ali* : contemporary of Badi II (D3, No. 236) : mentioned in Amarar tradition (*SNR* XVIII, 201).
13. *Othman II* : mentioned by name of Othman Margub in Amarar tradition (*SNR* XVIII, 201).
14. *Hammad es Simeih* : fought at Shendi in 1706–7 (D3, Nos. 74, 226) : deposed (*SNR*, XVII, 65) : possibly to be identified with ' Sheikh Ahmet the rebel ' who was deposed in 1707. (Beccari, XIV, 393 : letter of Bayard dated 2 May, 1707).
15. *Agib III* : succeeded at the age of 65 (*SNR*, XVII, 65–66).
16. *Badi I.*
17. *Diab.*
18. *Abdulla III* : killed in the Darfur war, 1747 (*SNR*, XVII, 70) : mentioned (D3, No. 58).
19. *Mismar II* : *ib. id.*, deposed after a reign of 2 months (D3, No. 58).
20. *Nasir I* : deposed (*SNR*, XVII, 70).
21. *Agib IV (el Fil)* : killed in a fight with the Halenga of Taka (D7, §76).
22. *Omar* : deposed.
23. *Mohammed el Amin Musmar* : an interrupted reign partly overlapped by the two previous ones : born *c.* 1736–7 (*SNR*, XVII, 70 : 25 years old *c.* A.H. 1174, D7, §62), or *c.* 1742 (Bruce, VI, 416 : his age in 1772 estimated at about 30) : ruled first *c.* 1772–*c.* 1779 (D7, §77) : killed 1790 (D7, §112) : called Mahomet Wed Ageeb by Bruce (VI, 423).
24. *Badi II* : appointed over the head of his brother (No. 23) in 1784.
25. *Abdulla IV.*
26. *Nasir II* : appointed Sheikh in 1800 (D7, §140) : still Sheikh at the Turkish conquest in May 1821 (Cailliaud, II, 195, who merely calls him ' El Melik Lodaguib ').

APPENDIX 22 : *The Sheikhs of the Abdullab*‡.

Name of Sheikh	Period of Sheikhship	Remarks
Abdulla Gamma	1505–1573	
Agib ibn Abdulla Gamma	1573–1614	Of his sons—Idris el Inqeir ancestor of Inqairyab tribe in the vicinity of Berber, and Mohd. Deiyoma, ancestor of El Deiyomab ; and Ahmed Adrikoga ancestor of El Adrikogab and Siba grandfather of El Sibab.
Osman ibn Agib (grandfather of El Atamna in the Red Sea)	1614–1618	
Mohid. el Agail Ibn Agib	1618–1648	
Abdulla el Prince ibn Mohd. el Agail	1648–1665	
Eraibi ibn Agib	1665–1667	El Araibab tribe his descendants.
Hammad ibn Agib	1667–1670	Hammadab near Gordon's Tree are his descendants.
Agib ibn Eraibi	1670–1676	
Musmar Eraibi	1676–1681	
Ali Osman	1681–1688	
Osman Ali	1688–1690	
Hamad el Simaih	1690–1698	
Agib Mohd. el Agail	1698–1723	
Badi	1723–1727	
Diyab ibn Nayib	1727–1736	
Abdulla Agib	1736–1747	
Musmar Abdulla Agib	1747–1752	
Nasir Shammam	1752–1760	
Agib Shammam Abdulla	1760–1780	
Omar Abdulla Agib	1780–1782	
El Amin Nasir and Badi Abdulla Agib	1782–1791	
Nasir el Amin	1791–1795	
	1795–1820	

The end of El Sultana el Zarga.

NOTES§

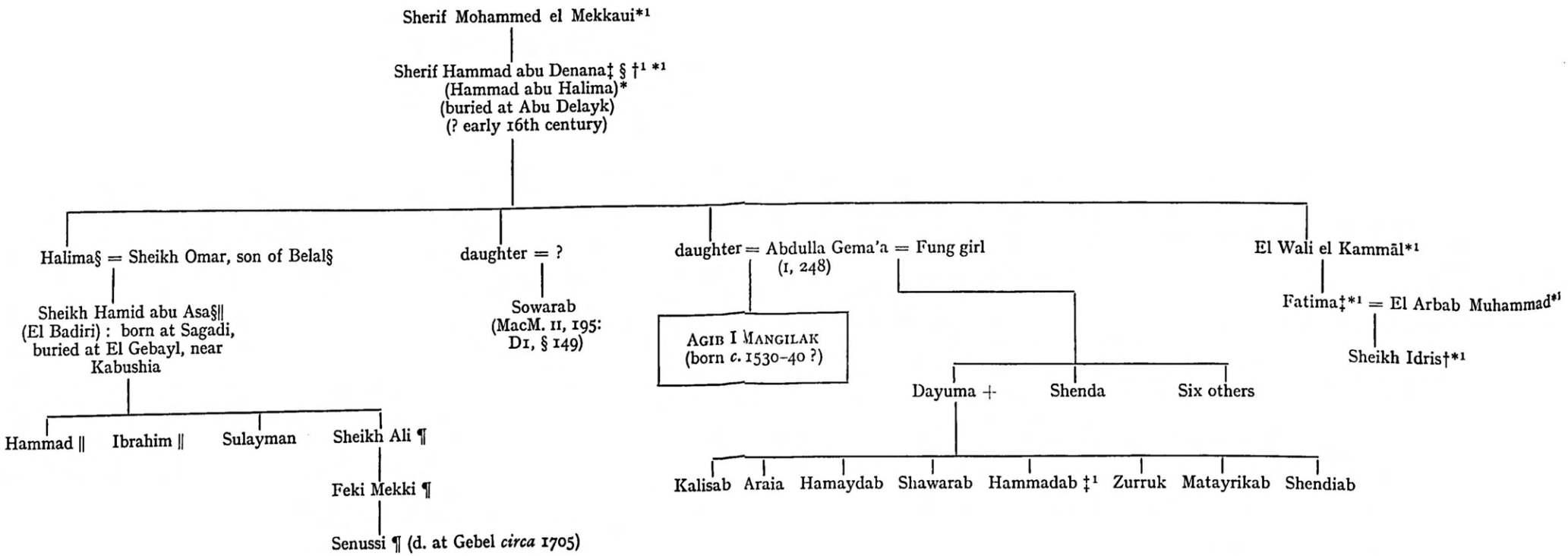
El Amin Nasir, Mohd. Nasir, and Gamma el Amin were chiefs during the Turkish Government. Nasir Gamma was chief during the Mahdia. El Amin Omar and Mohd. Gamma have been chiefs of El Abdullab during the present Government. An important branch of El Abdullab is the Asaidab who live near Hillalia.

We could not find a historical document which recounts the relation (correspondence ?) between El Fung and the Abdullab, but all the information we could arrive at in this connection is as follows :—

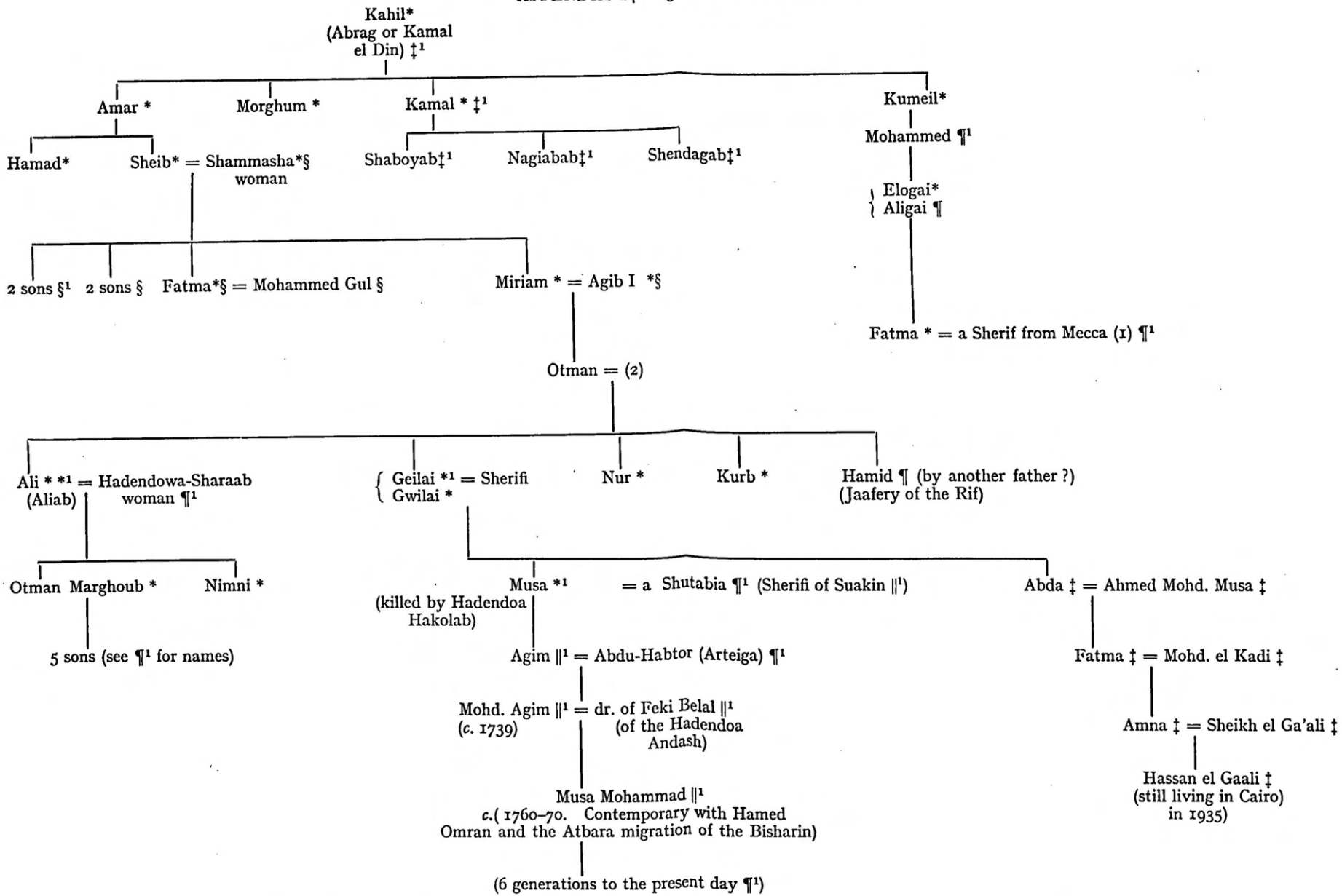
‡ I give this list as representing the current tradition ; but the order of succession and the dates are doubtful and sometimes inconsistent with earlier sources.

§ Kindly supplied, together with the preceding list, by the present Abdullab Sheikh. I have to thank Mr A. J. Arkell, lately Commissioner of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the District Commissioner of Khartoum for their help in obtaining this information.

APPENDIX 23: *Maternal ancestry and relations of Agib I*



* MacMichael, II, 192 (D1, A.D. 1680).
† Wad el Arbab, D3, No. 27.
‡ *ABC*, Tree 1 (Mahass),
§ *ABC*, Tree 2 (Arman Ga'aliin)
‖ D3, No. 113.
¶ D3, No. 231.
*1 *SNR*, II, 288, tree.
†1 For another version of his daughter's marriage and children, see File II, 325.
‡1 According to the latest Abdullab information (Appendix 22) the Hammadab were descended from Hammad ibn Agib (*c.* 1706 ?) and live near Gordon's tree.



* *SNR*, XVIII, 220 (cf. also loose sheet in Newbold's File).

† An Arteiga merchant of Suakin : see *SNR*, XVIII, 200.

‡ File II, 338 : probably defective, as the interval between Otman (*c.* 1610) and Hassan (1935+) is far too long to be covered by four generations only.

§ *SNR*, XVIII, 200.

|| *SNR*, XX, 208.

¶ File II, 455.

*1 ,, 328 and *SNR.*, XVIII, 220.

†1 ,, 323.

‡1 ,, 387.

§1 by another wife (a Gwilai Sila'ab woman) : *SNR*, XVIII, 200.

||1 *SNR*, XVIII, 202–4.

¶1 Sudan Govt. File No. 66, F.3.1. (Beja district).

*2 According to another genealogy (♀) Sheib married first ' bint Gweili Siliab,' and had by her Fatma, Miriam, Mahmud, Ali Hadal, Hamdalio ; the sons by ' Shamash (Erteiga) ' are there given as Magwar, Leil, Kogural.

Appendix 22, *continued*

When Sheikh Mohd. el Agail came to rule next after his brother Osman, he prepared to fight the Fung, and collected a large army. But before the two parties could go to war, Idris [ibn] el Arbab intervened and peace was made on the following terms :—

(1) Sheikh Mohd. el Agail to possess ' the land which his father ruled ' with all its boundaries.

(2) The Mek of the Fung to possess the Gezira and the country south of it, and all Arabs belonging to sheikhship of Gerri living in the Gezira to pay taxes through the sheikh of the *dar*, who is under the Abdullab.

(3) If the daughter of the Fung Mek cultivates the land east of the Nile she must pay dues to the people of the sheikh of the Abdullab.

(4) If the sheikh of the Abdullab goes to Sennar no drum shall be beaten there during his stay except his nahas.

(5) If an enemy invades Abdullab country, the sheikh of the Abdullab is to fight him, and the Mek of the Fung is to help him with materials and soldiers in accordance with the previous treaty between Amara Dunqas and Sheikh Abdulla Gamma.

APPENDIX 25 : *The Kings of Fazughli.* ¶

1. Kallah (50).
2. Yamni (40).
3. Idris, his son (30).
4. Gabar I (15).
5. Gabar II, his son (2).
6. Zankar (?) (1).
7. Rawya (2).
8. Ambadi, his son (4).
9. Atwaro (3).
10. Adarla (15).
11. Matar, his son (16).
12. Fankaro, his son (16).
13. Galbas, his son (1) [killed by his brother Gambo, C.].
14. Gambo, his brother (2) [killed by his successor Guimbar, C.].
15. Gambar (5).
16. Amushat, his brother (1) [killed by Adlad of Sennar, C.].
17. Hasan ibn Tabal (12) [deposed by Ismail Pasha, January, 1822].

APPENDIX 26 : *The Kings of Keili* ⊠.

1. Maias (100)[1].
2. Dowra Maias (80).
3. Maias Dowra (90).
4. Gum'a Maias (20).
5. Umara Maias (4).
6. Badi Maias (30[2]) [*c.* 1799–1829 ?].
7. Dowra[3] Maias (10) [*c.* 1829–39 ?]
8. Muhammad Gum'a (4) [*c.* 1839–43 ?].
9. Beshir Gum'a (36) [*c.* 1843–79 ?].
10. Hamdan Beshir (41) [*c.* 1879–1903[4]].
11. Nail Hamdan : succeeded in 1920.

¶ This is copied from Budge's version (II, 205) taken from Shucair, who took it from Cailliaud (II, 396–7) but it gives better—or what seem better—spellings. Cailliaud was present at the Turkish Conquest in 1822, and obtained the list from King Hassan himself, on 6th, January 1822.

Another different list is published by A. E. Robinson in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXX, 1931.

⊠ After Chattaway, *SNR*, XIII, 258.

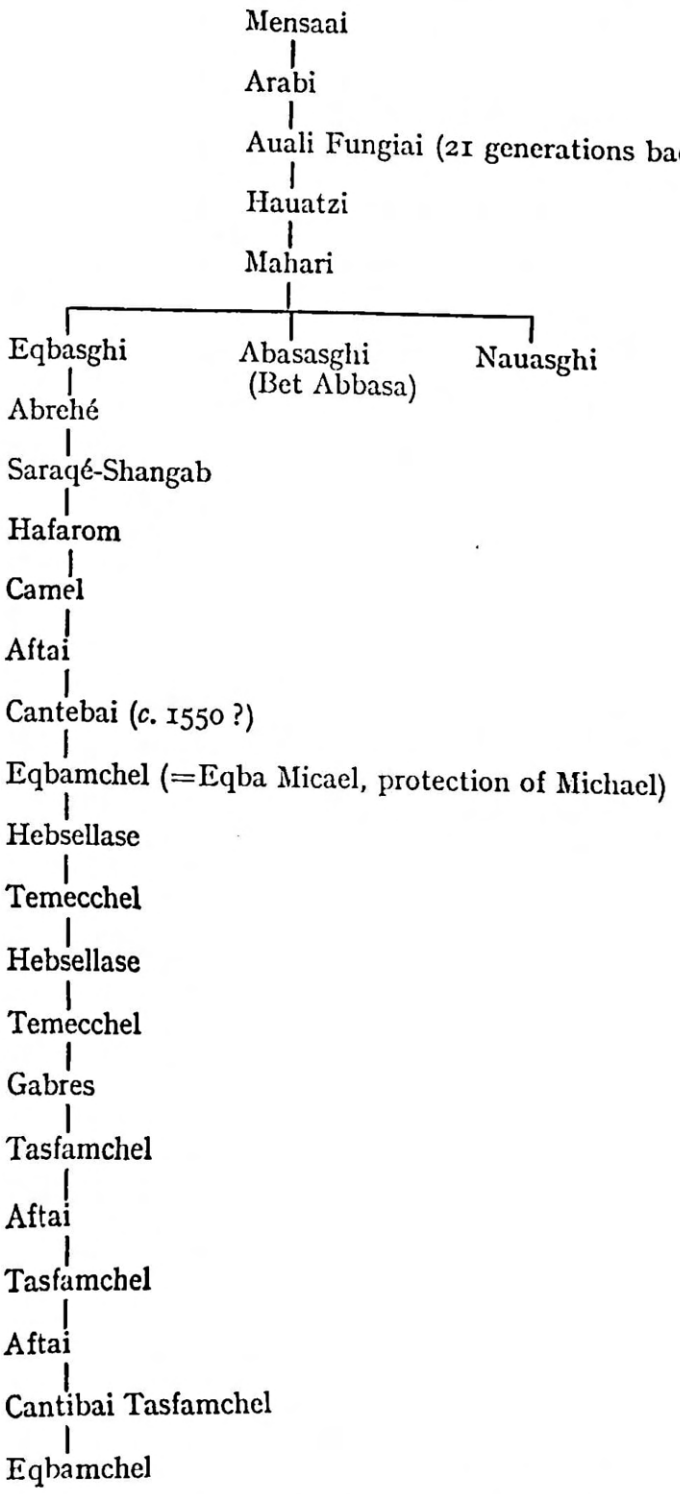
[1] It is curious that the total regnal period gives a date of *c.* 1505 for the first year of Maias.

[2] ' of which [period] 20 [years] were before the coming of the Turks ' [in 1822].

[3] Cf. ' les méliks Dourar des pays au nord de Fazogl ' (Cailliaud II, 333 : III, 6, 13).

[4] Deposed and replaced in 1903 by his son aged 15.

APPENDIX 27 : *Pedigree of the Mensa Tribe.**



* From K. G. Roden, ' Le Tribu dei Mensa : traduzione Italiana dalla lingua del Tigre ': Stockholm, *Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Forlags-Expedition*, 1913 : p. 6. Rossini publishes similar tables, beginning with Mans'ay (Mensaai), Arabi and Awali Fungay, associates the last with the Fung, and estimates the 20 generations between Mans'ay and his own time at ' four or five centuries,' = 1400 or 1500 A.D. for Mans'ay ; he allows 20 or 25 years for a generation.

APPENDIX 28 : *Pliny's names (Bion and Juba).*[1]

Bion : East Bank.

BION (East Bank)	At 20 miles a stage	Suggested Identification	Actual Distance	Remarks
Syene	—			Aswan.
Tacompsos	0			Qurta.
Aramam	20			Aramum (Juba : 17.7)
Sesamos	40			Sesamum (Juba : 35.4).
Andura	60			
Nasarduma	80			
Naidoma	100			
Cumcum	120			
Arabeta et	140			
Bogghiana	160			
Leuphitorga	180	Uronarti ?	187	Cf. Phthurin (Petronius), Phthouri (Ptolemy)
Tautaren	200			
Emeae	220	Firka ?	240	Emeum (Juba : 247.8).
Chindita	240			
Noa	260			
Goploa	280			
Gistate	300			Cystaepen (Juba : 300.9)
MEGADA	320	Magadib	319	Magada (Juba : 318.6)
	At 26.1 miles a stage			
Lea	346.1			
Remni	372·2	Kerma ?	367	Prummu (Juba : 371·7)
Nups	398·3	Argo island	383	Nups (Juba : 389·4).
Direa	424·4			
Patigga	450·5			Patingan (Juba : 424·8).
Bagada	476·6			
Dumana	502·7			
RADATA	528·8	near Korti ?	528	' In quo felis aurea pro deo colebatur.'
Boron	—			' In mediterraneo.'
Mallo	—			' Proximum Meroen.'
[Meroe]	—			

[1] The figures in the second column are those estimated for the intervals, and represent distances in English miles, as explained in the text, Chapter 1. The figures in brackets in the Remarks Column, after ' Juba ' and ' Bion,' are the estimated distances.

BION : WEST BANK

BION (West Bank)	At 25·17 miles a stage	Suggested Identification	Actual Distance	Remarks
Tacompsos	0			Qurta
Mogore	25·17			
Sea	50·3			
Aedos	75·5			
Apelenariae	100·7			
Pindis	125·8			
Magassa	151			
Buma	176·2			
Lintuma	201·4			
Spintum	226·5			
Sidopt	251·7			
Gensoe	276·9	Ginis ?	275	
Pindicitor	302			
Agugo	327·2	Koka ?	331	
Orsum	352·4			
Suara	377·5	Ez Zawarat ?	384	Cf. Soharu, *SNR*, XXVI, 12, note 29 and references given.
Maumarum	402·7	Sortot ?	409	
URBIM	427·9	Urbi	428	Ἀρβις (?), Ptolemy.
Mulon	453	Khandak ?	438	
Pagoartas	478·2	El Baja island ?	466	opposite Old Dongola
Zamnes	503·4			
Mambli	528·6	Korti ? (528)		
Berressa	553·7			
Coetum	578·9			
Epis	—			Said to have been opposite Meroe, but destroyed.
[Meroe]	—			

JUBA	At 17·7 miles a stage	Suggested Identification	Actual Distance	Remarks
Tacompson	—			Qurta
Aramum	17·7			
Sesamum	35·4			
Pide	53·1			
Mamuda	70·8	Maam ?	73	'Aniba, opposite Ibrim (M. de Villard[2], *Storia*, 140).
Corambim	88·5			
Amodata	106·2			

[2] The suggested identification of Mamuda and Maam is, however, my own.

JUBA	At 17·7 miles a stage	Suggested Identification	Actual Distance	Remarks
Prosda	123·9			
Parenta	141·6			
Mama	159·3			D.'s text has Mania : Mama is from R.
Tessata	177	Sarras ?	181	Some editions give a spelling Tessara.
GALLES	194·7	Jelli island ?	192	Galleh (Cailliaud I, 350 ; remains of a fort).
Zoton	212·4			
Graucomen	230·1	Akasha ?	224	
Emeum	247·8	Firka ?	240	
Pidibotas	265·5	Abudiya ?	266	Ebouda (Cailliaud).
Endonda cometas	283·2			' Nomadas in tabernaculis viventes.'
Cystaepen	300·9			Gistate (Bion, east : 300).
MAGADA	318·6	Magadib	319	
Galen	336·6			
Paroa	354			
Prummu	371·7	Kerma ?	367	Remni (Bion, east : 372·2)
Nups	389·4	Argo Island	383	Nups (Bion, east : 398·3).
Dicelin	407·1			
Patingan	424·8			Patigga (Bion, east : 450·5).
Breves	442·5			
Magasneos	460·2			
Egasmala	477·9			
Cramda	495·6			
Denna	513·3			
Cadeum	531			
Mathena	548·7			v.l. Athena (DR) : cf. Athenam (Petronius, R[1]).
Batta	566·4		560	Napata ?
	At 23·25 miles a stage			
Alanam	583·25[3]			
Macua	606·5	Sani ?	616	near Jebel Makhama.
Scammos	629·75			
GORAM	653	Jura	653	' In insula.'
Abale	—			
Androcalim	—			
Serem	—			
Mallos	746			
Agocen	—			
[Meroe	792·5]		808	

[3] Starting afresh from Napata at 560.

APPENDIX 29: *Authorities*

Throughout this book I have given, in footnotes, the authorities for all statements made. From these it will be seen that the Sudanese sources for the history of the Fung kingdom are few and poor. The Tabaqat (D3) biographies were written by one who obviously had the mind of a scholar; but he was, unfortunately, not much interested in secular history, and he wrote in 1805, when most of it was already forgotten. The few historical incidents which he records have, however, more value than those from any other Sudanese source. MacMichael's version is not a complete one, but probably does not omit many historical facts of importance. A fairly close study of that version confirms MacMichael's statement that 'where any test of the accuracy of dates and statements of fact is possible by cross-checking, it is surprising how seldom Wad Dayfulla is found nodding' (II, 218). MacMichael's manuscript seemed to him to be a 'reasonably exact and accurate' copy of the original. He states that 'other copies are known to exist; *e.g.* one belonged to the late Zubayr Pasha, one is owned by Sheikh Ahmad el Sunna of Wad Medani, one by the Barriab who live south of Wad Medani, and one by the Khalifa of Sheikh Idris Arbab of Aylafun' (II, 217). A translation of the portion of the Introduction missing in his copy is given by Hillelson in *SNR*, VI, 205.

There exists also a professed History of the Fungs (D7) which in this book (following Shukayr) I have called the Fung Chronicle. After a full discussion of the manuscripts, date and authorship, MacMichael concludes that the authorship must remain doubtful for the present, and that 'the history is a very creditable piece of work. It is written in a simple and straightforward way, with a reasonable sense of proportion; and the author never loses the thread of his discourse' (II, 357). In other words it is history, not hagiography or annals. Older sources are used, including the Tabaqat. My own impression is that, although (as MacMichael says) D7 may have been 'compiled gradually during the régimes of successive Turkish rulers and completed about the time of Mumtaz Pasha (1871–3),' yet the whole of the pre-Turkish portion at least is by a single hand. The account of the first century and a half is brief and colourless, but after 1642 there is a decided improvement, and the bare annals are supplemented with much historical detail. This later part (1642–*c*.1820) reads like the attempt of someone with access to written records to compile a connected narrative, or in other words to write history. Bruce, Linant and Cailliaud all attest the existence of such records. During the Mahdia there was a holocaust of such, carried out as a deliberate act of policy. (It is a common belief after a revolution that the heritage of the hated past can be evaded by destroying or falsifying its records). There may have been many such in existence, apart from official documents. Much must have perished at the Turkish conquest; in a fortress of 'Malek Chowes,' the Shaigia chieftain, Hanbury (in December, 1820) found 'great quantities of written papers . . . lying all about the rooms[1],' but apparently did not even take the trouble to pick them up. No doubt they were the Shaigia archives.

No less than eight manuscripts of the Fung Chronicle were known to Jackson.[2] A comparison of the text of that in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris), of which that in the *Bibliothèque Egyptienne* is a copy, with a copy of the one in the British Museum (Oriental 2345) reveals no substantial differences.[3] MacMichael's translation was made from a copy (made for him at Omdurman in 1914) of the manuscript belonging to Mek Adlan of Sennar. It is rather to be feared (though this is only my guess) that it was Adlan's copy

[1] Waddington and Hanbury, 123.
[2] *Tooth of Fire*, 1912, p. iii.
[3] Douin, *Pénétration*, 165, note.

that the late Sir Henry Wellcome purchased and which was lost when the steamer containing it went down in the Red Sea.[4] A definitive critical edition and translation is badly needed, and might well be undertaken by a Sudanese scholar interested in the past history of his native land.

While at Sennar Linant discovered many books in the possession of the *fikis*, and considered that anyone interested in the history of the country would find many interesting and curious things in the libraries of Sennar. He himself made extracts from one such manuscript, which are contained in an appendix to his journal. There is no such appendix in the copy of his diary now in the Griffith Institute at Oxford, and I have been unsuccessful in obtaining a copy of the appendix referred to, which is presumably in the archives of the Société royale de Geographie d'Egypte.

Na'um Shucair's *History and Geography of the Sudan* (3 vols., Cairo, 1903) is in Arabic, and I have therefore been unable to use it. Shucair drew upon the sources already mentioned, and when he wrote most of the more valuable sources had perished. He also consulted the books of modern European travellers. His list of tribes is printed in Budge's *History*.[5] The History is a secondary source, and of importance only in so far as it may have saved from oblivion statements of fact made when the memory of past events was still fresh.

The document I have called the Abdullab Chronicle professes to be a history of the Abdullab sheikhs of Gerri, and undoubtedly preserves some fragments of authentic history. It may have been based upon the memory of documents that survived to the Turkish Conquest.[6] But its date is too late for it to have much historical value. I have had to use it in this book, but such history as depends solely upon its authority must be regarded with some suspicion. The lost archives of Gerri, which must have existed, would have been a priceless quarry of historical fact.

MacMichael has extracted from the nisbas (pedigrees) all the historical information they are ever likely to yield, and I need say no more about them here for that reason.

Nicholls made a brave effort to reconstruct Shaigia history from oral traditions current in the early 20th century. The result was somewhat meagre, and is marred to some extent by his unsuccessful attempt to relate those traditions to other and written sources.

Hillelson's recovery of the Shukria poems and his scholarly publication of them is the only other such attempt on any considerable scale to use traditional sources. It suffices to show how much more could have been obtained by some of the early European visitors and residents had they been more historically minded, and had they possessed even a tithe of Hillelson's knowledge of Arabic. Even Werne, who does at least seem to have been interested, could not apparently distinguish between Arabic and to-Bedaui ; and Sir Samuel Baker's qualifications were even more limited.

There may still survive a few original documents relating to the pre-Turkish period. Of those now known to exist only a bare half dozen or so have been published—Krump's passport from King Badi, two legal documents of Badi published by Arkell, and (from Ethiopia) two letters addressed to Badi. None of these tell us very much.

So much for the Sudanese sources. Of the Europeans who actually penetrated to the Fung domains in pre-Turkish days, only seven have left any written record—Reubeni, Chelebi, Poncet, Brevedent, Krump, Bruce and Burckhardt. Reubeni (who was not in fact a European) has been fully dealt with elsewhere in this book. Chelebi was a Turk

[4] Also lost at the same time were the valuable objects found in the Meroitic cemetery near Mekwar during the construction of a railway cutting near the reservoir. The only record of these is in *SNR*, XVIII, 1935, 288 ff.; they are more fully described by Addison in *Antiquity*, XXIV, 1950, 12 ff.

[5] II, 428–40.

[6] See p. 169.

who visited the Sudan in the latter part of the 17th century and his Sudanese travels are published in Turkish only.[7] It is an unfortunate coincidence, if it be such, that Poncet and Brevedent, Krump and his fellow-missionaries, and Du Roule all visited Sennar about the same time (1699–1705). The sum total of their valuable observations is not, it is true, great ; but, such as it is, it would have been more valuable if spaced out over a longer period. For we have no European evidence at all before Poncet, and none between Du Roule and Bruce (*i.e.* between 1705 and 1772). Du Roule could not of course write an account, having been assassinated at Sennar ; but his embassy caused a trickle of information to reach the outer world through the French consul at Cairo. Poncet's book tells us quite a lot ; and Brevedent, a better observer and recorder, would have told us much more had he lived to return home and write a book. Even so his letters give much useful information. Bruce's book is valuable if used with care, and his diaries might have given us an even more trustworthy, because contemporary, picture, had they not been allowed to perish by neglect.

Burckhardt, the last of the pre-Turkish travellers, did not get further south than Shendi, but his book is incomparably the best of all. He alone spoke the language with ease, and he travelled rough. His view-point was that of a lone traveller, and he saw the country and people at close quarters with the naked eye and not through coloured glasses. Had he lived a century earlier he would have been able to give us an inside view of the Fungs near the height of their power.

The chief post-Turkish European travellers were Cailliaud, Linant de Bellefonds, English, Waddington and Hanbury, Prudhoe, Hoskyns, Russegger, Ruppel, Werne, Trémaux, Lepsius, Petherick and Baker. Mansfield Parkins and Munzinger are valuable authorities for the Red Sea province. The best of these were not the English but the French, Swiss and Germans. English travellers were chiefly interested in Egyptian temples, and their plans, illustrations and descriptions are of course valuable, especially when the buildings have subsequently been reduced by stone-robbing. But they were too much influenced by current fashion to allow their interests full play and observe with their own eyes. Waddington, for instance, thought it necessary to apologize for even referring to the mud castles which had for him ' a peculiar kind of interest.' With the exception of Bruce (who was a Scotsman) not one of the English-speaking travellers showed any signs of interest in Sudanese history. It must be admitted, however, that even the best of the rest neglected their opportunities of salvaging documents and traditions. The most valuable contributions made by these travellers were the maps and drawings of Linant, the narrative and drawings of Cailliaud and his account of the progress of the Turkish Conquest. (I am speaking of modern history, not of the record of antiquities).

Portuguese travellers and missionaries to Ethiopia (Abyssinia) might be expected to tell us something of the kingdom that lay on its western frontiers, but actually the sum total of their information is very small. Alvarez (1520–6) himself was too early to know much of the Fung kingdom ; but as a contemporary of Amara Dunkas he could have told us much if he had known what questions to ask. Being himself a Christian priest he was naturally more interested in the past than the existing condition of the Nile region. There are only a few references to Sennar in the histories of Paez and Almeida, and hardly anything in all the other Portuguese writings. The chief contributions of Paez (reprinted

[7] Seyahatname (*Book of Travels*), Vol. 10, chapters 69–73 : Istanbul, Government Press, 1938. I am indebted to Mr Hillelson for a knowledge of the existence of his book and for giving me the exact title just quoted. Mr Hillelson regards it as of inferior value and mostly fabulous ; but it must contain at the very least mentions of names of persons and places that would be of value as contemporary first-hand records, and checks upon the king-lists and sheikh-lists. Chelebi was born in 1611.

from Beccari by MacMichael, with an English translation[8]) are themselves derived almost verbatim from the Chronicle of Susenyos—apparently the very same document that was later taken to England by Bruce and given to the Bodleian.[9] These Abyssinian annals might be expected to provide valuable cross-checks on Sudanese sources, and that they do ; but there are not many of them, for regular intercourse between the two countries was confined to such routine matters as the supply of horses, and that was not what the Annalist had to record. His business was to set down the great deeds of the king his master, who gloried in warfare ; and it is therefore only when the two states were at war (in 1618 and 1744) that we hear of Sennar from the Abyssinian end. There may still be gems to be unearthed from these Annals, and something perhaps from the original accounts (Arabic and Portuguese) of the Muhammadan conquest of Abyssinia in 1536–40 ; but the modern historian of that conquest has yet to be found.[10]

For further information about the Fungs we must look to archaeology. It was my excavation in 1914 of a Fung cemetery at Abu Geili that first aroused my interest in the later history of this region. That was the first discovery of archaeological remains to which the term ' Fung ' could be attributed. The excavation of Badi's palace at Sennar would be a useful undertaking ; especially if it were part of a larger one to excavate on the site of Old Sennar itself, before it disappears into the Nile. There are many other sites ; but on most of them the Fung stratum is merely a thin superficial scatter of sherds. The choice of sites that should be excavated is now hampered by practical considerations ; one cannot dig where one wishes but has to dig where danger of obliteration is most imminent. That does not exclude Old Sennar, but it does include many earlier sites, especially above the 4th Cataract, which would yield more knowledge. Perhaps the most useful contribution of archaeology would be to reveal more about the origin and distribution of the typical Fung pottery, first found in the Abu Geili cemetery.

[8] II, 435–8.
[9] See bibliography under Pereira.
[10] I have glanced through these sources (the Arabic ones in translation) but found little. They mention few place-names and are extremely difficult to follow. But I have an impression that they might yield useful information to a student who is prepared to master them.

Abbreviations

AAA = *Annals of Arts and Anthropology* (the earlier numbers of which were called *Liverpool Annals*).

ABAW = *Abhandlungen d. Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaft.*

Ant. = *Antiquity.*

BGA = *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden.

BM = British Museum (Library).

Bod. = Bodleian Library, Oxford.

BSG = *Bulletin de la Société Geographique* (Paris).

BSIG = *Bollettino della Reale Societa Geografica Italiana* (Rome).

BSOS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London).

CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.* [This corpus has a section which is called Scriptores Aethiopici, to which belong all the books here referred to].

DAE = *Deutsche Axum Expedition* (see bibliography, Titles).

D3 = The Tabaqat wad Dayf Allah of which a summarized translation is printed in MacMichael II, 217–72.

D7 = The Fung Chronicle of which a summarized translation is printed in MacMichael II, 354–430.

EI = *Encyclopedia of Islam* (German edition).

File I, II = refers to Files of the late Sir Douglas Newbold, now in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

GJ = *Geographical Journal* (of the Royal Geogr. Society, London).

HA = Hudūd al Alam: see bibliography, Titles.

JAS = *Journal of the African Society.*

JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London).

J(R)AI = *Journal of the (Royal) Anthropological Institute.*

JRGS = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (London).

Pet. Erg. = The *Erganzungshefte* of *Pet. Mitt.* (separate monographs).

Pet. Mitt. = *Petermanns Geographische Mittheilungen* (Gotha).

PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London).

RANL = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (Rome).

RCI = *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane.*

RSE = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* (Rome).

RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Rome).

SNR = *Sudan Notes and Records* (Khartoum).

Sus. = *Susenyos* (see Pereira in the bibliography).

ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.*

ZfAE = *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde.*

ZfE = *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.*

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